

**THE CONTEXTS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN STATUARY  
IN THE LEVANT**

by  
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A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland  
December 2016

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## ABSTRACT

As evidence for relations between ancient peoples, *aegyptiaca* found in non-Egyptian contexts has long been of interest to scholars in a variety of fields, including Egyptology and Levantine Archaeology. Due to the unwieldy size of the body of material, however, many aspects of this grouping remain understudied even long after discovery. This dissertation investigates a discrete subset of this corpus: three-dimensional stone sculpture.

This study examines 144 individual statues and statuary fragments excavated or otherwise found at sites throughout the northern and southern Levant, assembling them into a single source for the first time. In an attempt to achieve a more balanced picture of these ancient artworks and the roles they may have played in society, a detailed, descriptive catalogue was created. The catalogue is arranged according to the objects' provenances, and considers them from both an art historical and an archaeological perspective. The dissertation then uses an object-biographical approach to explore the different phases that may have had a bearing on the studied statues' use and function throughout their lives.

The material presented in this dissertation reveals that the corpus of ancient Egyptian statuary used or reused in foreign contexts is much larger than had previously been realized. Furthermore, it suggests that a great diversity of factors contributed to how, why, and when ancient Egyptian statues came to be displayed in Levantine cities during antiquity.

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Readers: Marian Feldman, Jacob Lauinger, and Erica Schoenberger

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is my great honor and pleasure to thank the many colleagues, scholars, friends, and family members who aided and supported me throughout the course of my doctoral studies. My advisor Betsy Bryan was a constant source of wisdom and generosity. It has been a great privilege to learn from you, both in the classroom and in the field, and this dissertation has benefited immeasurably from your comments and advice. Richard Jasnow was a source of invaluable guidance throughout my graduate school career and provided many useful insights into inscriptions within the corpus of material examined in my doctoral research. I would also like to thank Carol Redmount whose freshman seminar in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology opened the world of Egyptology to me and the late Candy Keller whose engaging presentations of Egyptian art led me to develop my own love for Egyptian sculpture. In addition I would like to thank Julie Reiser whose dissertation-writing workshop provided much needed encouragement and support as I moved into the writing phase of my dissertation. A depth of gratitude is also owed to museum curators Regine Schulz, the late Matthias Seidel, Marden Nichols, Larry Berman, Denise Doxey, and Sanchita Balachandran who invited me into their respective departments and provided me with the opportunity to work with their wonderful collections of ancient Egyptian objects – your mentorship helped me to become a much better art historian and scholar.

This project would not have been possible without the help of many people who graciously shared their research with me and responded to inquiries about specific statues or sites, especially Professor Amnon Ben-Tor, Daphna Ben-Tor, Professor Aaron A. Burke, Professor David Ilan, Krystal V.L. Pierce, Simone Burger Robin, Rachael Sparks,

and Peter van der Veen. My most sincere thanks also go to the numerous museum and collections staff members who facilitated my study of records and objects at institutions including the British Museum, the École Biblique, the Griffith Institute, the IAA National Treasures Storerooms, the Musée du Louvre, the Oriental Institute Museum, the Rockefeller Museum, the Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Funding for this research was provided by the Johns Hopkins University's Schaefer Research Award in Near Eastern Studies and by the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research's George A. Barton Fellowship.

I would also like thank my colleagues at Johns Hopkins whose friendship and camaraderie made the process of completing this dissertation immensely more enjoyable, including Maggie Bryson, Gaultier Mouron, Shaina Mabry, Christopher Brinker and Erin Fleming. Particular thanks go to Heather Parker whose invitation to collaborate in the study of one small inscribed fragment from Jordan grew into this dissertation topic and to the members of my dissertation-writing group, Tiffany Earley-Spadoni and Meredith Fraser, who kept me on task with our weekly meetings (even when one or more of us was on the opposite side of the globe) and were always happy to provide useful edits, act as a sounding board for ideas, or furnish an excuse for a much needed trip to a local coffee shop.

And last but certainly not least to my family. To my parents Rich and Debbie Fiutko, my sister Amber, and my in-laws Kurt and Julie Arico who were a constant source of moral support, and were always happy to plan family vacations to facilitate my research in museum collections around the world. And most importantly to my ever



patient and supportive husband Michael who views research trips as opportunities for new adventures, enjoys conversing about the finer points of ancient Egyptian culture, and is always willing to spend his free time editing photographs and producing figures to accompany my research. It may be cliché, but words truly cannot express the depth of my gratitude for your love and support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF PLATES.....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>xxiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 – Introduction to the Corpus .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 – Traveling Egyptian Statues: A History of Scholarship .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>1.2.1 – Assumed Contemporaneity.....</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>1.2.2 – Middle Kingdom Statues: The Crux of the Problem .....</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>1.2.3 – A Legacy of Chronological Confusion.....</i>	<i>9</i>
<b>1.3 – Textual Evidence for Egyptian Statues in the Levant .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<i>1.3.1 – Middle Kingdom.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>1.3.2 – New Kingdom.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>1.3.3 – Third Intermediate Period and Later.....</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>1.4 – The Purpose and Function of Egyptian Statuary .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>1.5 – Art Historical Approaches to the Study of Egyptian Sculpture.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<i>1.5.1 – Statue Classification .....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.5.2 – Statue Typology.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>1.5.3 – Scale.....</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>1.5.4 – Materials .....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>1.5.4.1 – Basalt.....</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>1.5.4.2 – Diorite .....</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>1.5.4.3 – Egyptian Alabaster (travertine or calcite-alabaster) .....</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>1.5.4.4 – Gneiss.....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>1.5.4.5 – Granite and Granodiorite .....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>1.5.4.6 – Greywacke .....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>1.5.4.7 – Limestone.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>1.5.4.8 – Obsidian .....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>1.5.4.9 – Quartzite (silicified sandstone) .....</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>1.5.4.10 – Serpentinite (serpentine) .....</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>1.5.4.11 – Steatite (soapstone) .....</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>1.5.5 – Determining Statue Date.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>1.5.6 – Distinguishing between Egyptian and Egyptianizing Statues.....</i>	<i>39</i>
<b>1.6 – A Study of Egyptian Statuary in the Levant .....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2 EGYPTIAN STATUARY IN THE LEVANT.....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>2.1 – The Southern Levant .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<i>2.1.1 – The Coastal Plain .....</i>	<i>48</i>

2.1.1.1 – Tell el-Ajjul.....	48
2.1.1.2 – Ashkelon .....	65
2.1.1.3 – Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor .....	69
2.1.1.4 – Jaffa.....	77
2.1.2 – <i>The Sharon Plain</i> .....	82
2.1.2.1 – Makmish .....	82
2.1.2.2 – Tulul Mas‘ud.....	85
2.1.3 – <i>The Judean Hills</i> .....	88
2.1.3.1 – Jerusalem.....	88
2.1.3.2 – Gezer .....	103
2.1.4 – <i>Edom</i> .....	117
2.1.4.1 – Petra .....	117
2.1.5 – <i>Moab</i> .....	123
2.1.5.1 – Kerak.....	123
2.1.6 – <i>The Jordan Valley</i> .....	127
2.1.6.1 – Beth Shean .....	127
2.1.6.2 – Pella.....	145
2.1.7 – <i>The Jezreel Valley</i> .....	150
2.1.7.1 – Tell Ta‘annek.....	150
2.1.7.2 – Megiddo .....	155
2.1.7.3 – Jo‘ara.....	180
2.1.8 – <i>Galilee</i> .....	184
2.1.8.1 – Mizpe Yammim .....	184
2.1.8.2 – Hazor.....	188
2.1.8.3 – Tel Dan.....	223
<b>2.2 – The Northern Levant.....</b>	<b>235</b>
2.2.1 – <i>Coastal Syro-Lebanon</i> .....	235
2.2.1.1 – Tyre .....	235
2.2.1.2 – Adlun.....	245
2.2.1.3 – Beirut .....	249
2.2.1.4 – Byblos .....	254
2.2.1.5 – Arwad.....	328
2.2.1.6 – Plain Between Tartus and Amrit.....	334
2.2.1.7 – Ugarit .....	337
2.2.2 – <i>The Beqa‘a Valley</i> .....	364
2.2.2.1 – Kamid el-Loz .....	364
2.2.2.2 – Tell Hizzin .....	368
2.2.3 – <i>The Orontes Valley</i> .....	375
2.2.3.1 – Qatna .....	375
<b>2.3 – Statues of Uncertain Provenance.....</b>	<b>387</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3 A CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF EGYPTIAN STATUARY IN THE LEVANT</b>	
.....	<b>396</b>
<b>3.1 – The Old Kingdom .....</b>	<b>398</b>
3.1.1 – <i>The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant</i> .....	398
3.1.2 – <i>The Old Kingdom Statuary Corpus</i> .....	399
3.1.3 – <i>The Use and Display of Statues</i> .....	400

3.1.4 – <i>Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence</i> .....	402
<b>3.2 – The Middle Kingdom</b> .....	<b>404</b>
3.2.1 – <i>The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant</i> .....	404
3.2.2 – <i>The Middle Kingdom Statuary Corpus</i> .....	406
3.2.3 – <i>The Use and Display of Statues</i> .....	410
3.2.4 – <i>Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence</i> .....	412
<b>3.3 – The New Kingdom</b> .....	<b>415</b>
3.3.1 – <i>The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant</i> .....	415
3.3.2 – <i>The New Kingdom Statuary Corpus</i> .....	416
3.3.3 – <i>The Use and Display of Statues</i> .....	419
3.3.4 – <i>Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence</i> .....	421
<b>3.4 – The Third Intermediate Period – Ptolemaic Period</b> .....	<b>423</b>
3.4.1 – <i>The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant</i> .....	423
3.4.2 – <i>The Third Intermediate Period–Ptolemaic Period Statuary Corpus</i> .....	424
3.4.3 – <i>The Use and Display of Statues</i> .....	430
3.4.4 – <i>Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence</i> .....	431
<b>3.5 – Excursus: A Geographic View of Egyptian Statuary in the Levant</b> .....	<b>433</b>
3.5.1 – <i>Geographic Distribution Based on Statue Date</i> .....	435
3.5.2 – <i>Geographic Distribution Based on Statue Classification</i> .....	438
3.5.3 – <i>Geographic Distribution of Statues Designed or Modified for Foreign Use</i> .....	440
3.5.4 – <i>Statue Origin</i> .....	442
<b>3.6 – Conclusion</b> .....	<b>443</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4 EGYPTIAN STATUES IN THE LEVANT: AN OBJECT-BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH</b> .....	<b>445</b>
<b>4.1 – Meanings and Values Assigned to Egyptian Statues</b> .....	<b>446</b>
<b>4.2 – The Lives of Statues: An Object-Biographical Approach</b> .....	<b>450</b>
4.2.1 – <i>Birth: Conception and Production</i> .....	457
4.2.2 – <i>Egyptian Display</i> .....	461
4.2.3 – <i>Movement to a New Region</i> .....	463
4.2.4 – <i>Non-Egyptian Display</i> .....	475
4.2.5 – <i>Destruction and Burial</i> .....	478
4.2.6 – <i>Afterlife: Perpetual Discovery, Reuse, and Museum Display</i> .....	487
<b>4.3 – Case Studies</b> .....	<b>491</b>
4.3.1 – <i>Statue of Djehutyhotep from Megiddo (Cat. 28)</i> .....	491
4.3.2 – <i>Statue of Djehuty from Byblos(?) (Cat. 142)</i> .....	492
4.3.3 – <i>Statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21)</i> .....	493
4.3.4 – <i>Statues of Sheshonq I and Osorkon I from Byblos (Cats. 67-75)</i> .....	495
4.3.5 – <i>Sphinx of Amenemhat IV from Beirut (Cat. 61)</i> .....	496
<b>4.4 – Conclusion</b> .....	<b>498</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>499</b>
<b>APPENDIX I INDEX OF OBJECTS</b> .....	<b>501</b>
<b>APPENDIX II LIST OF STATUES AND STATUARY FRAGMENTS BY STATUE CLASSIFICATION</b> .....	<b>505</b>

<b>PLATES.....</b>	<b>509</b>
<b>WORKS CITED .....</b>	<b>583</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE .....</b>	<b>643</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1.1. Standard ancient Egyptian statuary poses. Clockwise from top left: standing (striding), seated, block, seated cross-legged.
- Figure 1.2. Standard ancient Egyptian statuary poses: seated asymmetrically (left) and kneeling (right).
- Figure 2.1. Map of Levantine sites with ancient Egyptian statuary.
- Figure 3.1. Chronological division of datable Egyptian statue fragments in the Levant.
- Figure 3.2. Division of New Kingdom statues in the Levant based upon date.
- Figure 3.3. Division of Third Intermediate Period and later statues in the Levant based upon date.
- Figure 3.4. Distribution of statues between the northern and southern Levant.
- Figure 3.5. Distribution of statues by number per site.
- Figure 3.6. Distribution of statues between the northern and Southern Levant by statue date.
- Figure 3.7. Distribution of statues by statue date.
- Figure 3.8. Distribution of divine, royal, and private statues.
- Figure 3.9. Distribution of statues with evidence of design or modification for a foreign context.

## LIST OF PLATES

- 1 Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, three-quarter and front views. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum I.9854 (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXII).
- 2 Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, Petrie's rendering of inscription on top of base (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI:107).
- 3 Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, Petrie's rendering of vertical inscription (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI:99).
- 4 Upper part of a female statuette (Cat. 2) from Tell el-Ajjul, three-quarter view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum 33.1548 (Petrie 1933, pl. XVII).
- 5 Upper part of a female statuette (Cat. 2) from Tell el-Ajjul, line drawing of front view (Petrie 1933, pl. XVI:49).
- 6 Upper part of a male statuette (Cat.3) from Tell el-Ajjul, line drawing of front view (Petrie 1931a, pl. XL:107).
- 7 Head from a male statuette (Cat. 4) from Tell el-Ajjul, front view. Israel Museum IAA 1938-491 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).
- 8 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, side view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:1).
- 9 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, front view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:2).
- 10 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, back view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:4).
- 11 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, detail of inscription on held implement (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:5).
- 12 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, detail of inscription on bracelet (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:6).
- 13 Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, Schulman's transcription of inscription on bracelet (Schulman 1993, 111).
- 14 Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, back view (Burke and Lords 2010, 28).
- 15 Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, 3-D model of front (Burke and Lords 2010, 9).
- 16 Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, 3-D model of back (Burke and Lords 2010, 8).
- 17 Statuette of a nursing goddess (Cat. 8) from Makmish, three-quarter view (Avigad 1993, 933).
- 18 Statuette of Osiris (Cat. 9) from Tulul Mas'ud, front view. IAA Storeroom, Beth Shemesh IAA 1986-5519 (Giveon 1984, 155).
- 19 Statuette of Osiris (Cat. 9) from Tulul Mas'ud, Giveon's transcription and restoration of inscription (Giveon 1967, 119).
- 20 Statue of a royal woman (Cat. 10) from Jerusalem, front view. Private Collection, Germany (van der Veen 2013, 43).
- 21 Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, front view (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:1).

- 22 Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, back view (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:2).
- 23 Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, proper right and top views (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:3-4).
- 24 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 12) from Jerusalem, front view. IAA Storeroom, Beth Shemesh 1951-1059/1 (van der Veen 2013, 48).
- 25 Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, three-quarter view. École Biblique EBAF 1576 (van der Veen 2013, 46).
- 26 Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, drawings of front, proper left side, top, and back views (Barkay 1996, 36, fig. 13).
- 27 Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, proper left side. Proposed reconstruction as a nursing goddess statuette. École Biblique EBAF 1576 (photograph by author; illustration by M. Arico).
- 28 Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, proper right side and front views (Macalister 1912, II: 311).
- 29 Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, Macalister's transcription of inscription (Macalister 1905, 318).
- 30 Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, Griffith's transcription of inscription (Griffith 1906, 122).
- 31 Male block statue (Cat. 15) from Gezer, front and proper left side views (Macalister 1912, II: 309).
- 32 Base of a statuette of princess Sobeknefru (Cat. 16) from Gezer, top view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem field no. 1293 (Weinstein 1974, 49).
- 33 Base of a statuette of princess Sobeknefru (Cat. 16) from Gezer, line drawing of top view (Weinstein 1974, 50).
- 34 Statuette head (Cat. 17) from Gezer, line drawings of front and proper right side views (Macalister 1912, II, 312).
- 35 Lower part of the statue of the *ḥnh-n-niwt* Deduamun (Cat. 18) from Gezer, transcription of inscription (Macalister 1912, II: 312).
- 36 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, front view (Meza 1995, 180, fig. 1).
- 37 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, proper right side view (Meza 1995, 180, fig. 2).
- 38 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, proper left side view (Meza 1995, 181, fig. 3).
- 39 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, back view (Meza 1996, 172, fig. 11).
- 40 Moabite-inscribed torso fragment (Cat. 20) from Kerak, front view. Kerak Museum 6807 (Parker and Arico 2015, 106, fig. 1).
- 41 Moabite-inscribed torso fragment (Cat. 20) from Kerak, proper left side view (Parker and Arico 2015, 107, fig. 2).
- 42 Statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 21) from Beth Shean, front view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum S.886 (Rowe 1930, pl. 51).
- 43 Fragment of a standard-bearing statue (Cat. 22) from Beth Shean, line drawing of front view (Rowe 1930, pl. 50:1).



- 44 Falcon statue (Cat. 23) from Beth Shean, proper left side view (Rowe 1940, pl. LIA:4).
- 45 Head of a male statuette (Cat. 24) from Beth Shean, front view (Rowe 1940, pl. LXIXA:4).
- 46 Base of a striding statuette (Cat. 25) from Pella, three-quarter view (S. J. Bourke 2012, pl. 40A).
- 47 Base of a striding statuette (Cat. 25) from Pella, drawing of multiple views (S. J. Bourke 2012, 168, fig. 7).
- 48 Lower portion of a male statue in an asymmetrically-seated pose (Cat. 26) from Pella, three-quarter view (S. J. Bourke 2012, pl. 40C).
- 49 Lower portion of a male statuette (Cat. 27) from Tell Ta'anek, drawing of proper left side, back, and top views (Sellin 1904, 66, fig. 82).
- 50 Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, three-quarter view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18622 (Novacek 2011, 27).
- 51 Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, proper left side view (Wilson 1941, pl. II).
- 52 Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, proper right side view (Wilson 1941, pl. III).
- 53 Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, back view (Wilson 1941, pl. IB).
- 54 Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, front view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum 36.1897 (Loud 1948, pl. 266).
- 55 Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, proper left side view showing depth of back-slab (Loud 1948, pl. 266).
- 56 Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, three-quarter view (Loud 1948, pl. 266).
- 57 Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 30) from Megiddo, front view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18320 (Loud 1948, pl. 266).
- 58 Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 30) from Megiddo, proper left side. Proposed reconstruction as a standing statuette (University of Chicago Archives, Megiddo field negative B2120; illustration by M. Arico).
- 59 Torso of a male statue (Cat. 31) from Megiddo, front view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18358 (Loud 1948, pl. 267).
- 60 Torso of a male statue (Cat. 31) from Megiddo, front view. Proposed reconstruction as a standing statue with short kilt (Loud 1948, pl. 267; illustration by M. Arico).
- 61 Feet and base of a statuette (Cat. 32) from Megiddo, top view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A20568 (Loud 1948, pl. 267).
- 62 Royal statue fragment (Cat. 33) from Megiddo, proper right side view (Sass 2000, 397, fig. 1).
- 63 Royal statue fragment (Cat. 33) from Megiddo, detail of inscription (Sass 2000, 397, fig. 1).
- 64 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 34) from Jo'ara, three-quarter view (Giveon 1978, 57).

- 65 Statuette of the Abydene Triad (Cat. 35) from Mizpe Yammim, front view (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 50, fig. 29).
- 66 Head of a royal statue (Cat. 35) from Hazor, front view. The Israel Museum IAA 1997-3295 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).
- 67 Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 38) from Hazor, front view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 7, 3b [orientation corrected]).
- 68 Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 38) from Hazor, proper right side view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 7, 3a [orientation corrected]).
- 69 Fragment of a high official's statue (Cat. 40) from Hazor, detail of inscription (A. Ben-Tor 2013a, 35).
- 70 Torso and kilt of a male figure (Cat. 41) from Hazor, front and proper left side views (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).
- 71 Torso and kilt of a male figure (Cat. 42) from Hazor, front view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6, fig. 2).
- 72 Right foot of a statue (Cat. 48) from Hazor, top view (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).
- 73 Statue of the *wab*-priest Nefertem (Cat. 55) from Tel Dan. The Israel Museum IAA 1980-903 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).
- 74 Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, proper left side view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).
- 75 Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, detail of inscription on front of seat. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).
- 76 Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, back view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).
- 77 Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, proper left side view. Proposed reconstruction as a seated private statue. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph; illustration by M. Arico).
- 78 Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, front view. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 79 Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, proper left side view. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 80 Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, top view showing the uraeus and triple-striped fabric pattern. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 81 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, front view. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).
- 82 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, proper left side view with Greek and Latin inscriptions added in the negative space on the back-pillar. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).
- 83 Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, back view and Erman's transcription of the back-pillar inscription. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org); Erman 1893).
- 84 Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 276 (fig. 4)).

- 85 Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, rear view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 275 (fig. 2)).
- 86 Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 276 (fig. 3)).
- 87 Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372. (Pétigny 2008, 275 (fig. 1)).
- 88 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, front view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 89 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 90 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper right side front view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 91 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper right side back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 92 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper left side view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 93 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper left side back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).
- 94 Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, front view. Proposed reconstruction as a standing healing statue (a block statue pose is also possible). Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph; illustration by M. Arico).
- 95 Sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61) from Beirut, three-quarter view. BM EA58892 (Strudwick 2006, 99).
- 96 Sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61) from Beirut, front view with inscription. BM EA58892 (Fay 1996b, pl. 94b).
- 97 Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).
- 98 Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (B. V. Bothmer 1971, pl. I, 2 and 4).
- 99 Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (Bothmer 1971, pl. I, 2 and 4).
- 100 Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, back view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (B. V. Bothmer 1971, pl. I, fig. 3).
- 101 Head of a Middle Kingdom king (Cat. 63) from Byblos, three-quarter view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 27574 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 102 Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 64) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).
- 103 Head of a female sphinx (Cat. 65) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).
- 104 Head of a female sphinx (Cat. 65) from Byblos, proper left side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).
- 105 Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, CLVII).
- 106 Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, back view (Dunand 1950, CLVII).

- 107 Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, transcription of back-pillar inscription (*KRI* V: 256).
- 108 Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, proper right side view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 64 fig. 4).
- 109 Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, proper right side view. Reconstruction by Dussaud illustrating fragment's placement (Dussaud 1924, 145 fig. 5).
- 110 Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, front view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 65 fig. 5).
- 111 Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, front view. Reconstruction showing the placement of the fragment. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (photograph courtesy of Heather Dana Davis Parker; illustration by M. Arico).
- 112 Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, back view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 65 fig. 5).
- 113 Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, front view. Louvre AO 9502 (photograph courtesy of Heather Dana Davis Parker).
- 114 Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, back view. Louvre AO 9502 (Montet 1929, pl. XXXVII).
- 115 Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, proper left side view with detail of wig. Louvre AO 9502 (author's photograph).
- 116 Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, top view with detail of uraeus. Louvre AO 9502 (author's photograph).
- 117 Arm fragment with cartouche of Osorkon I (Cat. 69) from Byblos, line drawing of front view (Dunand 1939, 18 fig. 7).
- 118 Belt fragment with cartouche of Osorkon (Cat. 71) from Byblos, inscription as transcribed by Wiedemann (Wiedemann 1895, 14).
- 119 Belt fragment with cartouche of Osorkon (Cat. 71) from Byblos, inscription as transcribed by Montet (Chéhab 1969, 39).
- 120 Fragment of a *shendyt*-kilt inscribed for Osorkon (Cat. 72) from Byblos, top view. Louvre AO 31153 (author's photograph).
- 121 Fragment of a *shendyt*-kilt inscribed for Osorkon (Cat. 72) from Byblos, side view. Louvre AO 31153 (author's photograph).
- 122 Fragment of an inscribed throne back (Cat. 73) from Byblos, line drawing (Montet 1928, 49 fig. 14).
- 123 Fragment of an inscribed throne back (Cat. 73) from Byblos, line drawing (Montet 1928, 49 fig. 14).
- 124 Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, top view. Louvre AO 9503 (Montet 1929, pl. XXXVIII).
- 125 Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, proper left side view. Louvre AO 9503 (author's photograph).

- 126 Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, front view. Louvre AO 9503 (author's photograph).
- 127 Proposed placement of Osorkon I fragments (Cats. 68-75) from Byblos (Arico and Parker 2013).
- 128 Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76), proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (Dunand 1937, XLIII).
- 129 Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, transcription of inscriptions on proper right side of throne (Dunand 1939, 116).
- 130 Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, detail of erasure on belt. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (H. Brandl 2012, pl. 20.1b).
- 131 Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, detail of inscription front of throne. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (H. Brandl 2012, pl. 20.1c).
- 132 Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, transcription of inscriptions on front of throne (Chéhab 1969, 41, after Dunand 1939, 116).
- 133 Statue head with the *nemes*-headdress (Cat. 77) from Byblos, line drawing of proper left side (Dunand 1958, II:543 fig. 620).
- 134 Shoulder fragment with a *nemes* lappet (Cat. 78) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 135 Rear portion of a sphinx (Cat. 79) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV).
- 136 Rear portion of a sphinx or lion (Cat. 80) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV).
- 137 Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 81) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLI).
- 138 Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 82) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 139 Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 83) from Byblos, line drawing of three-quarter view (Dunand 1958, II:873 fig. 981).
- 140 Statuette of a man wearing a striped kilt (Cat. 84) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, CLVI).
- 141 Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, front view. MMA 68.101 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 142 Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, proper right side view. MMA 68.101 (H. G. Fischer 1974, 16 fig. 15).
- 143 Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, back view. MMA 68.101 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 144 Standing statuette of a male (Cat. 86) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).
- 145 Standing statuette of a male (Cat. 86) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Dunand (Dunand 1939, 19).
- 146 Statuette of a standing male wearing a long kilt (Cat. 87) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).

- 147 Statue of a standing male wearing a long kilt (Cat. 88) from Byblos, drawing of front view (Dunand 1958, 2:873 fig. 981).
- 148 Lower portion of a standing male statuette(?) (Cat. 89), drawing of front view (Montet 1928, 252 fig. 112).
- 149 Lower portion of a standing male statuette (Cat. 90) from Byblos, line drawing of front view (Dunand 1939, 19 fig. 8).
- 150 Osirophorous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).
- 151 Osirophorous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).
- 152 Osirophorous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, back view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).
- 153 Osirophorous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Montet (Montet 1954, 74).
- 154 Pair statuette of two standing men (Cat. 93) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII).
- 155 Pair statuette of two standing men (Cat. 93) from Byblos, sketch of inscriptions on kilt fronts (Dunand 1954, I:444 fig. 476).
- 156 Group statue of a man and two women (Cat. 94) from Byblos, front view (Montet 1929, pl. XXXV).
- 157 Group statuette with a standing woman in the center (Cat. 95) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII).
- 158 Group or pair statue with a standing male (Cat. 96) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 159 Lower portion of a seated statue(tte) (Cat. 97) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1937, pl. LII).
- 160 Block statuette (Cat. 98) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut B 1150 (Schulz 1992, II: pl. 5c).
- 161 Block statuette (Cat. 98) from Byblos, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut B 1150 (Dunand 1937, pl. XLI).
- 162 Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).
- 163 Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).
- 164 Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, bottom view with stamp inscription. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).
- 165 Lower portion of a block statue figurine (Cat. 100) from Byblos, proper left side view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).
- 166 Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, proper left side view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).
- 167 Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, proper right side view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).
- 168 Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, front view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).

- 169 Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, back view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).
- 170 Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, proper right side and front views (Dunand 1937, pl. XLa-b).
- 171 Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, front view after restoration (Jidejian 1977, fig. 81).
- 172 Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Dunand (Dunand 1939, 181).
- 173 Lower portion of a statue of a man seated cross-legged (Cat. 103) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).
- 174 Lower portion of a statue of a kneeling woman (Cat. 104) from Byblos, top view (Montet 1929, pl. XXXV.32).
- 175 Lower portion of a statue of a kneeling woman (Cat. 104) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Borchardt (Borchardt 1931, 27).
- 176 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 105) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).
- 177 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 106) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).
- 178 Head of a male statue (Cat. 107) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).
- 179 Portion of the head of a male statue (Cat. 108) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 180 Portion of the head of a male statue (Cat. 108) from Byblos, line drawing of back of wig (Dunand 1958, 2:785 fig. 889).
- 181 Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 109) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 182 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 110) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).
- 183 Statue fragment inscribed with an epithet of Hathor (Cat. 111) from Byblos, line drawings of two views (Montet 1928, 40 fig. 8).
- 184 Two of five fragments from an inscribed statue (Cat. 113) from Byblos, back(?) views (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).
- 185 Inscribed sculptural fragment (Cat. 114) from Byblos (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).
- 186 Inscribed sculptural fragment (Cat. 115) from Byblos (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).
- 187 Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, front view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).
- 188 Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, back view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).
- 189 Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, proper right side view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).
- 190 Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, proper left side view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).

- 191 Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, proper left side view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).
- 192 Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, front view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).
- 193 Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, proper right side view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).
- 194 Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, back view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).
- 195 Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, detail of inscribed base. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).
- 196 Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 118) from Ugarit, three-quarter view before restoration. National Museum of Damascus DO 30 (Schaeffer 1962, 222 fig. 25).
- 197 Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 118) from Ugarit, proper left side view after restoration. National Museum of Damascus DO 30 (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. III.2).
- 198 Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, three-quarter view in-situ (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. III.1).
- 199 Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, front view (Schaeffer 1932a, 20 fig. 13).
- 200 Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, transcription of inscription (Schaeffer 1962, 213 fig. 19).
- 201 Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 202 Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, back view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 203 Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. V).
- 204 Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, transcription of texts (Montet 1934, 132).
- 205 Statuette of a kneeling man (Cat. 123) from Ugarit, front three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. IV).
- 206 Statuette of a kneeling man (Cat. 123) from Ugarit, back three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. IV).
- 207 Lower portion of a standing male statuette (Cat. 124) from Ugarit, three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:19 fig. 11).
- 208 Statuette of a seated male (Cat. 125) from Ugarit, three-quarter view (J. Lagarce and du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, 162 fig. 10).
- 209 Statuette of a seated male (Cat. 125) from Ugarit, proper left side view (de Contenson 1978, 163, Abb. 16).
- 210 Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 211 Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).



- 212 Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, back view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 213 Head of a bald male statuette (Cat. 128) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 15767 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 214 Head of a bald male statuette (Cat. 128) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 15767 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 215 Inscribed statuette base (Cat. 129) from Ugarit, multiple views. National Museum of Damascus DO 5208 (Schaeffer 1962, 124 fig. 101).
- 216 Torso with inscribed back-pillar (Cat. 131) from Ugarit, proper right side view at time of excavation (Schaeffer 1929, pl. LIX.4).
- 217 Upper part of a male statue (Cat. 132) from Kamid el-Loz, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 24406 (Hachmann 1983, 173).
- 218 Lower portion of a standing statue of Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133) from Tell Hizzin, front view (Chéhab 1969, pl. IV.2).
- 219 Lower portion of a standing statue of Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133) from Tell Hizzin, proper right side view (Ahrens 2015b, 203, fig. 5).
- 220 Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, front view and transcription of inscription (Chéhab 1969, pl. IV.1; Ahrens 2015b, 209, fig. 12).
- 221 Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, proper right side view (Ahrens 2015b, 207, figs. 9-10).
- 222 Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, proper left side view (Ahrens 2015, 207, figs. 9-10).
- 223 Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, multiple views before restoration (du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pl. XII).
- 224 Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, three-quarter view. Louvre AO 13075 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 225 Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, front view. Louvre AO 13075 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).
- 226 Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, detail of inscription between paws. Louvre AO 13075 (author's photograph).
- 227 Fragments of a kneeling king's statue (Cat. 136) from Qatna, two views of multiple fragments (du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pl. XIV.1).
- 228 Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 137) from Qatna, multiple views  
Upper portion of a male statuette with cloak from Qatna (Cat. 137), multiple views (du Mesnil du Buisson 1935, pl. VI).
- 229 Seated statue of Anu (Cat. 138) from Qatna, three-quarter view. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1970.184.2 (author's photograph).
- 230 Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 140) from Syria, three-quarter view. National Museum of Aleppo 6450 (Scandone Matthiae 1989, pl. 4).
- 231 Upper portion of a female statuette (Cat. 141), front view. Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.226 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).
- 232 Upper portion of a female statuette (Cat. 141), back three-quarter view. Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.226 (author's photograph).

- 233 Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), three-quarter view. British Museum EA69863 (Bordreuil and Gubel 1987, 319).
- 234 Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), transcription of inscription on papyrus and base (Yoyotte 1981, 48).
- 235 Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), transcription of inscription on back-pillar (Yoyotte 1981, 45).
- 236 Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), transcription of inscription on back-pillar (Yoyotte 1981, 45).

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BM	British Museum, London
Cat.	Catalogue Number
EB	Early Bronze Age
fig./figs.	Figure/figures
Gardiner	Gardiner, Alan. 1994. "List of Hieroglyphic Signs." In <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., revised, 438–548. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
IA	Iron Age
KRI	Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1975. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
LB	Late Bronze Age
MB	Middle Bronze Age
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
no.	Number
p	Papyrus
pl./pls.	Plate/plates
PM	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L.B. Moss. 1964. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 2nd. ed., and augm. 8 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
RITA	Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1993. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated Translations</i> . 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
Urk.	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> . 1861. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
WAM	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore
Wb.	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow. 1926. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

As evidence of interconnections between Egypt and her eastern neighbors, the presence of ancient Egyptian material culture objects in the Levant has long intrigued scholars in the fields of both Levantine Archaeology and Egyptology. This dissertation focuses on a distinct subset of this material: stone statuary in the round. Sculptural works had a unique function in the ancient Near East, operating not only as representations of gods, kings, and high officials, but also as actualized entities through which they could act. The important roles that these potent images played in interconnections between the two regions during antiquity is evidenced not only by the repeated discovery of Egyptian statues in Levantine temples and palaces, but also through ancient textual sources.

In this chapter, I will provide a brief introduction to the corpus of statuary treated in this study. I will then summarize the major trends in scholarship pertaining to Egyptian statue presence in the Levant and highlight relevant textual sources. Next, I will discuss the functions that statuary fulfilled in ancient Egypt and provide a short overview of the art historical methods and terms used in the study of three-dimensional sculpture. Finally, I will present an outline of the topics that will be covered in this dissertation.

#### 1.1 – Introduction to the Corpus

The 144 stone statues and statuary fragments treated in this study form a subset of the broader category of *aegyptiaca* (objects with an Egyptian cultural background) excavated in the Levant.<sup>1</sup> Egyptian objects that were used in ancient, non-Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup> This material is also sometimes referred to as *pharaonica*, e.g., Yoyotte 1998.

cultural contexts are generally classified as luxury goods utilized primarily by elites. This is particularly true for statuary, which would have been more costly to produce than other more utilitarian objects found in comparable contexts, such as pottery or faience amulets. The corpus under investigation in this study is restricted to stone sculpture in the round. While statues were produced in several different media, many have not survived to present day, either because of the intrinsic value of their materials (e.g., gold) or the fragility of the components from which they were made (e.g., wood). Stone statues are therefore the focus here in part because they are likely to have been more consistently preserved in the archaeological record.

The statues and statuary fragments treated in this study were either excavated or found by chance in the Levant. Although materials from the northern and southern Levant have historically been treated separately in scholarship, this dissertation will examine materials from both regions in an attempt to provide a more balanced view of the phenomenon of Egyptian statuary in the Levant during antiquity.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this study the southern Levant comprises modern-day Israel, the Palestinian Territories, and Jordan, while the northern Levant is made up of Lebanon and Syria. In order to create a discrete corpus, statues found in the Sinai at sites such as Serabit el-Khadim<sup>3</sup> and Timna<sup>4</sup> were not included, although a comparison of the statue distribution in the Levant with those found in the intermediary region of the Sinai would be a useful future endeavor.<sup>5</sup> In addition to taking a wide geographic view, this dissertation will also consider materials from a broad chronological range. The statues included in this study

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<sup>2</sup> The division is due in large part to the modern political situation in the region.

<sup>3</sup> PM VII: 345-66.

<sup>4</sup> Rothenberg 1971; Schulman 1988; Higginbotham 2000, 234-35.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, statues found further afield at sites in Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Europe were excluded. For a list of these materials, see PM VII: 396-420.

date from the Egyptian Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic period.<sup>6</sup> This corresponds to the EB IV/MB I past the Persian period in the Levant, with many of the statues coming from contexts datable to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>7</sup>

In this dissertation, I will approach Egyptian statues from Levantine sites from an Egyptological point of view, taking into consideration their archaeological contexts. An attempt to describe the “three dimensional structure of time, place, and contemporaneity of manufacture” for Egyptian objects found in foreign contexts is not new.<sup>8</sup> Never before has it been done for such a large corpus of Egyptian statuary, however, in part because the full extent of the corpus has not previously been recognized.<sup>9</sup> The understudied state of many of these statues, and indeed the corpus as a whole, has resulted from the fact that many of them have only been published in disparate site reports and articles, making it difficult to observe patterns in distribution and use. This study aims to fill that gap in scholarship.

## **1.2 – Traveling Egyptian Statues: A History of Scholarship**

Egyptian statuary from Levantine contexts has had a long and complicated history with scholarship, particularly in regards to our understanding of the Levantine archaeological record and the reconstruction of interactions between Egypt and her eastern neighbors during antiquity. The basic questions usually asked in these treatments center around when, why, and how these objects came to be in a foreign context. The exploration of these topics further leads to questions of the degree of contemporaneity

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<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian chronology utilized herein is that found in Shaw 2000b.

<sup>7</sup> For the correspondences between major Egyptian and Levantine periods see discussion in Chapter 3 and Mumford 2014, 70 Table 5.1.

<sup>8</sup> Pomerance 1973, 24.

<sup>9</sup> This is particularly true among Egyptologists, who are unfamiliar with the sheer number of statues found outside of Egypt’s borders.

between statue manufacture and dispatch. It must be emphasized from the outset that the method and manner of statue export from Egypt to the Levant are certain not to have been the same for all objects, a fact that is often downplayed or ignored entirely. Indeed, an attempt on the part of past treatments to find a monolithic or at the very least a narrow range of possible explanations for the movement of statues has obscured the true diversity of methods through which statues were acquired by Levantine owners, temples and palaces. This section will provide an overview of the primary interpretive trends applied to the statues over the course of the last century.

### *1.2.1 – Assumed Contemporaneity*

When Egyptian statues first appeared in the strata of archaeological expeditions in the Levant, they were quickly celebrated as evidence for international relations in the ancient world and put to use as chronological anchor points from which their surrounding contexts could be interpreted.<sup>10</sup> It was generally assumed that statues depicting members of the royal family had been sent to contemporary rulers or temples in Levantine cities, making them just one of several types of objects employed as diplomatic gifts.<sup>11</sup> The presence of private statuary proved more difficult to explain, however.

The presumed one-to-one correlation between the subjects of statues and people who actually traveled (and were likely buried) abroad resulted in the construction of often elaborate, and even fanciful, explanations for how private works ended up in the Levant during antiquity. For example, in discussing the statue of the nurse Sitsnefru discovered in Adana, Turkey, Winlock reconstructed part of the woman's life as follows:

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that most of what will be discussed in this section is true of other Egyptian objects as well, but a particular emphasis was placed on sculpture.

<sup>11</sup> e.g., finds from Byblos, which include inscribed stone vessels, that date back as early as the Old Kingdom. For further discussion, see Chapter 3.

“Journeying into what were, in her days, distant lands, with all her native Egyptian fear of the unknown she had provided herself with a little portrait statuette to house her spirit in case she found her grave there. It was the custom of the countrymen in her day.”<sup>12</sup> Wilson similarly reconstructed a biography for Djehutyhotep, the nomarch of the Hare nome whose fragmentary statue was found at Megiddo (Cat. 28). According to his story, Djehutyhotep may have been exiled following state reforms on the part of Senwosret III, taking “up residence at Megiddo where he lived out the rest of his life. His presence at Megiddo would not be as an Egyptian official but as a hapless exile who left his funerary statue as the last tie between himself and his homeland. He would no doubt have gained local prominence (*sic.*) and high position in the service of a Canaanite prince (as did Sinuhe) but his statue recorded the memory of the dignity he had once held in Egypt.”<sup>13</sup> The common thread among these narrative explanations is the belief espoused by many, including Stevenson Smith, “that other, lesser people who have traveled abroad took their small statues with them to supply their tombs in case they died on their travels.”<sup>14</sup>

To a large extent, problems in the interpretation of private statues outside of Egypt center around their inscriptional content and its bearing on their function. As will become quickly apparent in the catalogue of statuary in Chapter 2, many of the private works incorporate the *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula. This formula, which in its basic form translates to “A gift the king gives to Osiris (or another deity) that he might give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, meat and fowl to the *ka* of ...,” serves a primarily funerary function, ensuring that the person named in the text and represented by the statue will continue to receive necessary sustenance in the afterlife. While the formula

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<sup>12</sup> Winlock 1921, 210. The statue is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 18.2.2).

<sup>13</sup> Ward 1961, 41.

<sup>14</sup> W. S. Smith 1969, 279.



fulfills a funerary purpose, however, it does not require a funerary context to do so. In fact, the performative aspect of the formula, whereby those that encounter it are encouraged to recite it in honor of the person named, is better served by the statue being set up in a public or semi-public space.<sup>15</sup> This means that, while a tomb chapel would have been the most appropriate location to display a private statue in many periods, it was not the only option.<sup>16</sup>

### *1.2.2 – Middle Kingdom Statues: The Crux of the Problem*

The significant number of Middle Kingdom statues within the corpus has presented unique problems to the interpretation of statue presence in the Levant.<sup>17</sup> Early on, those who wanted to establish the historicity of an Egyptian Asiatic Empire during the Middle Bronze Age especially welcomed the plurality of examples dating to this period.<sup>18</sup> In these early studies, it was universally assumed that the statues were sent or brought by the persons whom they represent, establishing a clear chronological link between the two regions at the period in which the statue was manufactured. However, as a clearer portrait of the Middle Kingdom/Middle Bronze Age began to take shape, the existence of an empire substantial enough to necessitate the large numbers of statues and statuary fragments discovered was simply not borne out by the evidence. Furthermore, it was observed that Middle Kingdom statues almost universally appear in later, LB or Iron

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<sup>15</sup> This can be seen in the increasing popularity of displaying such statues in temples rather than private tombs over time.

<sup>16</sup> For the assumption that the statues must have been designed for use in tombs, see, e.g., Gill and Padgham 2005, 48, 51; Weinstein 1974, 55. It should be noted that even statues designed for tomb use would have usually been set up in publically accessible tomb chapels, not deposited within the burial itself. Furthermore, the potential for innovation in a foreign context should not be ignored; it is possible that Middle Kingdom Egyptians chose to put their statues in Levantine temples simply because a tradition of elaborate private tombs with chapels accessible to the public did not exist locally.

<sup>17</sup> Indeed, over half of the works in this study have been dated to the Middle Kingdom. For further discussion of this trend, see Chapter 3.2.

<sup>18</sup> Albright was particularly instrumental in this approach (Albright 1922; Albright 1928; Albright 1935).

Age contexts. A new explanation for the transference of statues from Egypt to the Levant was therefore sought out.

Helck was the first to seriously consider the possibility that Egyptian statues (both royal and private) found in the great cities of the Levant had not been placed there (either directly or indirectly) by the people that they represent, as had previously been assumed.<sup>19</sup> He was particularly struck by inscriptions present on certain examples that make reference to Egyptian gods and goddesses and their native cult places, but not to Levantine deities or locales. His interest was further piqued by a similar assemblage of Middle Kingdom material from Kerma in Nubia. Of particular significance in this regard are the statues of the nomarch Djefaihapi – one found at Kerma and another at Tell Hizzin in Lebanon.<sup>20</sup> Although previously identified by Reisner as the Egyptian-appointed governor of Kerma, the titles held by this nomarch of Assiut do not seem to correlate with him having played a major political role on the global stage. Building on Säve-Söderbergh's work with the Kerma material, Helck therefore proposed that the numerous Middle Kingdom statues found in Levantine contexts had been looted from their original emplacements and dispatched to the Levant at a much later date, likely during the Second Intermediate Period when the Hyksos may have had a keen interest in sending genuine Egyptian works of art back to their homeland.<sup>21</sup>

Weinstein also raised concerns about the appearance of Middle Kingdom works in Levantine contexts.<sup>22</sup> His focus was on materials coming from the southern Levant, which he argued was too underdeveloped during the Middle Bronze Age to have been of

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<sup>19</sup> Helck 1971, 68–71; Helck 1976.

<sup>20</sup> Cat. 134; Reisner 1918; Reisner 1975, 34 (no. 27).

<sup>21</sup> Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 114; Helck 1971, 68–71; Helck 1976.

<sup>22</sup> Weinstein 1974; Weinstein 1975.

any significant interest to the powerful Egyptian government responsible for the construction of the elaborate Nubian fortress system at this time. His views represented a complete 180-degree turn from previous scholarship, which emphasized pharaonic interest in the region.<sup>23</sup> Like Helck, he came to the conclusion that the Hyksos period provides the strongest candidate for when the Middle Kingdom statues were sent to the southern Levant.

To avoid divesting the statues entirely from any contributions they might make to the study of Egypto-Levantine relations during the Middle Kingdom, other scholars have chosen to divide the corpus between royal and private works. For example, Thalmann argued that royal statues were sent contemporaneously with their manufacture, while private works were dispatched later via Hyksos looting of Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Scandone Matthiae views the numerous 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal statues recovered from Syrian and Lebanese contexts as providing strong evidence for interconnections during that period.<sup>25</sup>

More recently, Ahrens' thorough study of *aegyptiaca* in the northern Levant has again advanced the theory that most, if not all, Middle Kingdom objects arrived in the Levant at a later date, most probably during Hyksos' sovereignty.<sup>26</sup> This view is bolstered by the fact that, with the increase in archaeological data, it is becoming more and more clear that the depositional contexts of Middle Kingdom statuary consistently date to later eras of Levantine history.

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<sup>23</sup> See Cohen 2012 for the effects of this study on scholarship, and subsequent adjustments.

<sup>24</sup> Thalmann 1999. He follows the view that the private works cannot have arrived in the Levant contemporaneously because of their funerary function.

<sup>25</sup> Scandone Matthiae 1989a; 1989b; 1997; 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Ahrens 2011a; Ahrens 2011b; Ahrens 2013; Ahrens 2015a; Ahrens 2015b.

### *1.2.3 – A Legacy of Chronological Confusion*

One noteworthy facet of the role that Egyptian statues have played in our broader understanding of the historical development of the Levant, and indeed the wider Mediterranean in general, is their function in early attempts to reconstruct the region's chronology. When modern archaeology was still in its infancy, the possibility that objects of any type, but foreign imports in particular, could be found in contexts of a significantly later date than their initial use was unthinkable. Statues and other objects from Egypt were therefore frequently employed as chronological anchor points for stratigraphic sequences, and by extension Levantine chronology, owing in part to the fact that Egyptian chronology was much better understood at that time.<sup>27</sup> However, it quickly became clear that this was not the case, as more and more “chronological misfits” began to populate the archaeological record.<sup>28</sup>

The blatant chronological discord between the date at which the object must have been produced and the point at which it entered the archaeological record gave rise to the heirloom hypothesis. According to this view, foreign prestige goods entered a foreign environment at a time roughly contemporary with their date of manufacture. They then continued to be treasured and passed down over time before ultimately being buried. While this is almost certainly the path that some objects of Egyptian origin took, the sheer number of works indicates that this cannot be the case in all instances. As Pomerance summarized, “when a whole group of Egyptian objects appear consistently out of time context, the “heirloom” defense is an abuse of historical fact.”<sup>29</sup> As noted above, this led to a search for new explanations of how Egyptian materials came to be

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<sup>27</sup> Scarabs bearing royal names were particularly favored in this usage.

<sup>28</sup> Merrillees 1972, 283; Pomerance 1973, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Pomerance 1973, 24.

used in foreign lands. The obvious conclusion was that some of the material must have been dispatched from Egypt at a later date, after it had already fulfilled its primary use domestically. Such approaches have produced varied explanations for how this came to be, with differing levels of success.<sup>30</sup> Implications for the usefulness of these objects in chronological studies remains bleak, but not so grim as implied by Sir Arthur Evans' statement that: "As to the alternative thesis, according to which the manufactures of one Age were exported in another, it is not too much to say that, if such a supposition is to prevail, Archaeology as a science is at an end."<sup>31</sup>

### 1.3 – Textual Evidence for Egyptian Statues in the Levant

#### 1.3.1 – Middle Kingdom

For the Middle Kingdom, the most important textual evidence for statue movement abroad comes from an enigmatic passage in the *Teaching for Merikare*, a didactic text set during the Heracleopolitan Period (Dynasties 9-10).<sup>32</sup> In the text, King Khety presents his heir Merikare with advice on ruling. The passage of interest here appears in a section dedicated to proper cultic activity and the importance of legacy. Frustratingly, the crucial phrase appears in only one of the four preserved witnesses to the text, pLeningrad Ermitage 1116 A verso.<sup>33</sup> In the twenty-fourth stanza, Merikare is told:<sup>34</sup>

*rh.n ntr m irw n.f*  
God knows the one who acts for him.

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<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, Pomerance's equally improbable suggestion that Egyptian material found on Crete arrived there via an elaborate system of tomb robbery during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in which members of the officialdom acted as fences for what were already at that time antiquated Egyptian objects (Pomerance 1973). For a critique of this view see Phillips 1992, 183–86. Other approaches, such as Helck's Hyksos hypothesis, have found more sure footing.

<sup>31</sup> Evans 1921, 88n2.


<sup>32</sup> The text itself was composed later, most probably at some point during the Middle Kingdom. All extant copies of the text date to the New Kingdom.

<sup>33</sup> Two additional papyrus copies are known, as well as an ostrakon.

<sup>34</sup> pLeningrad Ermitage 1116 A line 67 (Golénischeff 1913, pl. 11; Helck 1977, 40; Quack 1992, 178).

*sb tww.k<sup>35</sup> r h3st w3yt*  
Send your statues<sup>36</sup> to a distant foreign land

*iwty dd.sn shwy iry*  
who do not make a gathering thereof.

Singularly among Egyptian texts of the Middle Kingdom, this passage seems, therefore, to advocate for the dispatch of royal statues to foreign lands.<sup>37</sup> The disagreement arises from the reading of the signs that follow the verb *sb* “to send,” which has been transcribed from the hieratic as follows: .<sup>38</sup> Clearly legible are the signs for *tw*, followed by an oblique stroke, the plural marker, and the possessive *k*. Most scholars identify the *tw* as the beginning of the word *twt* “statue,” with the oblique line representing an undecipherable determinative.<sup>39</sup> Others remain doubtful, preferring to read the *tw* as the passive marker.<sup>40</sup> This suggestion arises largely from the lack of external evidence for the practice of sending Egyptian statues abroad at such an early period, aside from the appearance of Middle Kingdom statues in foreign contexts of substantially later date.

<sup>35</sup> See below for further discussion of the reading of this word.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of *twt* statues, see Ockinga 1984, 3–32, with reference to this text on page 5.

<sup>37</sup> It should be noted that the Levant may not be included among these distant lands, as no proper names or geographical indications are given.

<sup>38</sup> Helck 1977, 40.

<sup>39</sup> *Wb.* V: 255–56. Note the following translations: “your images, of which they can make no compilation, will spread to a far foreign country” (Parkinson 1997, 221); “Let your images be sent to distant foreign lands, (even ones) which will not acknowledge them” (Tobin 2003, 159); “Schicke deine Statuen in ein fernes Ausland (?), Von dem man keine Zusammenstellung gibt (??)” (Quack 1992, 41). Burkard argued that a similar irregular spelling of *twt* “statue” elsewhere in the papyrus where the correct reading is supported by another text witness supports this interpretation, but his comment was refuted by Quack (Burkard 1977, 20; Quack 1992, 41nd).

<sup>40</sup> In this reading the oblique line is interpreted as an abbreviated writing of *b3w* “power” (Helck 1977, 41; Blumenthal 1980, 12). Thus the passage would read “your power (*b3w*) is sent to a distant foreign land....” Lichtheim is similarly skeptical about reading *tww.k* as “your statues,” but does not provide a more probable solution, choosing instead to skip this section of the text (2006a, 107n9).

Evidence for the transport of royal statues abroad during the Middle Kingdom may also be found on the limestone stela of Iaa-ib discovered at Abydos.<sup>41</sup> There, among the numerous other titles that the Overseer of Works Iaa-ib bears, is that of *šms mnw n ity r ḥ3st w3yt*,<sup>42</sup> “he who accompanies the monuments of the sovereign to distant foreign lands.”<sup>43</sup> Although statues are not referred to by name, statuary is a recognized sub-category of *mnw*, and is likely to be included among the monuments mentioned here.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, while the Levant is not explicitly referenced, Iaa-ib’s duties could plausibly have included activities in such “foreign lands.”<sup>45</sup>

### 1.3.2 – New Kingdom

New Kingdom textual sources for the presence of Egyptian statuary in foreign lands go beyond the brief mentions of dispatch found in the Middle Kingdom texts, providing glimpses into how statues could be acquired by Levantine peoples, where they were set up, and even how they functioned. One such reference can be found in Ramesses II’s lengthy texts detailing his campaigns in the region. In one instance, Ramesses describes Dapur, the object of his attack, as “this Hittite town that the statue (*twt*) of pharaoh, l.p.h., is in.”<sup>46</sup> More precise evidence for the presence of Egyptian statuary in the Levant can be found in the Great Harris Papyrus, which details important events,

<sup>41</sup> Cairo CG 20086. PM V: 57; H. O. Lange and Schäfer 1902, I:101–3; Lichtheim 1988, 127–28.

<sup>42</sup> The published transcription of the stela indicates that the reading of *w3yt* here is uncertain (H. O. Lange and Schäfer 1902, I:101).

<sup>43</sup> Scandone Matthiae 2000, 190. For the verb *šms* as “geleiten, transportieren,” see Hannig 2006, II: 2459.

<sup>44</sup> *Wb.* II: 70.3.

<sup>45</sup> However, only Nubia is referenced directly in the inscription, where Iaa-ib claims to be “one whom the king sent to open (*wb3*) Kush.”

<sup>46</sup> *KRI* II: 174.13–14; *RITA* II: 47. This statement is preserved in two copies of Ramesses’ war texts, one recorded in the forecourt of Luxor Temple, and the other in the hypostyle hall of the Ramesseum. The word *twt*, here translated as “statue,” is determined in both instances with a standing image of the king holding a walking stick (*Wb.* V: 255–56).

including temple donations, from the reign of the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Ramesses III.<sup>47</sup> In the text, Ramesses states:<sup>48</sup>

*kd.i n.k hwt šṭṭt m t3 n D3h3*

I built for you a secret temple in the land of Djahy

*mity 3ht nt pt nty m hrt m hwt (R<sup>c</sup>-mss hḳ3 Twnw)| ʕ.w.s. m p3 Kn<sup>c</sup>n*

[it being] like the horizon of heaven, which is in the sky, as “the temple of Ramesses, ruler of Heliopolis, l.p.h., in the Canaan”

*m imy-pr n rn.k*

as the property of your name.

*msy.i sšmw.k wr htp m-hnw.f*

I fashioned your great statue<sup>49</sup> [to] rest within it,

*Imn n (R<sup>c</sup>-mss hḳ3 Twnw)| ʕ.w.s.*

Amun of Ramesses-ruler-of-Heliopolis, l.p.h.<sup>50</sup>

*iw n.f h3stiw nw Rtnw hr inw.sn n hr.f mi ntry.f*

The foreigners of Retjenu came to it bearing their *inw*-offerings<sup>51</sup> to its face in accordance with its divinity.

*st3.i t3 dmd n.k hr b3kw.sn r ms.w r W3st niwt.k šṭṭt*

I brought the land, collected for you, bearing their taxes, in order to bring them to Thebes, your secret city.

Several aspects of this brief passage are of particular interest to the study of Egyptian statuary in the Levant being undertaken here. First and foremost, it provides clear evidence that a statue of an Egyptian deity was erected in a Levantine context by an Egyptian monarch. Secondly, it gives a glimpse of how some Egyptian statues in the Levant functioned, namely that they could act as the recipients of local taxes to be sent back to Thebes.

<sup>47</sup> pHarris I (BM 9999). The text was composed during the reign of Ramesses III's son and successor Ramesses IV. For publication of the text with commentary, see Grandet 1994.

<sup>48</sup> pHarris I, 9.1-3 (Grandet 1994, I: 232; II: pl. 9; Erichsen 1933, 11).

<sup>49</sup> *Wb.* IV: 291.6-18; Lesko and Lesko 2002, II: 80-81. For a discussion of *sšmw* statues, see Ockinga 1984, 40–51.

<sup>50</sup> “Amun of Ramesses-ruler-of-Heliopolis, l.p.h.” is the name of the statue.

<sup>51</sup> For the meanings and use of *inw*, see Bleiberg 1984.



Ramesses III's statement that his statue of Amun was placed in a temple in "the Canaan" further raises the question of how the temple structures that housed Egyptian statues in the Levant were classified by the Egyptians, and suggests that some Egyptian temples did exist in the region.<sup>52</sup> The location of the temple referred to in pHarris I is generally assumed to be Gaza,<sup>53</sup> although other suggestions, most notably Beth Shean, have been put forth.<sup>54</sup> Additional Egyptian temples in the region have been posited from other sources. For instance, the Medamud statue of Minmose lists the state temples that he performed works in on behalf of his sovereign Thutmose III. The list is presented geographically from south to north, ending with the temple of Hathor, mistress of Byblos, and a temple of Amun, the location of which is now lost, although the geographic arrangement of the rest of the list would suggest a location in the Levant.<sup>55</sup> One significant aspect of potential Egyptian temples in the Levant from the perspective of the current study is that a temple cannot exist without a cult statue. Granted, Egyptian cult statues were usually made out of precious materials such as gold, but this need not always have been the case, especially in a foreign context. For instance, it has been proposed that the life-size basalt statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21) served just such a purpose.

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<sup>52</sup> A summary of the evidence for Egyptian temples in the Levant can be found in Weinstein 1981, 19–20; Wimmer 1990; Wimmer 1998.

<sup>53</sup> Weinstein 1981, 19; Wimmer 1990, 1086–88; Wimmer 1998, 99–100; Morris 2005, 727–29; Morris 2015b, 183. Three scarabs (one from Beth Shemesh and two from Tell el-Far'a South) inscribed with "the temple of Ramesses III, ruler of Heliopolis" (*pr R<sup>c</sup>-mss ḥkꜣ Twnw*) may provide further evidence for this temple (Uehlinger 1988).

<sup>54</sup> Grandet 1994, II: 50n194. While this identification is unlikely, it could account for the basalt statue of Ramesses III excavated at Beth Shean (Cat. 21). Higginbotham is also wary of equating *Pꜣ Kn<sup>c</sup>n* in pHarris I with Gaza, but refutes Grandet's identification of it with Beth Shean as well (2000, 58).

<sup>55</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1443.19–20. The leading contender is Gaza, but this attribution is by no means certain, with Ullaza or Ugarit also remaining strong possibilities (Helck 1971, 444–45; Wimmer 1990, 1090–91; Wimmer 1998, 101–2; Morris 2015a, 326–27; Morris 2015b, 177–81). For further discussion of Minmose's role in the Levant, which included tax collection, see Morris 2015b, 172.

The exchange of statues between Egypt and her neighbors to the east is further evidenced by diplomatic correspondence dating to the New Kingdom. Of particular interest in this regard are the Amarna Letters, several of which illustrate a desire for Egyptian sculptural works. It must be acknowledged, however, that while the high quality of Egyptian craftsmanship may have contributed to other powers' interest in the statues, the primary motivator in procuring Egyptian statues was clearly acquiring the precious materials from which they were made. This is particularly evident in a series of letters between the Mitanni king Tushratta and the Egyptian royal family.<sup>56</sup> In his letters to Queen Tiye and Amenhotep IV, Tushratta complains that despite his request for solid-cast gold statues from Amenhotep III, gold-plated wooden statues were all that was sent. Gifts of or requests for statues made of precious metals also appear in Egypt's correspondence with the Hittites and the Kassites.<sup>57</sup>

Also of importance is an Akkadian letter excavated at the site of Ugarit during the 1988 season.<sup>58</sup> The letter, the beginning of which is lost, is written from the Egyptian court to the king of Ugarit, in part in response to his request for access to an Egyptian sculptor. The section of the letter that is pertinent to the present study reads:

“Et voici ce que toi, tu as écrit: ‘Que le roi accorde que vienne un sculpteur et [qu’il sor]te vers m[oi( ?)] pour faire une image de Marniptah Hatpamua en face de l’image de Ba‘al qu’il a présentée dans le temple que, moi, je suis en train de faire pour Ba‘al de l’Ougarit.’ Toi, tu t’es exprimé ainsi.

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<sup>56</sup> EA 26, EA 27, EA 29 (Moran 1992, 84–90, 92–99). Tushratta had previously requested an image of his daughter in molten gold from Amenhotep III (EA 24; Moran 1992, 68).

<sup>57</sup> EA 14 makes reference to inlaid female figurines, “1 large statuette that is overlaid with gold, of the king, and its pedestal is overlaid with silver,” and similar gold images of the king’s wife and daughter, as well as “21 female figurines, of stone” (Moran 1992, 27–37). In EA 41, Shuppiluliumash requests 2 gold statues, one standing and one seated, as well as 2 silver female statues (Moran 1992, 114–15). Note also EA 55, in which Akizzi of Qatna requests gold from which a divine statue can be fashioned (Moran 1992, 127–28; Morris 2015a, 321–22).

<sup>58</sup> RS 88.2158; National Museum of Damascus DO 7790 (Lackebacher 1995a; Lackebacher 1995b; Lackebacher 1997; Lackebacher 1999; Lackebacher 2001).

Les sculpteurs qui travaillent ici, en Égypte, sont en train d'exécuter la tâche requise pour les grands dieux d'Égypte. Vois: comme le roi est assis sur le trône du Soleil ceux-ci travaillent pour les grands dieux d'Égypte; et comme ceux-ci *achèvent (leur travail)*, le roi enverra vers toi les menuisiers dont tu as parlé pour que ceux-ci fassent (alors) tous les (types de) travaux que toi tu leur ordonneras (en disant): 'Fais-les!'"<sup>59</sup>

The letter's content can be summarized as follows: the Ugaritic king has requested an Egyptian-trained sculptor to travel to his city in order to produce an image of Merenptah, the reigning Egyptian monarch.<sup>60</sup> That the craftsman is meant to create this image out of stone is evident from the Akkadian word used for "sculptor."<sup>61</sup> What type of image he is supposed to produce is less clear, however, as the word for "image" used in the text could indicate a statue, a statuette, or even a stela.<sup>62</sup> This work, whatever its form, is to be set up before an image of Ba'al in Ugarit that had itself been furnished by the Egyptian monarch. Egypt politely declines to send the artist, however, using the excuse that all available sculptors are currently employed working for the gods of Egypt.

The rationale behind Egypt's refusal is unclear. Some suggest that the issue lies in an unwillingness to erect an image of the Egyptian monarch in front of a foreign deity.<sup>63</sup> Others point towards more mundane political issues that might be at hand, noting that Ugarit at this time belonged to the Hittites, not the Egyptians, and that the dedication of such a statue could have been viewed as an

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<sup>59</sup> Lackenbacher 2001, 241.

<sup>60</sup> Lackenbacher notes that the Akkadian *Hatpamua* must be a rendering of the latter portion of Merenptah's nomen, *Hetephermaat* (1995a, 110n13).

<sup>61</sup> Lackenbacher 2001, 242. Some confusion on this subject remains, however, with some scholars suggesting a wooden statue is to be made. See, e.g., Morris 2015a, 324, with further references.

<sup>62</sup> Lackenbacher 2001, 243. This fact is often overlooked, with scholars adopting whichever translation best fits their purposes, e.g., L. Fisher 2010, 619 who refers to the image as a stela or Forstner-Müller and Kopetzky 2009, 162 and Morris 2015a who refer to it as a statue.

<sup>63</sup> Lackenbacher 1995a, 116.

act of hostility on the part of the Egyptians.<sup>64</sup> In any event, the letter indicates that foreign interest in Egyptian-produced works of art, and statuary in particular, did not end with the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Amarna letters. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that, as evidenced in the Amarna correspondence, repeated requests and refusals were part of standard diplomatic discourse, and that this refusal may not have been the final answer from the Egyptian court, but merely an early response in a long, drawn out negotiation.<sup>65</sup>

### *1.3.3 – Third Intermediate Period and Later*

The movement of Egyptian sculptural works to the Levant and beyond also features in texts composed after the collapse of Egypt's eastern empire. Unlike the texts discussed above, which tend to be historical in nature and mention statues only briefly, the later sources are fictional narratives in which the statue takes on an active role. Of particular interest in this regard are the *Report of Wenamun* and the Bentresh Stela, each of which contributes to a more extensive view of how statues were thought to participate in world events. It should be noted that the type of statue appearing in these stories is also different; while the historical texts primarily deal with images of mortals (usually the king), here the stars of the show are portable divine statues. More importantly, in both narratives the intention from the outset is clearly that the statues will travel abroad and return, unlike the earlier statues, which were meant to remain. These texts will therefore be discussed only briefly here.

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<sup>64</sup> Morris 2015a.

<sup>65</sup> Morris 2015a, 342–45.

The *Report of Wenamun* relates the misadventures of Wenamun, an Egyptian official in the employ of Amun in Thebes just after the collapse of the New Kingdom.<sup>66</sup> Wenamun is tasked with journeying to Lebanon to procure cedar for Amun's new divine barque, only to be met with a series of misfortunes and setbacks along the way. Wenamun's travelling companion on his journey is a statue of Amun named Amun-of-the-Road (*Imn-t3-mit*).<sup>67</sup> Wenamun refers to the statue several times during his stay in Byblos, first alerting the reader to its presence when he says that he "[made a hiding place for] Amun-of-the-Road and placed his possessions in it."<sup>68</sup> When Wenamun subsequently prepares to make a hasty withdrawal from Byblos, he is hampered by the fact that he cannot remove the statue from its hiding place when it is possible that someone else might lay eyes upon the god.<sup>69</sup> Meanwhile, Amun himself has already revealed the statue's presence through an entranced intermediary who tells the prince of Byblos to "'Bring [the] god up! Bring the envoy who is carrying him!'"<sup>70</sup> Later, when Wenamun has an audience with the prince of Byblos, he becomes irate on the god/statue's behalf, stating: "But look, you have let this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored in your harbor. Did you not know that he was here? Is he not he who he was? You are prepared to haggle over the Lebanon with Amun, its lord?"<sup>71</sup> Wenamun's ongoing discussion with the prince further reveals a way in which statues were thought to participate in international relations, as well as the reverence that

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<sup>66</sup> pMoscow 120 (Gardiner 1932, 61–76; Schipper 2005; Wente 2003c; Lichtheim 2006b, 224–30).

<sup>67</sup> Leitz 2002a, 317. The name is determined with the divine standard determinative (Gardiner G7). For the identification of Amun-of-the-Road as a statue, as well as excavated examples of travellers' statues, see Schipper 2005, 179–82.

<sup>68</sup> Lichtheim 2006b, 225.

<sup>69</sup> Lichtheim 2006b, 225.

<sup>70</sup> Lichtheim 2006b, 225.

<sup>71</sup> Lichtheim 2006b, 227. Note that, in accordance with Egyptian belief system, the statue is understood to be equivalent to the god, not a mere representation of him.

Egyptians thought their divine statues should be extended. Wenamun states: “Should you not rejoice and have a stela [made] for yourself, and say on it: ‘Amen-Re, King of Gods, sent me Amun-of-the-Road, his envoy, together with Wenamun, his human envoy, in quest of timber for the great noble bark...’”<sup>72</sup> Thus it is the statue itself that acts as envoy to the foreign court, with the human merely serving as his representative.

A divine statue plays an even more heavy-handed role in the narrative of the Bentresh Stela.<sup>73</sup> In the tale, which is set during the reign of Ramesses II but was composed much later, Khonsu-the-Planner-in-Thebes (*Hnsw p3 ir shr m W3st*), a divine statue of the Theban deity Khonsu, plays a pivotal role.<sup>74</sup> After Ramesses’ sister-in-law Bentresh the princess of Bakhtan falls ill, it is determined that only Khonsu can cure her ailment.<sup>75</sup> A statue of the deity is therefore sent to Bakhtan, whereupon he quickly rids the princess of the spirit that had possessed her. The ruler of Bakhtan, having seen the efficacy of the statue/god, does not want to permit him to return to Egypt as promised, however, detaining him for nearly four years. Ultimately the god effects his own return, sending nightmares to the prince until he agrees to send him home, replete with offerings for the temple in Thebes.

The roles played by divine statues in the *Report of Wenamun* and the Bentresh Stela present a snapshot of the ways in which divine statues could participate in international discourse. While travelling statues are unlikely to have been a frequent phenomenon, it is clear that a precedent existed for statues to move in either direction for

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<sup>72</sup> Lichtheim 2006b, 228.

<sup>73</sup> Louvre C 284. *KRI* II: 284-87; Lichtheim 2006c, 90–94; Ritner 2003. A second witness to the tale was found in Luxor Temple (Ritner 2003, 361).

<sup>74</sup> The text is thought to date anywhere from the end of the Third Intermediate Period to the Ptolemaic Period. For an overview of the suggestions with further references, see Witthuhn et al. 2015, 62–67.

<sup>75</sup> The location of the otherwise unattested Bakhtan is unknown, although it has been suggested that *Bh̥tn* is a corrupted writing of Bactria. For a recent summary of the discussion pertaining to this locality, see Witthuhn et al. 2015, 31–34.

a variety of reasons.<sup>76</sup> Among these motivations were the negotiation of trade deals and the use of the divine powers of the deities embodied by the sculptures. Furthermore, it is clear that these trips could take place either at the behest of an Egyptian entity or the request of a foreign ruler. Once the mission was completed, however, the ultimate goal was the statue's return home, often bringing with it increased wealth.

This is not to say that the permanent dedication of statues in foreign contexts ceased during the later periods of Egyptian history. In this vein, Herodotus relates that Amasis “showed his goodwill to Greece by sending presents to be dedicated in Greek temples,” including a gold-plated statue of Athena sent to Cyrene, two stone statues to the temple of Athena in Lindos, and two wooden images of the king himself given to Hera in Samos.<sup>77</sup> Although this non-Egyptian source concerns relations with Greece rather than the Levant, the continuation of a broader tradition of statue dispatch dating back at least to the Middle Kingdom is clear.

#### **1.4 – The Purpose and Function of Egyptian Statuary**

Although often looked at from an entirely aesthetic perspective by modern viewers, statues for the ancient Egyptians who produced them were much more. Within the Egyptian worldview, statues were not mere works of art, but rather repositories for the *ka* (life-force) or *ba* (essence) of the individual depicted that could be inhabited at any

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<sup>76</sup> For the reverse situation, see a letter from Tushratta to Amenhotep III indicating Ishtar of Nineveh's intent to travel to Egypt and then return home (EA 23; Moran 1992, 61–62).

<sup>77</sup> *Histories* II: 182 (Herodotus 2003, 169; Gunter 2009, 144–5). Herodotus further explains the nuanced reasons motivating monarchs to send statues, stating that the objects given to Samos “were a mark of his friendship with the ruler of Samos... but the gifts to Lindos in Rhodes were not the expression of any personal feeling, but were given because of the tradition that the temple of Athene there was founded by the daughters of Danaus, who touched at the island during their flight from the sons of Aegyptus.”

time.<sup>78</sup> They fulfilled many purposes, serving as focal points for cultic rituals and offerings that imbued the statues (and by extension the person depicted) with requisite nourishment for the afterlife; allowed elite members of society to participate in temple festivities in perpetuity; and ensured that the king never failed to perform the necessary rituals and provide the required offerings to the gods in his role as maintainer of *maat*.

Ancient Egyptian artists produced statues of many different types in a range of sizes and for varied functions. These statues could depict humans, gods, or semi-divine kings. Regardless of whom it represented, an intact statue was viewed as a living entity with the ability to act both in this world and the next.<sup>79</sup> This animated aspect is clearly indicated by one of the Egyptian terms for sculptor, *sꜥnh*, which literally means “the one who causes to live.”<sup>80</sup> The fact that the Egyptians did not understand statues to be inert portrayals of people or deities, but rather actively participating stand-ins for that which they represent cannot be overstated, particularly when considering works in the present corpus.

This is not to say that the inanimate physical structures of statues were overlooked. Indeed, the material(s) from which a statue was created played a role in how it was used, and often provided supplemental meanings to the statue.<sup>81</sup> This was particularly true for statues made from the wide selection of stones available both indigenously and through trade as, from the earliest periods of pharaonic history, stone epitomized the element of permanence in an ever-changing world. Another feature of this

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<sup>78</sup> Note Ptah’s claim in the Memphite Theology that “He made their bodies according to their wishes. Thus the gods entered into their bodies, Of every wood, every stone, every clay...” in reference to divine cult statues (Lichtheim 2006a, 55).

<sup>79</sup> For the agency of statues in ancient Egypt, see Meskell 2004, chap. 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Wb.* IV: 47.14; Lesko and Lesko 2002, II: 14.

<sup>81</sup> See discussion of materials below.



materiality was the mobility of the statue as a form. Just how mobile a statue or statuette was was obviously a function of the materials used to construct it and its size; colossal stone statues are exponentially more difficult to move than wood or metal statuettes. Nonetheless, this potential for movement was something that the Egyptian's valued about statues, as opposed to other forms of art, such as wall relief.<sup>82</sup>

As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, different statues served different purposes. These functions were often tied to what class of personage the statue represented. Divine statues could serve either as cult statues in temples or shrines, or be dedicated as votive offerings. Private statues, on the other hand, often functioned as stand-ins for the deceased in funerary environments or in temple settings. Royal statues were utilized in a wider range of contexts, playing a prominent role in temple decoration, but also being heavily featured in mortuary complexes perpetuating the lives of deceased kings. Beyond their ritual roles, statues could also act as members of their local communities, hearing petitions, owning property, and even employing staff.

In many instances, the roles fulfilled by Egyptian statues in Levantine contexts seem to have remained much the same as they were in Egypt.<sup>83</sup> They were primarily utilized in temple contexts (either as cult statues or votive offerings) and as palace decoration. Being outside of their cultural contexts in most cases, they would have taken on new meanings, whether as symbols of friendship between allies, evidence of the defeat of enemies, or merely as beautiful curiosities.

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<sup>82</sup> Bryan 2010, 925. This would have particularly been true for cult statues made of precious materials, which were made on a smaller scale and sometimes travelled outside of their shrines as part of festival processions.

<sup>83</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the functions of Egyptian statuary in the Levant, see Chapter 4.

## 1.5 – Art Historical Approaches to the Study of Egyptian Sculpture

The focus of this study is Egyptian statuary, that is to say works of sculpture in the round. While a detailed discussion of either the historical development of statuary in ancient Egypt or of the methods for studying it by art historians is outside the scope of the present study, a brief introduction to the art historical analysis of sculpture will be provided here in order to furnish a framework for this dissertation and introduce some of the methodologies used in its undertaking.<sup>84</sup> It has long been lamented that a consistent and systematic approach to the study of Egyptian art is lacking within the field of Egyptology.<sup>85</sup> This problem is compounded by the fact that the work carried out by those scholars who do strive to employ such an approach to the pharaonic artistic canon is frequently less valued by those of other Egyptological subfields, being viewed as more subjective. Nonetheless, time and again the potential for art-based studies to contribute to the answering of more general cultural and historical questions has been demonstrated. This dissertation aims to make such a contribution. In the interest of brevity, only a few topics will be treated here, those of statue classification, statue typology, scale, and statue dating. This will be followed by an overview of the types of materials used to produce the statues in this study and a discussion of the degree to which works within the study can be identified as truly Egyptian.

### 1.5.1 – Statue Classification

At their core, art historical approaches rely on the grouping of objects or artworks based upon like features. For Egyptian sculpture, the most basic level of division can be

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<sup>84</sup> For a recent introduction to the study of ancient Egyptian sculpture from an art historical perspective, see Hartwig 2015. The standard study, although out of date, remains Vandier 1958.

<sup>85</sup> For an overview of the problem, see M. Müller 2013; Russmann 2003, with responses.

made based upon who or what a statue represents. As with the broader corpus of Egyptian statuary, the statues in this study can be classified into one of three categories: divine, royal, or private statues. Divine statues represent deities in the Egyptian pantheon, such as Osiris and his consort Isis, who are particularly favored within the Levantine corpus. Divine statues could fulfill a variety of functions in ancient Egypt. The most immediate was that of the temple cult statue. While such statues were usually produced from precious materials in accordance with the Egyptians' understanding of the corporeal beings of their gods, other materials such as stone were also used on occasion. Stone was also a common choice for votive statues of deities, a function that became increasingly common in later periods. It was to this latter group that most of the divine statues in the present corpus belong.<sup>86</sup>

Royal statues depict members of the ruling family of Egypt. This class of statues includes not only those representing the king himself, but also his wives and daughters.<sup>87</sup> Such statues appeared in a variety of environments in Egypt, including temples, royal mortuary complexes, and palaces. The final class of Egyptian statuary is that depicting private individuals.<sup>88</sup> This class of objects has the broadest variation in quality of execution. Nonetheless, all of these works represent Egyptians of means, as evidenced by their ability to procure a statue carved of stone. Private statues were generally displayed either in mortuary contexts (most commonly private tomb chapels) or in temple courtyards. In some instances, private statues also incorporate divine statue elements. For

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<sup>86</sup> 5 statues in this study have been classified as divine statues (Cats. 8, 9, 13, 23, and 35). With the possible exception of one representing the falcon deity Horus (Cat. 23), all are interpreted as having a votive function.

<sup>87</sup> In this study 43 fragments (some possibly coming from the same statue) have been classified as royal (Appendix II.2). Of these, 5 (Cats. 10, 16, 65, 121, 135) represent royal women.

<sup>88</sup> The largest percentage of statues (76 examples) within the present corpus belong to this class (Appendix II.3). Of these 12 (Cats. 7, 11, 28, 29, 26, 39, 40, 85, 92, 122, 134, 142) belong to members of the highest echelons of society as indicated by their titles and/or type of stone used.

instance, Osirophorous statues depict a private individual offering a smaller statuette of the god Osiris. Within a purely Egyptian context, such statues would have been classified as private works. However, it is unclear how they would have been interpreted in a new, foreign environment, and it is evident that at least some of the works in this corpus were chosen for their representation of Osiris, with little to no regard for the private person attached to the Osiris statuette.<sup>89</sup>

### 1.5.2 – Statue Typology

Egyptian statues can also be grouped typologically based upon the pose that the subject(s) take. On the whole the number of statues poses available remained fairly static throughout pharaonic history, conforming to six main types: standing, seated, block, seated cross-legged, seated asymmetrically, and kneeling (Figs. 1.1-2).<sup>90</sup> The most common were the standing statue and the seated statue, both of which originated during the Old Kingdom and continued in use until the end of ancient Egyptian history. Standing statues (also referred to as striding statues) were used for representations of both males and females. They depict the figure standing with left foot advanced, positioned against a back-pillar.<sup>91</sup> The arms usually hang pendant at the sides, but can also take different positions, such as crossed across the chest. Seated statues depict the figure seated on a throne, chair, or cubic block seat. The feet are placed together against the front of the seat and the hands are usually placed in the lap. The block statue takes a more compact form, representing the human figure sitting upon the ground with his or her knees bent up in

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<sup>89</sup> For instance Cat. 19 from Petra.

<sup>90</sup> For the problems inherent in approaching a typological art historical study of Egyptian material due to a lack of standardized terminology, see Russmann 2003. A summary of the various types of statuary from the perspective of the end of Egyptian history can be found in *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, xxxv–xxxvii.

<sup>91</sup> While males are always shown striding, females often stand with their feet placed side-by-side, especially in earlier examples.

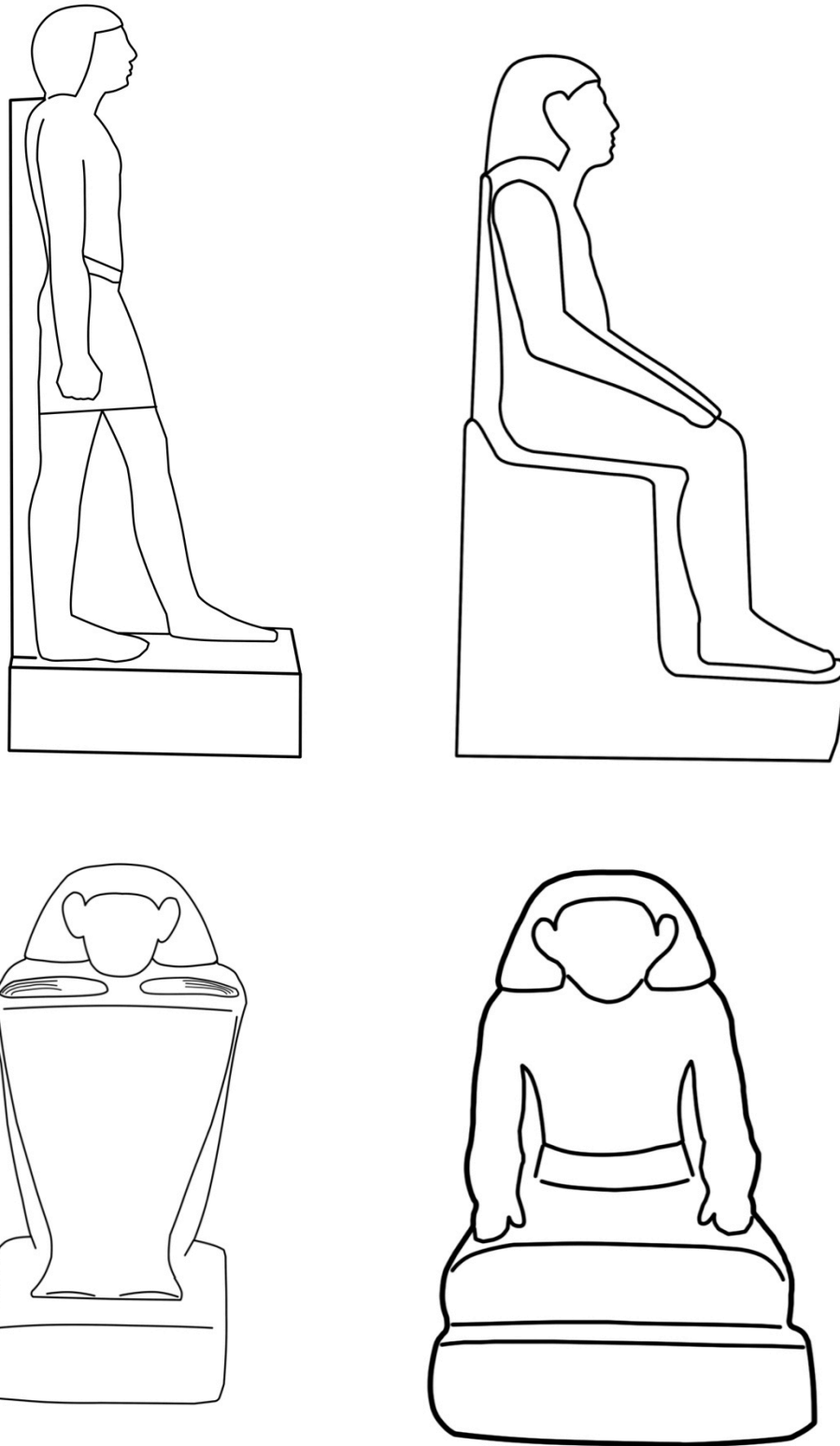


Figure 1.1. Standard ancient Egyptian statuary poses. Clockwise from top left: standing (striding), seated, block, seated cross-legged.

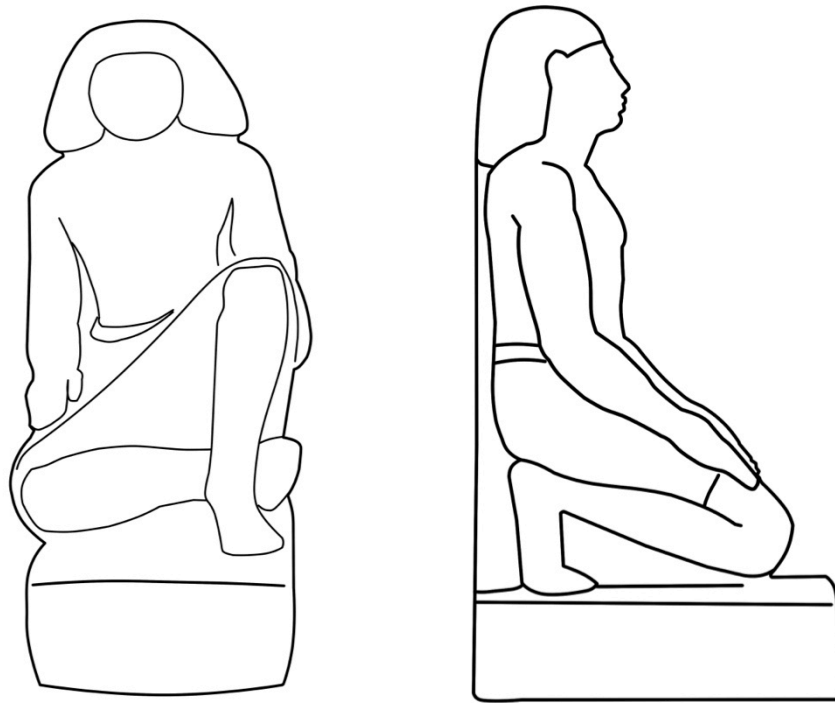


Figure 1.2. Standard ancient Egyptian statuary poses: seated asymmetrically (left) and kneeling (right).

front of him/her, enveloped in a long cloak.<sup>92</sup> The hands are depicted on the top of the cubic shape created by the body. Statues of this type originated during the Middle Kingdom. A fourth style of statue, also originating during the Middle Kingdom, depicts the figure sitting cross-legged upon the ground. These statues are often referred to as squatting statues, although that terminology does not accurately describe the pose in which the figure sits. Owing to this pose's frequent use for scribes writing on papyrus, statues of this type are often referred to as scribal statues, although such terminology should be avoided since it describes the owner's responsibilities rather than the statue's pose.<sup>93</sup> This pose has a number of variations, mostly in hand placement, with the hands being placed either in the lap, one in the lap and one on the chest, or in a writing

<sup>92</sup> *Würfelhocker / statue-cube*. For further treatment of this statue form, see Schulz 1992.

<sup>93</sup> Moreover, the term "scribal" is not universally applicable as all men depicted in this pose are not scribes.

position.<sup>94</sup> A closely related statue type is the asymmetrical seated pose, also referred to as an asymmetrical squatting pose or a scribal pose.<sup>95</sup> The final pose frequently used for Egyptian sculpture is the kneeling pose. In this pose, the subject kneels with both knees on the ground and his feet flexed behind him so that the body balances on the heels with the weight supported by the splayed toes. This pose is utilized when the figure is to be shown presenting offerings of some type. Common sub-types include the stelephorous statue, in which the individual offers a stela, and the Osirophorous statue, in which the individual presents a smaller image of the netherworld god Osiris.<sup>96</sup> An additional statue type, reserved for royal statues, is that of the sphinx, the iconic Egyptian image combining the head of one being (usually that of the ruling monarch) with the body of a lion. This statue type, which was not available for use by the private classes, is particularly well represented in the corpus of statuary from the Levant.<sup>97</sup>

Although the number of available statue types was limited, Egyptian sculptors were masters of innovation, often modifying set styles for the needs of particular patrons. This was the case, for instance, when multiple figures were to be portrayed in a single sculptural work. For example, the group statue of Senwosretankh from Ugarit (Cat. 122) combines two poses into a single statue group, depicting the primary member of the group seated, with a standing female relative to either side. Despite these variations, however, the rigidity of artistic guidelines when it comes to statue poses makes it possible in many cases to reconstruct the overall appearance of works even when only fragments remain. They also make it possible to correct misconceptions about certain

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<sup>94</sup> For the range of poses, see Scott 1989.

<sup>95</sup> See Scott's scribal poses J and K (1989, xix).

<sup>96</sup> For a complete example of this type see Cat. 92.

<sup>97</sup> The corpus under study here contains as many as fifteen sphinxes. For further discussion of this form and its importance in the Levant, see Chapter 4.

Egyptian sculptures that arise from breakage. This is particularly true with the case of the elusive Egyptian bust. Although this term has been applied to several works of sculpture, including some included in this study, the term is almost always a misnomer when referring to Egyptian works.<sup>98</sup> Rather, the illusion of the bust as a type is created by the fragmentation of larger sculptural works.

Other than the figure itself, other elements often make up part of the statue. One of these is the back-pillar (also called the dorsal pillar). This element, which can vary in thickness, is placed directly behind the figure and runs the height of the statue. Originally a functional element meant to lend strength to the statues, its use as a convenient surface for the addition of textual content caused it to be more frequently incorporated into three-dimensional sculptural works over time, even when it was not needed from a purely practical perspective. The back-pillar is most commonly found on standing statues, but can appear on any statue, becoming particularly common on block statues and kneeling statues in later periods. Another element is the statue's base. This is a rectangular block of stone upon which the figure sits or stands. Carved from one piece of stone together with the statue, the base can also provide a surface for inscriptions, which often name the subject of the statue and incorporate standardized texts such as offering formulae.

### *1.5.3 – Scale*

Scale is another design feature that can be used to group sculpture. The ancient Egyptians produced statues in a wide range of sizes, from miniature figurines to colossal representations. Within the study of Egyptian three-dimensional sculpture in general, and of the works contained in this corpus in particular, terms have historically been used quite

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<sup>98</sup> For rare instances of the bust in ancient Egypt, see Kaiser 1990.



fluidly. This is particularly true for what distinguishes a “statue” from a “statuette.” For the purposes of consistency within this study the following terms have been chosen: statue, statuette, and figurine. A statue will be defined as a work that, when complete, measured larger than 20 cm, making it approximately one-eighth life-size or larger. The term statuette will be used for works that, when complete, measured less than 20 cm, excluding works that were 5 cm or smaller, which will be defined as figurines.

#### *1.5.4 – Materials*

Many different types of materials were used for the fabrication of Egyptian statues. The focus in this study is on statues manufactured from stone, a material that was particularly revered for its permanence. As Arnold recently observed, "Above all, for Egyptians stone - in the form of a vessel, a two-dimensional narrative relief, or a figure - had the capability to eternalize whatever it represented. Therefore it is only natural that the reverence for gods, the pharaoh's power, and the care for the deceased found expression in stone images."<sup>99</sup> It should be remembered that statues in other materials, such as wood (which disintegrates) or metal (which is often melted down for the intrinsic value of the material) were also used to make Egyptian statues that made their ways to the Levant.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Dorothea Arnold 2015b, 20.

<sup>100</sup> Particularly for divine statues, works executed in metal better represented the true corporeal nature of the gods, who were understood to have bones of silver, skin of gold, and hair of lapis lazuli (Meeks and Favard-Meeks 1996, 57, 209n22, with further references). Exchange of wood and metal statues is most famously referred to in the Amarna Letters. While the primary interest seems to have lay in the economic value of the raw materials, symbolism behind the materials used and the statues themselves likely also played a role in some instances.

The Egyptians utilized both soft (e.g., limestone, Egyptian alabaster) and hard (e.g., granite, quartzite) stones in the production of statuary. The latter were particularly favored for their durability as well as their array of naturally occurring colors.<sup>101</sup>

A brief introduction to the predominant stones used for statues in the present corpus appears below. The misidentification of stone types is a persistent problem in the study of ancient sculpture in general, and Egyptian statues in particular. This is certainly true for many of the works in this study. An attempt has therefore been made to improve stone identifications where possible.<sup>102</sup> Because stone is merely carved into its final form, the makeup of the raw material is not altered in the production process. This means that under the correct conditions, stones can be provenanced to a specific quarry.<sup>103</sup> While such an examination is outside the scope of this dissertation, future stone analysis could aid in determining where some of the statues in this corpus originated.

#### 1.5.4.1 – Basalt

Basalt is a dark gray to black-colored, fine-grained igneous rock. Within Egypt there are several sources for olivine basalt, although quarrying in pharaonic times was primarily restricted to the Faiyum region in the north of the country.<sup>104</sup> Historically many works of sculpture have been identified as being made of basalt, but this is almost always

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<sup>101</sup> For brief introductions to stone use in ancient Egypt, see Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000; Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 239–50. The potential role played by color in stone selection should not be overlooked. Although statues were customarily painted, obscuring the stone's coloring, it is evident that in at least some cases stones were chosen for the underlying symbolic meanings of their color (e.g., the solar connotations of quartzite).

<sup>102</sup> No attempt at a petrographic study of the stones used has been made, however, so it is probable that many identifications remain incomplete or incorrect. Several works in this corpus would benefit from detailed analysis by a stone specialist.

<sup>103</sup> For discussion of stone provenancing, see Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 69; Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 228–29.

<sup>104</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 23–24; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 315–20.

a misuse of the petrological term.<sup>105</sup> Most Egyptian sculptures said to be made of basalt are actually carved from granodiorite or another dark stone, such as greywacke. The Egyptians primarily used basalt for the production of stone vessels, with the bulk of these works dating to the Old Kingdom. Several basalt flows also exist in the Levant, and it is evident that in at least some cases these more local sources were used for the production of Egyptian statues in this corpus.<sup>106</sup>

#### 1.5.4.2 – Diorite

Diorite and quartz diorite are coarse-grained igneous rocks that occur primarily in a range of grays.<sup>107</sup> The stone is found in Egypt (in the Eastern Desert) but also has sources in southern Jordan and possibly Syria.<sup>108</sup> Diorite is not frequently used in the production of pharaonic statues, however; thus it is likely that many works identified here as diorite following previous publications are in fact made of granodiorite, which has a higher percentage of quartz and was frequently used in statue production.

#### 1.5.4.3 – Egyptian Alabaster (travertine or calcite-alabaster)

Egyptian alabaster is a limestone variety made up primarily of calcium carbonate.<sup>109</sup> The nomenclature for this sedimentary rock is complicated and convoluted, with little agreement even among Egyptologists specializing in geology. Historically it has been identified as “alabaster,” despite the fact that this term is geologically

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<sup>105</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 24.

<sup>106</sup> See, for instance, the statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21). For discussion of Levantine sources for and uses of basalt, see Sparks 2007, 163–66, with further references.

<sup>107</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 30–31; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 290–91.

<sup>108</sup> Sparks 2007, 166.

<sup>109</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 59–60; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 147–66.

incorrect.<sup>110</sup> Other terms applied to this stone include “calcite,” “calcite-alabaster,” and “travertine.”<sup>111</sup> Egyptian alabaster’s translucent qualities made it an attractive choice for stone vessel production, temple decoration (notably in the construction of pavements or small shrines), and sculptural applications. Due to the difficulty in obtaining large blocks of Egyptian alabaster, three-dimensional sculpture created from this stone tends to be smaller in stature. Nine ancient quarries for Egyptian alabaster are known, with the most famous being located at Hatnub in Middle Egypt.<sup>112</sup> Potential Levantine sources for this rock have also been suggested, and it is possible that deposits in northern Mesopotamia supplied the materials for some of the works in this statuary corpus.<sup>113</sup>

#### 1.5.4.4 – Gneiss

Several different varieties of gneiss are native to Egypt, with deposits found in the Eastern and Nubian deserts as well as in the southern portions of the Nile Valley.<sup>114</sup> The variations are distinguished based upon the type of rock that they were metamorphosed from. Two gneiss quarries of pharaonic date are known; the most famous is that at Gebel el-Asr in the Upper Nubian desert west of Toshka, and the other is at Tumbos in modern-day Sudan.<sup>115</sup> The works from this corpus, all of which are royal, are likely to have come from the Gebel el-Asr quarries, which were utilized during the Old and Middle

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<sup>110</sup> True alabaster is composed of gypsum rather than calcium carbonate (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 21–22).

<sup>111</sup> As calcite is a mineral name rather than a rock, the use of this term is also discouraged by geologists (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 59). Objections to the use of the term “travertine” have also been raised (Klemm and Klemm 2008, 147).

<sup>112</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 59.

<sup>113</sup> Sparks 2007, 159–60. Gypsum, which also has sources in the Levant, is frequently confused with Egyptian alabaster/calcite-alabaster in publications as well (Sparks 2007, 156–57). Without closer analysis of the statuary components in this study, the possibility that some are made of gypsum rather than calcite-alabaster cannot be ruled out.

<sup>114</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 32–35; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 323–25.

<sup>115</sup> Additional quarries in other regions of Egypt and Sudan do not seem to have been worked before Roman times.

Kingdoms.<sup>116</sup> Gebel el-Asr produces two varieties of gneiss (usually identified as anorthosite gneiss): a white rock with black bands and specks and a banded dark variety with a greenish hue.<sup>117</sup> Both types are represented in this corpus. The gneisses from Gebel el-Asr were most commonly employed in the production of statuary during the Old Kingdom and 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and stone vessels.<sup>118</sup>

#### 1.5.4.5 – Granite and Granodiorite

Granite and granodiorite are coarse-grained igneous rocks frequently employed in the production of Egyptian statues.<sup>119</sup> Both are widespread in Egypt, with particularly extensive outcrops in and around Aswan at the southern border of the country.<sup>120</sup> The Egyptians utilized two varieties of Aswan granite for construction projects as well as the creation of architectural elements (e.g., obelisks) and the production of statuary. The first variety is pink in color, and thus is generally termed “pink or red granite;” the second is primarily dark gray in color. While the former was commonly used in statue production throughout pharaonic history, the latter was only rarely used in sculptural applications.<sup>121</sup> Granodiorite, on the other hand, which is often misidentified in publications as black or gray granite, was frequently used for statue production. In addition to the Egyptian

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<sup>116</sup> Shaw 2000a.

<sup>117</sup> This stone was most famously used by Khafre for a series of 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statues (e.g., Cairo JE 10062). As a result, this stone is sometimes referred to as “Khafre Diorite,” despite the fact that the rock is not truly a diorite.

<sup>118</sup> It has been suggested that the reappearance of gneiss statuary during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is the result of a re-carving of earlier works, not the commission of new statues (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 33).

<sup>119</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 35–38; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 233–67. The primary difference between the two stones is the amount of alkali feldspar, with granodiorite having a lower level (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 35).

<sup>120</sup> Several ancient quarries are known in the Aswan region. Additional ancient quarries have been identified at Tumbos in Sudan, which produces a granite-gneiss, and Bir Umm Fawakhir in the Eastern Desert, which was not utilized until the Roman period, and even then not for the production of sculpture.

<sup>121</sup> To a large extent, this is likely due to the difficulty in obtaining a large enough block without fractures (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 36). Most statues identified as gray or black granite are in actuality probably made of granodiorite.

sources for granitic rocks, granite is also found in Jordan and Anatolia, as well as in the Sinai.<sup>122</sup>

#### 1.5.4.6 – Greywacke

Greywacke (Egyptian *bhn*) is a very dense and fine-grained sedimentary rock quarried in the Wadi Hammamat region of Egypt's Eastern Desert.<sup>123</sup> This stone, which is sometimes incorrectly identified as schist, ranges in color from dark grayish-green to grayish-black. The fine-grained nature of the stone made it a particularly popular choice for statuary starting from the Old Kingdom, with a proliferation of private statues made from the material during the Late Period.

#### 1.5.4.7 – Limestone

Egypt's Nile Valley provides abundant sources of limestone, a generally gray-colored sedimentary rock made up predominately of calcium carbonate.<sup>124</sup> Limestone's softness lends itself to a variety of uses, and as a result it was quarried extensively throughout pharaonic history both for building projects and the production of sculpture.<sup>125</sup> In fact, it has been suggested that limestone may have been the earliest stone used by the Egyptians in statuary manufacture.<sup>126</sup> The vast deposits of limestone in Egypt exhibit a broad range of qualities and characteristics, with some, such as the famous Tura limestone, being more desirable than others. Outside of Egypt, limestone was also widely

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<sup>122</sup> Sparks 2007, 166–67.

<sup>123</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 57–58; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 297–311. See also the closely related siltstone.

<sup>124</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 40–42; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 23–145. Roughly 65% of “the Nile is flanked on both sides by Eocene limestone” (Klemm and Klemm 2008, 23).

<sup>125</sup> The popularity of the stone can be seen in the eighty-eight known ancient limestone quarries (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 40).

<sup>126</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 42.

available in the Levant.<sup>127</sup> Although more detailed analysis is required for confirmation, based upon stylistic features and other markers, it is probable that some limestone statues in this corpus were in fact manufactured from locally-procurable limestone rather than imported from Egypt.<sup>128</sup>

#### 1.5.4.8 – Obsidian

Obsidian is a black volcanic glass used only rarely for the production of Egyptian sculptures, with all known examples dating to either the Middle or New Kingdoms.<sup>129</sup> There are no indigenous sources of obsidian in Egypt, nor indeed in the Levant.<sup>130</sup> Analytical studies of obsidian used in the production of Egyptian objects indicate that the Egyptians usually acquired obsidian from Ethiopia.<sup>131</sup> Additional obsidian sources are known in the Aegean and Anatolia, with the latter apparently supplying raw materials for obsidian vessel workshops such as that at Atchana.<sup>132</sup>

#### 1.5.4.9 – Quartzite (silicified sandstone)

Quartzite, also referred to as silicified sandstone, is a hard sedimentary stone that comes from two different regions in Egypt: the quarry at Gebel el-Ahmar northeast of Cairo, which was expressly renowned during antiquity, and the quarries at Gebel Gulab and Gebel Tingar west of Aswan.<sup>133</sup> While Egyptian quartzite's predominant color is brown, it can be found in a range of hues, including shades of red and yellow. Due to this coloration, the stone held a strong solar connotation for the ancient Egyptians, and

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<sup>127</sup> Sparks 2007, 160–61.

<sup>128</sup> See, for instance, Cat. 15 from Gezer and Cat. 23 from Beth Shean.

<sup>129</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 46–47.

<sup>130</sup> Sparks 2007, 167.

<sup>131</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 46.

<sup>132</sup> Sparks 2007, 167.

<sup>133</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 53–54; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 215–31. Additional sources of quartzite are found in Jordan and Syria (Sparks 2007, 161).

specific shades were frequently sought out for the production of particular works of art. Egyptians utilized quartzite for the production of statues as early as the Old Kingdom, but it enjoyed particular popularity during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III.

#### 1.5.4.10 – Serpentinite (serpentine)

Serpentinite (more frequently referred to in publications of statuary as serpentine) is a metamorphic rock with two primary varieties in Egypt: a greenish version and a black version.<sup>134</sup> Serpentinite is widely available in Egypt's Eastern Desert, but no quarries of pharaonic date are known.<sup>135</sup> This circumstance, considered together with the fact that serpentine objects tend to be of rather small size, has led to the suggestion that this rock was primarily obtained in the form of pebbles and boulders.<sup>136</sup> The stone was used for many different types of objects, including stone vessels, funerary goods (such as shabtis and heart scarabs), and statuary. Its use in the latter class of objects is primarily restricted to the Middle Kingdom. The presence of additional deposits in northwest Syria or southern Anatolia have also been suggested.<sup>137</sup>

#### 1.5.4.11 – Steatite (soapstone)

Steatite is an extremely soft stone predominantly comprised of talc, which gives it a soapy texture.<sup>138</sup> Steatite is found in Egypt's Eastern Desert, often nearby to deposits of serpentinite, a rock with which it is often confused. Steatite is usually greenish or grayish in color, and was frequently employed by Egyptians for the production of small objects, especially scarabs. Additional sources for this type of material, together with the highly

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<sup>134</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 56–57; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 294–95.

<sup>135</sup> One Roman-period quarry exists (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 56).

<sup>136</sup> Klemm and Klemm 2008, 294.

<sup>137</sup> Sparks 2007, 162.

<sup>138</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 58–59; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 311–12.



similar chlorite, are also known from the Levant, where the softness of the stone made it a popular material for carving, most notably at Ras Shamra.<sup>139</sup>

#### *1.5.5 – Determining Statue Date*

Fashions change over time for most aspects of material culture, and it was no different for statue fabrication in ancient Egypt. Luckily for the modern scholar, many of the trends are chronologically significant, allowing for the dating of sculptural works, sometimes to quite a tight timeframe and others within a range. Several components contribute to the dating of ancient Egyptian statues, including inscriptional content, the treatment of facial features, and clothing styles. For those statues bearing inscriptions, textual content can play a pivotal role, particularly when the texts refer to the reigning monarch or other known individuals. Within the wider study of Egyptian sculpture, inscribed works have served as chronological anchor points, helping scholars assemble a temporal framework into which other non-inscribed works can be set. Datable archaeological contexts have also been useful in identifying chronologically significant aspects of sculpture.<sup>140</sup> These firm chronological guides have allowed for the identification of other temporally sensitive stylistic markers that can be utilized in ascertaining a statue's date of manufacture.

Facial features form one prominent method of the stylistic-based dating of statues, with overall face shape as well as the treatment of individual facial features such as the eye, eyebrow, and cosmetic lines providing strong indicators of date. These features are

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<sup>139</sup> Sparks 2007, 155–56.

<sup>140</sup> Archaeological contexts are less useful for the dating of the statues in the Levantine corpus (beyond providing a *terminus ante quem*), however, due to the high levels of reuse and the long use periods that the statues seem to have experienced.

usually referential to those of the reigning monarch.<sup>141</sup> Aspects of fashion also play into the dating of statues, most-notably in reflections of contemporary trends in clothing and hairstyles. In addition, structural elements of the statue, such as pose and type of material, can contribute to narrowing the possible dates at which a statue was produced. This dissertation draws upon guidelines set up by previous art historical studies to aid in the more secure dating of statues found in Levantine contexts. In most cases, statues will be dated to a period or dynasty, and sometimes to a specific reign, through comparison with securely dated works from Egypt.<sup>142</sup>

#### *1.5.6 – Distinguishing between Egyptian and Egyptianizing Statues*

When dealing with Egyptian-looking material culture objects found in foreign contexts, one must consider the degree to which an object can be classified as Egyptian. In the context of the present study, this question can more specifically be posed as: what constitutes an Egyptian statue? Is it a work that was produced in Egypt by the hands of an Egyptian raised and trained artist? Does a work manufactured in a foreign land by an Egyptian-instructed sculptor count? What of works incorporating Egyptian iconographical elements, but also bearing evidence of foreign production at the hands of

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<sup>141</sup> It has long been recognized that a unique, standardized portrait was commissioned of each king, and that statues of elites incorporated features of the official portrait of the monarch under whose reign they lived. The degree to which the “official portrait” of a king corresponded to the ruler’s actual facial features remains debated. Furthermore, some monarchs commissioned several different portrait types over the course of their reigns, usually corresponding to significant ideological or historical changes (see, for example, the portraits of Thutmose III [Laboury 1998]). A recent overview of approaches to portraiture in Egyptian art can be found in Bryan 2015.

<sup>142</sup> For an overview of Egyptian sculpture in each of the major historical periods, see Sourouzian 2010; Freed 2010; Bryan 2010; Rusmann 2010. Individual exhibition and museum catalogues will be cited when relevant to particular pieces within the corpus.

artists working within a different artistic tradition? Furthermore, how can one determine to which category a specific statue should be assigned?<sup>143</sup>

Any examination of *aegyptiaca* in the Levant reveals that items fall along a spectrum of adherence to Egyptian artistic conventions, from those that strictly conform to the pharaonic ideal to those that only loosely incorporate Egyptian iconographic elements. This is true across object classes, including everything from small amulets and scarab seals to monumental sculpture. Various attempts have been made to classify these materials into groups, with the most prominent categories being “Egyptian” and “Egyptianizing.” Broadly speaking, the former pertains to works that were executed wholly within the Egyptian artistic tradition, while the latter refers to pieces that are demonstrably not Egyptian in origin, but which incorporate clearly Egyptian elements.

Subcategories are sometimes employed to more succinctly classify works that fall somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. One such category occasionally applied to *aegyptiaca* in the Levant is that of “Egyptian-style.” Bryan defines Egyptian-style objects as those that “represent faithful, but technically inferior” copies of Egyptian originals.<sup>144</sup> It is generally assumed that such works were produced by Levantine artisans familiar with the Egyptian canon. Within the sculptural corpus, a prime example of this type is the basalt statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21). While all of the individual elements of the statue are Egyptian in origin, the final composition presents something that would be viewed as a sub-standard royal statue were it to have been executed in

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<sup>143</sup> The answer to this question often varies depending on the author’s academic training. For instance, in describing her experience with *aegyptiaca* from the Levant, Lilyquist noted: “I rarely see items that ‘look’ to be first-rate Egyptian pieces as I examine objects excavated in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, or Israel. On the other hand, many objects found in those areas are perceived as ‘Egyptian’ by scholars” (Lilyquist 1998, 25).

<sup>144</sup> Bryan 1996, 49. Her focus is on Egyptian-style ivories that use Egyptian wood models, but the terminology can be extended to other classes of objects as well.

Egypt. The statue's foreign manufacture is made certain by the fact that the basalt from which the statue was carved comes from the region of Beth Shean.<sup>145</sup> While some have advocated for a distinction between Egyptian-style and Egyptian-produced, objects, however, others have been less enthusiastic about adopting the former category.<sup>146</sup> For the purposes of the present study, those objects that might otherwise be categorized as Egyptian-style, such as the Ramesses III statue, will be subsumed under the category of Egyptian. This has been done because the artists remain anonymous, with the further effect that we cannot know how they would have self-identified. In regards to the Ramesses III statue, it should not be forgotten that Beth Shean was for all intents and purposes an Egyptian city when the statue was produced, and that the sculptors who created this work might well have viewed themselves as Egyptians. While the lower quality of craftsmanship exhibited by the statue is immediately obvious to those trained in the breadth of Egyptian sculpture from a modern point of view, this may not have been the case for the peoples interacting with the statue during antiquity.<sup>147</sup>

Those works with clear Egyptian antecedents, but which cannot be classified as truly Egyptian owing to the presence of foreign elements are identified as “Egyptianizing.” The term “Egyptianizing” refers to the incorporation of Egyptian iconographic themes (such as clothing styles and regalia) into works that also draw on

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<sup>145</sup> It is clear from the textual sources that Egyptian artisans sometimes travelled outside of the Nile Valley to employ their craft (see section 1.3.2 above). Thus the mere fact that local materials were used to produce a statue cannot be taken as evidence of non-Egyptian manufacture. While diplomatic correspondence indicates that itinerant Egyptian artisans were usually responsible for providing their own materials, it would have been highly inconvenient to do so in the case of stone sculpture given the sheer weight of the materials required.

<sup>146</sup> See, for example, Lilyquist 1998.

<sup>147</sup> As Rodríguez-Corral notes, “viewing provincialism simply as a failure to achieve a classical canon... is quite problematic,” and does not take into account the important fact that functionally the statues would have operated in the same way as in the home environment (2013, 296).

artistic traditions from other, often local traditions.<sup>148</sup> Notable among these trends are the use of the *atef*-crown for deities and rulers or garments such as the *shendyt*-kilt.<sup>149</sup> Also of great interest, especially in Phoenicia, was the incorporation of royal regalia. Particularly prevalent in this category was the *nemes*-headdress and uraeus, which are prominent elements on a number of sculptural works found in Lebanon.<sup>150</sup>

Why such Egyptianizing elements were incorporated into Levantine artworks remains unclear, and motivations were probably richly complex depending on context. For instance, Morris has recently raised the question as to whether or not certain iconographic elements of Egyptian origin in divine representations might have been strongly influenced by the fact that Egypt was a known supplier of cult statues for some prominent temples in the Levant.<sup>151</sup> That is to say, was it the Egyptians themselves that originated the proper iconography for deities such as Ba'al and Resheph? Furthermore, the ways in which these Egyptian iconographical elements were understood by the peoples who were putting them to use in the Levant is unknown. As Lilyquist observed, "If artisans of the eastern Mediterranean became acquainted with Egyptian iconography and style through small, portable objects that could have been royal or administrative gifts or private items of trade, who was at hand to tell the artisans or owners what this

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<sup>148</sup> This term is often applied, for instance, to a group of Late Bronze Age ivories found at sites throughout the Levant (Bryan 1996; Lilyquist 1998; E. Fischer 2007).

<sup>149</sup> See, for example, the corpus of divine bronze figures from the Levant (Negbi 1976; Seeden 1980).

<sup>150</sup> See, for example, a limestone head of a man wearing the *nemes* from Byblos (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX; Dunand 1954, I: 71–72 [no. 7148]); a diorite head of a man wearing a *nemes* with uraeus from Tyre (Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut 48.356; PM VII: 383; Mackay 1951, frontispiece); a limestone head wearing a *nemes* with uraeus from Tyre (Liverpool Museum 1965.231; A. Davies 2014). None of these heads exhibit Egyptian facial characteristics.

<sup>151</sup> Morris 2015a, 322.

iconography meant?”<sup>152</sup> A one-to-one correlation in the significance of the same element used in both an Egyptian and non-Egyptian context should therefore not be assumed.

The categorization of a given statue as Egyptian conceived and executed versus Egyptian inspired but foreign produced is easy for those statues that align more closely with one end or the other of the Egyptian–Egyptianizing spectrum. The task is more difficult, however, for those statues that fall in between, not belonging wholly to the realm of canonical Egyptian sculpture, but not being so far removed as to be classifiable as predominantly non-Egyptian either.<sup>153</sup> For the purposes of this study, statues will be considered Egyptian if they exhibit Egyptian iconographic elements but do not incorporate elements attributable to other cultures. In instances with strong Egyptian/Egyptianizing features that exhibit an appearance that is not characteristically Egyptian, works will only be included if enough is preserved to clearly demonstrate that an Egyptian is represented. No Egyptianizing works are included in this study.

## **1.6 – A Study of Egyptian Statuary in the Levant**

This chapter has provided an introduction to the topic of this dissertation: Egyptian statuary in the Levant. After providing the parameters of the corpus, it provided a brief introduction to scholarly approaches to this material, followed by an overview of the limited ancient textual sources that can shed light on how artworks from one culture came to be used in an environment dominated by another. It also gave a brief introduction to the purpose of Egyptian statuary in Egypt as well as methodological approaches to the study of Egyptian sculpture.

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<sup>152</sup> Lilyquist 1998, 28.

<sup>153</sup> A similar phenomenon has been noted for Near Eastern and “Orientalizing” Greek art, which has recently been described as “a cultural continuum across the eastern Mediterranean and Near East” rather than distinctly definable categories (Gunter 2014, 90).

Chapter 2 will provide a catalogue of known Egyptian stone statues and statue fragments found in Levantine contexts. Starting in the southernmost part of the southern Levant and moving northwards, it will introduce the sites at which Egyptian statues have been found, review external evidence for interconnections between Egypt and those sites, and present a thorough art historical analysis of each statue or statue fragment together with a discussion of their archaeological contexts when known.

Chapter 3 will synthesize the corpus of Egyptian statuary from the Levant chronologically based on statue date. Starting in the Old Kingdom and moving through the Graeco-Roman period, it will analyze the nature of the corpus in each era, looking for patterns in the number of statues present, the types of statues recovered, and how the statues were used in their new contexts.

Chapter 4 will consider how Egyptian statues came to be in a foreign context. Taking an object-biographical approach, it will trace the presumptive lifecycle of a statue from its creation in Egypt (or abroad) through its movement to and use/reuse in the Levant, its destruction and deposition, and its ultimate rediscovery. This will be followed by a series of case studies reconstructing life histories for specific works in this corpus.

Chapter 5 will provide a summarizing overview of this dissertation, and look towards future avenues of research.

## CHAPTER 2

### EGYPTIAN STATUARY IN THE LEVANT

To date at least 144 ancient Egyptian statues or statue fragments have been excavated or otherwise discovered in the Levant. These works have been inconsistently studied, with some only briefly mentioned in preliminary reports and others the focus of extensive research. This chapter will provide a more consistent presentation of this group of statues from an Egyptological/art historical perspective through the creation of an object catalogue.

The following catalogue is arranged geographically moving from south to north with a separate section dedicated to each site that an Egyptian statue or statue fragment has been found at (Fig. 2.1).<sup>1</sup> Each section is further divided into four parts:

- An introduction to the site, with a particular focus on evidence (both material and textual) for interconnections with Egypt;
- A catalogue of statues and/or statue fragments found at the site;
- A discussion of the statue(s)' archaeological context(s);
- And a summary of the presence of Egyptian statuary at the site.

Individual catalogue entries of statues and fragments will include the following information:

- A catalogue number, brief title, and list of plates;<sup>2</sup>
- Material from which the statue was made;<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For organizational purposes, sites will be subdivided by region. Statues reported to come from the Levant but not tied to a specific site will be treated at the end of the catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Numbers have been assigned sequentially following the order in which objects appear in the catalogue.



- Dimensions;<sup>4</sup>
- Statue date;
- Archaeological context;
- Current location (with accession number);
- Manner of examination;<sup>5</sup>
- And bibliography.

This will be followed by a detailed object description and analysis. For sites with multiple statues, an attempt has been made to group materials typologically, with royal statues appearing before private statues, and fragments organized from most to least complete.

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<sup>3</sup> An attempt has been made to improve stone identifications, although this has not been possible in all cases. In instances when I have not been able to improve or confirm the stone type, the name of the scholar or institution that identified the stone will be provided in parentheses.

<sup>4</sup> Dimensions will be provided in centimeters. H = Height; W = Width; D = Depth, Th. = Thickness; Diam = Diameter.

<sup>5</sup> An attempt was made to examine the statues and fragments first hand. When this was not possible, photographs or other published materials were used.



Figure 2.1. Map of Levantine Sites with Ancient Egyptian Statuary.

## 2.1 – The Southern Levant

### 2.1.1 – The Coastal Plain

#### 2.1.1.1 – Tell el-Ajjul

##### *The Site*

Tell el-Ajjul is located approximately 6 km southwest of Gaza on the bank of the Wadi Ghazzeh (Nahal Besor).<sup>6</sup> During the Bronze Age when the estuary was still viable, the site likely served as a main port for southern Palestine, as evidenced by the wealth of foreign imports discovered there.<sup>7</sup> At present, the site, which was occupied from the MB I through at least the IA I, measures approximately 10 ha.<sup>8</sup> W.M. Flinders Petrie conducted the first excavations of the site from 1930 to 1934 on behalf of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology.<sup>9</sup> Additional work was carried out in 1938 by Ernest H. Mackay and Margaret A. Murray, also working for the British School of Egyptian Archaeology,<sup>10</sup> and from 1999-2000 by a joint Swedish-Palestinian mission directed by Peter M. Fischer and Moain Sadeq.<sup>11</sup>

The ancient name of Tell el-Ajjul is much debated. Petrie identified it as the location of ancient Gaza, a suggestion that has since been dismissed in favor of locating the remains of that site under the modern city of the same name.<sup>12</sup> Kempinski argued that Tell el-Ajjul should instead be identified with ancient Sharuhēn, based on correspondences between the archaeological remains at the site and Egyptian textual

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<sup>6</sup> Tufnell and Kempinski 1993, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Sparks 2007, 205. During the Late Bronze Age this role seems to have been taken over by Gaza.

<sup>8</sup> P. M. Fischer and Sadeq 2000, 213. The site was previously measured at between 11 ha (Albright 1938b, 338) and 13 ha (Petrie 1931a, 2), but “is definitely smaller today because of erosion and bulldozing” (P. M. Fischer and Sadeq 2000, 213).

<sup>9</sup> Petrie 1931a; 1932; 1933; 1934.

<sup>10</sup> Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952.

<sup>11</sup> P. M. Fischer and Sadeq 2000; 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie 1931b, 33; Tufnell and Kempinski 1993, 1. For an overview of ancient Egyptian references to Gaza, see Aḥituv 1984, 97–98. In the past Tell el-Ajjul has also been identified with Beth ‘Eglayim, which is mentioned by Eusebius (Kempinski 1974, 145–46; Morris 2005, 52n91).

references to Sharuhēn.<sup>13</sup> Most notable among them is the reference to a three-year siege of Sharuhēn in the autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana<sup>14</sup> and the mention of the site in the annals of Thutmose III's first campaign to Syria-Palestine.<sup>15</sup>

Egyptian connections with Tell el-Ajjul are clear from the ample Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds from the site, which have been taken as evidence for “a population containing a high percentage of Egyptian personnel, or that was in itself quite heavily Egyptianized.”<sup>16</sup> Among the more significant finds are a carnelian bead inscribed for Amenemhat,<sup>17</sup> a ceramic jar sherd impressed with the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,<sup>18</sup> and over 1200 scarabs.<sup>19</sup> A significant number of worked stone pieces also come from the site, both in the form of vessels and statuary.<sup>20</sup> Among the vessels are several examples that incorporate sculptural elements, including two fragmentary human-headed canopic jar lids,<sup>21</sup> a calcite handle carved in the form of a male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt,<sup>22</sup> and another calcite handle in the form of a uraeus.<sup>23</sup> In addition four works of Egyptian statuary were unearthed during excavations at Tell el-Ajjul.

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<sup>13</sup> Kempinski 1974. Stewart also made this suggestion in the same year (1974, 63). Of the many proposed locations for Sharuhēn, Tell el-Ajjul is the most commonly accepted among scholars today. See, for instance, Weinstein 1981, 5–8; 1991, 106; Morris 2005, 51–53; Sparks 2007, 205. For a more critical view, see Hoffmeier 1989, 184; 1991, 117–20; Redford 2003, 11–12.

<sup>14</sup> *Urk.* IV: 4.14. This passage, which deals with the expulsion of the Hyksos, is cited among the strongest evidence that Tell el-Ajjul, which has numerous scarabs inscribed for Hyksos kings, should be identified with Sharuhēn.

<sup>15</sup> *Urk.* IV: 648.5. Sharuhēn also makes an appearance in the topographical lists of Amenhotep III (Soleb), Ramesses II (Amara West), and Sheshonq I (Karnak). For further references, see Ahituv 1984, 171–73.

<sup>16</sup> Sparks 2007, 207.

<sup>17</sup> Petrie 1931a, 7, pls. XIII:43, XV.

<sup>18</sup> Petrie 1932, 1, 9, pls. V, VIII:117. This piece is currently in The Institute of Archaeology Collection, University College London (no. EXIII.112e/21).

<sup>19</sup> Keel 1997, 104–525.

<sup>20</sup> For study of the stone vessels, see Sparks 2007, 205–8.

<sup>21</sup> The first, made of alabaster, is currently in the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, no. 35.4260 (Sparks 2007, 333). The second is made of limestone. It is also in the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum Jerusalem, no. 35.1589 (Petrie 1933, 8, pls. XVI:48, XVII; Sparks 2007, 333).

<sup>22</sup> Petrie 1934, 9, pl. XXIII; Sparks 2007, 337. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum Jerusalem, no. 35.4259. A similar figure of a nude female was also found at the site, but is not Egyptian in style (Petrie 1934, 9, pl. XXIII).

## *The Statuary*

### **1. Block Statue of Khentiuka (pls. 1-3)**



Material: Granite<sup>24</sup>

Dimensions: H: 19.5 cm; W: 9.9 cm; D: 15.9 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Area AV, pit below Burial 21

Current Location: Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (no. I.9854)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 370-71; Petrie 1931a, 5, 8, pls. XXI:99, 107, XXII; Petrie 1931b, 38; Palestine Archaeological Museum 1937, 64:no.878; Ward 1961, 42; Weinstein 1974, 54–55; Delange 1987, 165; Schulz 1992, 161, pls. 36b-c

Among Petrie's most celebrated finds from Tell el-Ajjul is a small block statue inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs. It depicts a man seated on a rectangular base with his knees drawn up in front of him. He wears a long, enveloping garment that ends at his ankles, leaving his bare feet free. The block statue is of the more naturalistic type, showing the contours of the body, with indications of the position of the arms as well as a small indentation to represent the space between the fronts of his legs. The hands, which rest open with the palms down, have been rendered on the top of the block in raised relief. The man wears a long, shoulder-length wig that reaches to the edge of his shoulders, forming a trapezoidal shape. The wig, which reveals the man's large, carefully rendered ears, is carved in-the-round in the front, but is not treated plastically in the back, where the bottom of the wig is indicated by an incised horizontal line that intersects with a vertically incised line, forming a T-shape. This vertical line indicates the location of the man's spine.

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<sup>23</sup> Sparks 2007, 337. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, no. 35.4265.

<sup>24</sup> The identification of the stone is uncertain. According to the tomb card from the excavation, it was initially identified as alabaster, but Petrie published it as "hard grey limestone" (Petrie 1931a, 8; for discussion of the tomb cards see note 74 below). The museum identifies the material as granite (Palestine Archaeological Museum 1937, 64).

The man's face, which is slightly raised, is connected to the "block" created by the body with a trapezoidally-shaped beard. Unfortunately, the features of the man's short, square-shaped face have been badly damaged. The nose is largely missing, as are most of the lips. He has small, almond-shaped eyes with the eyebrows and cosmetic lines rendered in relief. These lines extend back almost to the ear.<sup>25</sup>

The statue bears two inscriptions, one running down the center of its front between the man's legs and onto the base between his feet, and a second written on the top of the base in front of the figure's feet. This second inscription is badly damaged and thus illegible, but seems to be in hieroglyphic (pl. 2).<sup>26</sup> The main inscription is preserved in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left (pl. 6). It presents a formulaic identification of the individual depicted, and reads:

*im3h hr Pth-Srk [sic]<sup>27</sup> imy-r s3<sup>28</sup> Hntiw-k3*

The one revered before Ptah-Sokar, the Overseer of the phyle Khentiuka

Since the statue's discovery and initial publication, questions have surrounded the reading of the latter part of the inscription, which contains the man's name and title. In his treatment of the text, Petrie translated the inscription: "The devoted to Ptah-seker, Intendant of the guard of the interior, Hor-ka," taking only the final two signs as components of the man's name.<sup>29</sup> As Ward noted, however, the title *imy-r s3 hnti* is

<sup>25</sup> The lines on the proper right side of the face are much better preserved than those on the left side.

<sup>26</sup> Petrie 1931a, 8, pl. XXI:107.

<sup>27</sup> Petrie took the transposition of the *r* and *k* signs in the writing of Sokar as evidence that the person who produced the inscription was a foreigner unfamiliar with Egyptian. This need not be the case, however, as other examples of this spelling are attested from Egypt. See, for example, British Museum EA 1371, which dates to the Late Middle Kingdom (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum Part V* 1914, pl. 16), or the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stela of Senuseret (Vienna ÄS 197; Hein and Satzinger 1989, 153–57).

<sup>28</sup> The reading of this sign is unclear. For further discussion, see below.

<sup>29</sup> Petrie 1931a, 8.

otherwise unattested.<sup>30</sup> He therefore proposed that the title be read simply as *imy-r s3* followed by the man's name as *Hntiw-k3*.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, careful examination of the inscription does not definitively decide between the Horus falcon (Gardiner G5) and the *tiw*-bird (Gardiner G4). However, it is of note that, while other examples of the name Khentiuka are attested from both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the name Horka is otherwise unknown.<sup>32</sup> It is therefore most probable that the man in question was named Khentiuka.

If the name is read as Khentiuka, then this leaves only three hieroglyphic signs to render his title. The first two signs, the writing of *imy-r* with the owl (Gardiner G17) and *r* (Gardiner D21), are inscribed on the front of Khentiuka's skirt. The third sign, which is less clear, is incised into the corner where the vertical plane of the figure's garment meets with the top of the statue's base. It consists of a straight, horizontal line bisected by three vertical ticks. The sign has traditionally been read as a rendering of *s3* (Gardiner V16). While not incredibly common, the title *imy-r s3*, "Overseer of a phyle (or workgroup)," is known from several Middle Kingdom examples.<sup>33</sup> Notably, the majority of those attestations are found in the Sinai, a fact that lends particular value to the discussion of a statue excavated outside of Egypt.

A number of features, both art historical and paleographic, point to a date for the statue in the Middle Kingdom. A date in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was first put forth by Petrie, who dated the burial with which this statue is often associated to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, likely

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<sup>30</sup> Ward 1961, 42.

<sup>31</sup> Ward 1961, 42. It should be noted that since Ward's publication the names Horka and Khentiuka have been used interchangeably to refer to this statue, sometimes even in the same publication (see, for instance, Tufnell and Kempinski 1993, 52 where the statue is referred to as belonging to Khentiuka in the text but Horka in the figure).

<sup>32</sup> Ranke 1935, 273: no. 12. See also MMA 62.77, a 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue from Dashur inscribed for Khentiuka son of Khentiuka.

<sup>33</sup> Ward 1982, 43: nos. 328-332; Hannig 2006, I: 230. Another possibility was put forth by Schulz, who tentatively reads *imy-r rrryt*, "overseer of the door" (1992, 161). For further attestations, see Hannig 2006, I: 197.

at least in part based on his dating of the statue.<sup>34</sup> In studying a similarly styled block statue currently in the Louvre's collection, Delange suggested a later date during the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, influenced largely by Petrie's assertion that the statue of Khentiuka was a work of Syrian (i.e. Hyksos) craftsmen.<sup>35</sup> However, Schulz has once again brought the date back to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, noting that "Die noch erkennbare Gesichtsstilistik des Stückes mit der plastischen Ausführung von Brauen und Schminkstrichen, läßt in Verbindung mit den übrigen Gesichtsdetails und der Perückenform eine Datierung in die frühe 12. Dyn. zu."<sup>36</sup> Such a date would also be in keeping with the style of the signs, most notably the *k3*-sign, which has an oval-shaped hand.<sup>37</sup>

As an aside, it should be acknowledged that although the statue's connection to the Egyptian artistic canon is clear, Petrie immediately brought its status as a work of Egyptian craftsmanship into question, arguing that "the style of the face, the thickness of the feet, and the general finish are not truly Egyptian."<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, he argued that mistakes present in the inscription were likely the work of "a Syrian [who] knew something of the writing of hieroglyphs but was not really familiar with them."<sup>39</sup> As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, however, comparable pieces are known from Egypt, and there is therefore no reason to doubt an Egyptian origin for the piece.

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<sup>34</sup> Petrie 1931a, 5. For further discussion of the statue's archaeological context, see below.

<sup>35</sup> Louvre E 13577 (Delange 1987, 165). She concedes that based solely on stylistic considerations the statue might be better dated to the early Middle Kingdom, stating "Le visage plat aux grands yeux de la statue du Louvre, ainsi que la coiffure attestée sur les effigies de Hetep ... pourraient faire croire que Nakht était contemporain du début du Moyen Empire."

<sup>36</sup> Schulz 1992, 161n2. Compare British Museum EA569 (Schulz 1992, 372–73, pl. 96).

<sup>37</sup> It should be noted that only the right hand is drawn, since the confined space between the figure's feet did not allow for the full *k3*-sign beside the *tiw*-bird. This feature is not noted in Petrie's transcription of the text (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI:99).

<sup>38</sup> Petrie 1931b, 38. He elaborated on his view in the season's final publication, where he stated "The hands ... are poorly done. The heavy ridge coming forward from the ankle bone is un-Egyptian. The whole work is a good imitation, but not truly Egyptian" (Petrie 1931a, 8).

<sup>39</sup> Petrie 1931b, 38.



While it is impossible to concretely document how individual Egyptian statues came to be in the Levant, the statue of Khentiuka does present an interesting case study in light of the man's title, as well as the possible approximate contemporaneity of the statue's deposit at Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>40</sup> As was noted above, the title "Overseer of a Phyle" is almost exclusively attributed to men working on mining expeditions outside of the Nile Valley proper, with a high proportion of attestations coming from inscribed objects discovered at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai.<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to postulate that Khentiuka took part in just such an expedition, and that he himself brought the statue eastward, either to deposit it in a temple such as that of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim, or possibly all the way to Tell el-Ajjul.

## 2. Upper part of a female statuette (pls. 4-5)



Material: Serpentine (Petrie)

Dimensions: H: 7.25 cm; W: 4.9 cm; D: 3.9 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, mid 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (no. 33.1548)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Petrie 1933, 8, pls. XVI:49, XVII; Palestine

Archaeological Museum 1937, 64:no.880; Weinstein 1974, 54n27

This fragment of a female statuette was found during Petrie's 1932/3 season at Tell el-Ajjul. In the season's final publication, the piece is described simply as the "bust of a serpentine statuette of dyn. xii, usual Egyptian."<sup>42</sup> The 1937 Gallery Book for the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum) embellishes this characterization, describing the piece as a "figurine of the Egyptian

<sup>40</sup> See below for further discussion of the archaeological context, which has been dated anywhere from the MB II through the LB I.

<sup>41</sup> For a list of attestations, see Černý 1955, 230.

<sup>42</sup> Petrie 1933, 8.

goddess Hathor ... represented ... in the form of a woman with cow's ears and long locks falling on her breast."<sup>43</sup> In fact, closer examination reveals that the statuette is not divine in nature, but rather represents a private woman of the Middle Kingdom.

The fragment preserves the upper part of a female statuette, from just above the level of the woman's navel.<sup>44</sup> The woman, whose arms are down at her sides, wears a full Hathoric-style tripartite wig. In the front, two plaits of the wig come to rest on the woman's breast, each ending in a curl, a style common during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>45</sup> In the back, the third section of the wig hangs down from the nape of her neck, forming an elongated trapezoidal shape that connects with the top of the statuette's back pillar. A faintly incised line running down the center of the woman's head indicates where the wig has been parted. The top of the wig is flat, in part as the result of wear on the stone.

The woman's small, round face gazes upwards, framed by her large ears, which are human in form, not bovine as indicated by the Gallery Book. The outlines of her almond-shaped eyes have been incised into the stone, as have her eyebrows. Damage to the statuette's face has removed most of her nose and lips. No indications of her clothing or accessories remain. The woman is positioned against a back-pillar that rises halfway up her back, and is aligned in such a way that she is turned slightly towards her left.<sup>46</sup> The

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<sup>43</sup> Palestine Archaeological Museum 1937, 64.

<sup>44</sup> The break goes more-or-less straight across the statuette horizontally. There are also some areas of loss on the back of the proper right shoulder, the back of the proper left arm, and the top of her wig, which is very worn.

<sup>45</sup> Vandier 1958, 254. This type of wig was worn by royal and private women alike. For royal examples, see a black granite statue in the Petrie Collection (UC 16657; Page 1976, 23) and two seated examples from Tanis in Cairo (CG 381 and CG 382; Borchardt 1925, II:1–2, pl. 60). Private examples are also quite numerous and include a triad statuette in the Petrie Collection (UC 16650; Page 1976, 21–22), a statuette of a royal singer (Fitzwilliam E.67.1932; Bourriau 1988, 49: no. 37, pl. II:3), and a triad discovered at Byblos (see Cat. 94 below).

<sup>46</sup> It is unclear whether or not the back-pillar was inscribed.

fragment most likely represented the woman standing, possibly as part of a pair or group statuette with her husband, although a seated form cannot be ruled out.

### 3. Upper part of a male statuette (pl. 6)



Material: Unknown<sup>47</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown<sup>48</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Area EW, 910" above sea level<sup>49</sup>

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: Petrie 1934, 12, pl. XL:107; Weinstein 1974, 54n27

Little is known about this statuette fragment, which was apparently excavated during Petrie's 1933/1934 season at Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>50</sup> Petrie describes it simply as "a fragment of an Egyptian figure of the xiith dynasty."<sup>51</sup> A line drawing of the fragment was published in the excavation report, but no photograph was included. The current whereabouts of the piece are unknown.<sup>52</sup>

As the published image of the fragment indicates, it preserves the upper part of a male figure. The piece has been broken at a diagonal from the exterior corner of the wig on the proper right side down to the bottom of the proper left elbow. Based on the published information, the type of statue to which the fragment originally belonged cannot be determined.

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<sup>47</sup> Petrie presents the object in a chapter entitled "Rock and Stone," but no mention is made of what type of stone the figure is made of.

<sup>48</sup> Based on the scale provided with the drawing, the fragment is approximately 5 cm high.

<sup>49</sup> Petrie 1934, pl. XL:107.

<sup>50</sup> The fragment appears in Petrie 1934, which is dedicated to his fourth season of excavation at Tell el-Ajjul (1933/4). However, the object does not appear on the end-of-season find list (Rachael Sparks, personal communication).

<sup>51</sup> Petrie 1934, 12.

<sup>52</sup> It is not in the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem or the Institute of Archaeology Collection, University College London, which are the two repositories for objects excavated by Petrie at Tell el-Ajjul.

No details of the man's face are provided in the schematized drawing.<sup>53</sup> He wears a long wig that comes to the shoulder and then descends obliquely towards the collarbone, forming a point to either side of the figure's face. The wig, which reveals the man's large ears, has vertical striations on the sides; no details are provided about the appearance of the upper part of the wig. So-called kerchief-style wigs of this type are common in private statuary of Middle Kingdom date.<sup>54</sup> A v-shaped line on the man's chest may indicate that the figure is wearing a long cloak,<sup>55</sup> a well-attested garment for males during the Middle Kingdom, further pointing to a date for the statuette in that period.

#### 4. Head from a male statuette (pl. 7)



Material: Serpentine (Israel Museum)

Dimensions: H: 4.4 cm; W: 5 cm; L: 6 cm<sup>56</sup>

Date of statue: Late Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Area G, Square 2-3 D, 793'' above sea level<sup>57</sup>

Current Location: The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (no. IAA 1938-491)<sup>58</sup>

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: "Egyptian Statue Head" 2014

This small statuette head was found during the British School of Archaeology in Egypt's final season of excavation at Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>59</sup> The head, which depicts a man with an elongated egg-shaped shaved head, is broken at the top of the neck, with none of the neck preserved. His long ears are rendered in high relief flat against his head. The man's

<sup>53</sup> It is unclear whether or not this reflects damage to the statuette's face.

<sup>54</sup> Vandier 1958, 251.

<sup>55</sup> The drawing is too schematic to be certain that this is a representation of the figure's clothing.

<sup>56</sup> The height and length measurements are those provided on the museum website ("Egyptian Statue Head" 2014). The width comes from the excavation records, and were kindly provided to me by Dr. Rachael Sparks.

<sup>57</sup> Rachael Sparks, personal communication, 4 February 2014.

<sup>58</sup> Field no. 140.

<sup>59</sup> The results from this season can be found in Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952. No mention is made of the statuette, with the exception of a dot noting its findspot, indicated by its field number (140), on plate II.

face displays a high quality of carving despite its small size. His forehead has a very prominent brow ridge, especially in the area between his eyes. The lower lids of the eyes are flat and horizontal on the face, with the upper lids being quite rounded. Incised lines above the eyes create a slightly hooded shape to the eye, a common occurrence in Middle Kingdom statuary. No cosmetic lines or eyebrows are indicated. The nose, which is partially damaged, flares out widely, a feature which is emphasized by indentations along the exterior of each nostril. The mouth is wide and flat, with a particularly full lower lip.

The head fits most comfortably with sculpture of the Middle Kingdom. Private statuettes depicting bald men are quite common during the Middle Kingdom, particularly during the latter part.<sup>60</sup> The hooded eyes are also well-attested features during this period, following royal statuary of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, if the museum's identification of the stone as serpentine is correct, the use of that stone for statuary is almost exclusively a prerogative of Middle Kingdom statuary.<sup>62</sup> Finally, a date during the Middle Kingdom would fit with the other statuary excavated at Tell el-Ajjul, all of which can be more securely dated to that period based on stylistic criteria. Given the small percentage of the statuette that is preserved, it is difficult to assign it to a type with certainty. It is, however, worth noting that for sculptures of this scale and date, men with shaved heads are most frequently depicted in a standing position.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Compare, for example, the statuette of Sahathor (WAM 22.61); the late 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Imeny (Louvre AF 460; Delange 1987, 219); the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Siti (Louvre E 18796 *bis*; Delange 1987, 182–83). See likewise a similarly broken head from a Middle Kingdom granite statuette (WAM 22.385). Also of interest is the statuette of Keri excavated in Turkey (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations 3477; von der Osten 1927, 293–94).

<sup>61</sup> For instance compare the shape of the eye to that of Amenemhat III (Berlin 17551). Because of the material and small scale used for the Ajjul statuette, the hooding of the eyes is less pronounced than in some examples.

<sup>62</sup> Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 96.

<sup>63</sup> While many of these have back-pillars running up to the nape of the neck, or sometimes even higher, this is not always the case.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Dating the occupation of Tell el-Ajjul is notoriously difficult, in part because Petrie never published comprehensive plans detailing how different areas or periods of the site related to each other.<sup>64</sup> The site had three main periods of occupation, referred to as City I, II, and III, with evidence for smaller-scale occupation of the site in the preceding and following periods. The dates of the various periods are still debated, as will be discussed in more detail below.

Following Petrie's practice at other sites, the tell was divided arbitrarily into sections, each of which was assigned a letter.<sup>65</sup> Additional letters were appended to the area letter to indicate a specific locus or room, depending on the season.<sup>66</sup> Each of the four examples of Egyptian statuary seem to come from a different area of the site, with one from area A, one from area E, one from area G, and one from an unstratified context.

The statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) is often highlighted in studies of Egyptian statuary in the Levant as the only example of Egyptian "funerary" sculpture excavated in a mortuary context.<sup>67</sup> It was found in area A on the southern part of the tell in a room

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<sup>64</sup> Albright 1938b, 339–40. As Stewart noted, "It is extremely difficult to contrast the general plan of 'Ajjul II with that of the earlier town of 'Ajjul I, for Petrie employed no uniform method of marking his plans. If the plans and levels of the fourth season have any significance, which is doubtful except in a very general sense, three building periods were found ... Petrie tried to show these on the plans by indicating plans of I in outline, of II in black, and of III in broken outline. It is in fact impossible to rely on these plans, since almost no careful stratigraphical observation was made during the excavating, levels were recorded very largely by guesswork from putative datum-pegs, and the various area-plans seldom joined together into a coherent whole ... The published plans in fact represent what Petrie thought was the nearest approximation to the likely form. The discrepancies in individual guessing by different assistants at levels of walls and objects have produced the resultant confusion" (1974, 13). It is hoped that the renewed excavations of the joint Swedish-Palestinian mission to the site will be able to resolve some of the stratigraphical questions when they resume (P. M. Fischer 2009, 254).

<sup>65</sup> Petrie 1934, 2.

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of these inconsistencies, see Albright 1938b, 339 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Weinstein 1974, 55; Gill and Padgham 2005, 48, 51. It should also be noted that it is one of only a handful of complete statues excavated in the Levant.

designated AV.<sup>68</sup> This room, which is part of City II, was filled with grain storage pits, at least two of which were subsequently re-used as burials.<sup>69</sup> Burial pit 21 is an oblong feature that runs along the interior of room AV's northeastern wall.<sup>70</sup> The burial contained the remains of three individuals (an adult and two infants) as well as three pottery vessels,<sup>71</sup> a metal toggle, and a steatite scarab.<sup>72</sup> The block statue was also associated with this burial, leading Petrie to identify it as the tomb of Horka (read here as Khentiuka).<sup>73</sup> However, as the tomb card for this burial indicates, the statue was not found in the burial, but rather "20-24 in. below burial in a pit," presumably one of the grain storage pits mentioned above.<sup>74</sup> This means that the statue may have nothing at all to do with a mortuary context and that its deposition likely pre-dates the burial.<sup>75</sup> The burial itself is usually dated to the later part of the MB II period,<sup>76</sup> providing a terminus ante quem for the deposition of the statuette.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Petrie 1931a, pl. LIV.

<sup>69</sup> Petrie 1931a, 5. These burials are published as numbers 21 and 26 (Petrie 1931a, pls. LIV, LX). The tombs were originally numbered as 621 and 626, but when Petrie decided to use the numbers 500-1000 to designate elevations rather than burials, the 6- prefix was removed (Rachael Sparks, personal communication; see also Petrie 1931a, 5; Petrie 1934, 2).

<sup>70</sup> Petrie 1931a, pl. LIV. Petrie believed that the grain pits and some of the burials, including the one under discussion here, pre-dated the construction of the houses. Given the fact that the burial follows the line of the wall, however, it seems more likely that the structure pre-dates the pits. For a discussion of the likely contemporaneity between household architecture and intramural burials at Ajjul, see Gonen 1992, 118–20. See also Kempinski 1983, 136 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Types 55W7, 60Q3" (formerly 60L9"), and 74O1 (Petrie 1931a, pl. LX).

<sup>72</sup> Petrie 1931a, pl. LX. Additional information about the burial can be found on the tomb card (see note 74 below). Keel dates the scarab to dynasties 13-15 and states that it is "probably imported" (Keel 1997, 142: no. 113).

<sup>73</sup> Petrie 1931a, 5.

<sup>74</sup> This fact is actually mentioned in Petrie's published plates, where a line drawing of the inscription is labeled "20-24 below burial," but this has been overlooked by scholars (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI: 107). The tomb card is held in the collections of the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. I would like to thank Dr. Rachael Sparks for providing me with this information and for sharing her insights on the archeological context of this statue.

<sup>75</sup> It is therefore possible that the statue should be associated with City III, not City II.

<sup>76</sup> Kempinski dates the tomb to MB IIB (1983, 137–38; see also Keel 1997, 142), while Weinstein dates it to MB IIC (1974, 54–55).

<sup>77</sup> A date into the beginning of the LB I is also possible. Compare Gonen 1992, 118.

Cat. 3 also comes from the southern residential portion of the site, this time from area E. According to the publication, the fragment was found in area EW, level 910.<sup>78</sup> As Weinstein notes, however, Petrie's plans include two buildings designated EW.<sup>79</sup> The westernmost of the EW buildings abuts a pit (Pit 707) and contains two burials (1227 and 1228).<sup>80</sup> Three of the building's walls are preserved, two with top/bottom elevations of 890 and 825 inches above sea level, and the third with a top/bottom level of 893 and 836 inches above sea level.<sup>81</sup> As the elevation for Cat. 3 is given as 910 inches above sea level, it seems unlikely that the statuette came from this building. Indeed, this elevation aligns much better with the other EW structure, a building with three rooms.<sup>82</sup> Petrie gives the top/bottom elevations of one of the building's walls as 943 and 849 inches above sea level.<sup>83</sup> The buildings in area E are generally identified as having a domestic function, although how they should be divided into individual residences remains unclear.<sup>84</sup> They are roughly contemporary with the house that the statue of Khentiuka was discovered in, dating to City II.

Cat. 4 was excavated in area G, which is located "immediately north-east of the portion of the tell excavated in the season 1933-1934" on its southeast portion.<sup>85</sup> As with the rest of the site, this part of the lower town was occupied in City III and City II.

Following the pattern seen in areas A and E, area G revealed remains of domestic

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<sup>78</sup> Petrie 1934, pl. XL.

<sup>79</sup> Weinstein 1974, 54n27; Petrie 1934, pl. LXII.

<sup>80</sup> Petrie 1934, 15, pl. XL.

<sup>81</sup> Petrie 1934, pl. XL. For the practice of putting wall levels in the plans, see Petrie 1934, 2.

<sup>82</sup> Weinstein came to the same conclusion (1974, 54n27). It is impossible to determine which of the chambers the statuette was found in. For a brief discussion of the building, see Petrie 1934, 14.

<sup>83</sup> This number is similar to the levels of adjacent buildings, including EV (921 and 844 inches above sea level) and EX (939 and 874 inches above sea level).

<sup>84</sup> Stewart 1974, 13–14. It should be noted that in one of the chambers in building EV which abuts building EW had a shell floor. These floors are interpreted as having a cultic function, possibly as places for ablutions (Stewart 1974, 14).

<sup>85</sup> Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, 21.



architecture interspersed with burials. According to the excavation records, the statuette head was found in square 2/3 D.<sup>86</sup> No architectural finds were recorded this far northeast on the tell, thus the context's date cannot be determined.<sup>87</sup>

Little information is given about the find contexts of the final piece of statuary, the upper part of a female statuette (Cat. 2). The x placed at the bottom right corner of the published drawing indicates that its context was unstratified, but reveals no additional information about the area of the tell in which it was found.<sup>88</sup> Because its findspot was not secure, no comments can be made about the date of its context.

Of the four pieces of Egyptian statuary discovered at Tell el-Ajjul two (Cats. 1 and 3) can be dated with some certainty to the occupation of City II, while the other two (Cats. 2 and 4) have no clear stratigraphic position. This leads to the question of what period City II dates to and how that date relates to the dates of the statues. At the crux of the problem is the question of who was responsible for the destruction of City III and City II respectively. According to Petrie, City III, which he identified as belonging to the "Canaanite Culture," was contemporary with the Egyptian 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, being destroyed by either the invasion of the Hyksos or during Senwosret III's campaign to Shekhem.<sup>89</sup> City II was dated to the Hyksos period, with its destruction coming as a result of their

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<sup>86</sup> Rachael Sparks, personal communication. In contrast to previous seasons, the 1938 excavators divided the area up into grid-squares. For further discussion of this, see Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, 21–22.

<sup>87</sup> The closest identified architecture was a group of three tombs arranged in a circle (Tombs 1991, 1996, and 1997), found at slightly lower levels than the statuette fragment (Tomb 1996 was at 786" above sea level, while tombs 1991 and 1997 were at 789" above sea level). For a list of finds from the tombs, which include a calcite vessel of MBII C date (Sparks 2007, 312), see Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, pl. XL. Based on the fact that the findspot appears on plan II, which, according to the authors, presents the remains of the earlier settlement (i.e. City III) it is possible that they associated it with that period (Petrie, Mackay, and Murray 1952, 23, pl. II).

<sup>88</sup> Petrie 1933, pl. XVI:49. The end of season object list also gives its context as "x" (Rachael Sparks, personal communication). Work during the 1932/3 season focused primarily on the palace area and in a cemetery north of the tell, but it is also possible that the fragment was found in a part of the tell that was not being actively excavated at that time.

<sup>89</sup> Petrie 1931a, 3. For a table summarizing Petrie's periodization of the site, see Albright 1938b, 359.

expulsion from Egypt by Ahmose. Based largely on the chronology of the pottery, however, Albright argued that it was City III, not City II, that should be dated to the time of the Hyksos.<sup>90</sup> This would make City II contemporary with the Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, with its destruction levels likely dating to the time of Thutmose III.<sup>91</sup> Subsequent studies of the stratigraphy by Kempinski<sup>92</sup> and Stewart<sup>93</sup> have favored Petrie's chronology, dating City II to the late MB II, although the question has by no means been settled among scholars.<sup>94</sup>

### *Summary*

To date four pieces of Egyptian statuary have been excavated at the site of Tell el-Ajjul, all of which can be dated stylistically to the Middle Kingdom. However, in part due to the significant problems presented by the publication of the site's stratigraphy, the contemporary period of occupation at the site is still poorly understood.<sup>95</sup> Two of the pieces come from stratified contexts that date to the MB II at the earliest, but possibly as late as the LB I. The date of deposition for the other two fragments is unclear in the available archaeological data. It is therefore uncertain whether the statues arrived at the site soon after they were manufactured, or if they were sent there at a later date. It is, however, interesting to note that the statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1), which is the earliest of

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<sup>90</sup> Albright 1938b.

<sup>91</sup> Albright 1938b, 353.

<sup>92</sup> Kempinski 1974; 1983, 131–48.

<sup>93</sup> Stewart 1974, 13–14.

<sup>94</sup> For instance, Sparks favors an LB IA date for the destruction of City II based in part on the presence of New Kingdom stone vessels (Sparks 2007, 205–6). The new excavations at the site also point towards this view, as “the most recent dates, which are based on fairly rich finds, contradict the assumption ... that the site was almost totally abandoned at the end of the Late Bronze Age I” (P. M. Fischer and Sadeq 2008, 1566).

<sup>95</sup> For a summary of scholarship on the MB IIA period at the site and its connections with Egypt, see Cohen 2002, 71–72. This period was referred to by Petrie as the “Copper Age.”

the statues stylistically, also comes from the earliest archaeological context inasmuch as can be determined.

### 2.1.1.2 – Ashkelon

#### *The Site*

Ashkelon (Ascalon) was both an important agricultural center and port city on the Mediterranean coast.<sup>1</sup> Located near the ancient Way of Horus, the city was a primary stop for overland trade as well as seaborne commerce.<sup>2</sup> The site, which has remains dating to the Chalcolithic through Mameluke periods, measured as large as 60 ha.<sup>3</sup> From 1920 to 1922 John Garstang, assisted by W.J. Phythian-Adams, undertook the first scientific excavation of Ashkelon.<sup>4</sup> This work was followed by several decades of intermittent research at the site, most of it salvage work carried out by the Mandatory and later by the Israel Department of Antiquities.<sup>5</sup> Since 1985, the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon has been working at the site under the direction of Lawrence E. Stager and, since 2007, Daniel M. Master.<sup>6</sup>

Reflecting the importance of the city, Ashkelon (*Isḫrn*) is mentioned in numerous Egyptian texts.<sup>7</sup> It is attested already during the Middle Kingdom, when it appears in both the earlier and later Execration Texts.<sup>8</sup> Reference to Ashkelon next occurs in pHermitage 1116A, where a *maryannu*-warrior from the site is listed among foreign representatives

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to the site and the fieldwork conducted there, see Stager 1993; Stager 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Unlike many other stops along this route, Ashkelon was positioned some 5 km west of the road on the water (Stager and Schloen 2008, 3).

<sup>3</sup> Stager and Schloen 2008, 3–4.

<sup>4</sup> This work was carried out on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Publication of the finds can be found in “The Fund’s Excavation of Askalon” 1921; “The Excavation of Askalon, 1920-1921” 1921; Garstang 1921; 1922; 1924; Phythian-Adams 1921a; 1921b; 1923. For earlier explorations at the site, see Schloen 2008b.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of these projects, see Schloen 2008a.

<sup>6</sup> To date final reports for the renewed work at Ashkelon include Stager, Schloen, and Master 2008; B. L. Johnson 2008; Stager, Master, and Schloen 2011; Press 2012.

<sup>7</sup> For an summary of references to Ashkelon, see Aḥituv 1984, 69–71.

<sup>8</sup> Sethe 1926, 52–53 nos. e23–25, 57 no. f15; Posener 1940, 65 no. E2.

receiving rations.<sup>9</sup> The toponym Ashkelon occurs twice in the topographical lists of the New Kingdom: once in the Soleb list of Amenhotep III<sup>10</sup> and once on a fragmentary granite slab, likely a statue pedestal.<sup>11</sup> A depiction of an attack on Ashkelon, variously attributed to Ramesses II or his son Merenptah, can be found on the exterior of the first court's western wall at Karnak.<sup>12</sup> A reference to the city, thought by some to be the same event represented in the Karnak relief, appears in Merenptah's Israel Stela.<sup>13</sup> Other Ramesside period mentions of the city include its presence in the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*,<sup>14</sup> as well as its appearance in two private sources: the Megiddo ivories and a stela. Three ivory plaques, two with the name of Ashkelon written in hieroglyphs, were discovered during excavations at Megiddo.<sup>15</sup> Another reference appears in the (admittedly restored) text of a stela dating to the reign of Ramesses IV which lists "silver *tbw*-vases [from Ash]kelon" within a list of offerings.<sup>16</sup> The city also appears multiple times in the Amarna Letters.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Reference to Ashkelon is found on the verso of pHermitage 1116A (also known as pLeningrad 1116A) in lines 76 and 186 (Golénischeff 1993, pls. 6; 16; Epstein 1963).

<sup>10</sup> Schiff Giorgini 2002, 131, #4; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 226; Givon 1964, 248.

<sup>11</sup> Berlin 21687 (van der Veen, Theis, and Görg 2010, 15–16). The unprovenanced fragment has been dated anywhere from the reign of Amenhotep III through the Ramesside period.

<sup>12</sup> PM II: 133 (no. 493). For the more commonly accepted argument in favor of Merenptah, see Yurco 1986. For the counter argument in favor of Ramesses II, see Redford 1986b.

<sup>13</sup> *Iskrn mḥw* "Ashkelon has been seized" (KRI IV: 19, line 5/6). For a translation of the entire stela, with further references, see Wente 2003b.

<sup>14</sup> pGolénischeff IV, 4 (Gardiner 1947, I: 190\*-191\*, #262; pls. X-Xa).

<sup>15</sup> Loud 1939, 12–13, pls. 62-3; E. Fischer 2007, 164–76, pls. 39-43. The plaques are inscribed for Kerker, a singer (*šmꜣyt*) of Ptah, and have sometimes been taken as evidence for the presence of a temple of Ptah in Ashkelon. The translation of the Kerker texts, and particularly the section relating to Ashkelon, is difficult. Some have suggested that the phrase *wr ꜥ3 n Iskrn* should be understood as an epithet of Ptah, indicating the presence of a temple dedicated to that deity in the Levant (e.g., J. A. Wilson 1939, 12–13; E. Fischer 2007, 164–76). Others remain unconvinced, arguing that the phrase should instead be seen as a title of Kerker, indicating his position as the prince of Ashkelon (Bryan 1996, 58–59; Wimmer 1998, 1091–93; Higginbotham 2000, 68–70). The plaques were likely manufactured in the Levant (Bryan 1996, 59). For further discussion of Megiddo and its finds, see section 2.1.7.2 below.

<sup>16</sup> British Museum EA588 (Janssen 1963, 67–69).

<sup>17</sup> Amarna Letters EA 320-EA 326 were written by the ruler of Ashkelon, and EA 370 contains a response to him from the Egyptian king (Moran 1992, 350–54, 367).

Several finds of an Egyptian or Egyptianizing character have been found at Ashkelon. These include many scarabs, seals, and sealings;<sup>18</sup> numerous amulets;<sup>19</sup> and vessels of a variety of materials.<sup>20</sup> Further evidence of an Egyptian presence at the site can be seen in a small hieratic ostrakon.<sup>21</sup> Copper alloy objects, exposed in two separate hoards as well as in other contexts, were also found at the site. They include seven situlae, a model offering tray, and several figurines representing Egyptian deities.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a single fragment of stone sculpture was unearthed.

### *The Statuary*

#### **5. Statue Fragment with Hieroglyphic Inscription**

Material: Basalt (?)<sup>23</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Unknown<sup>24</sup>

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: N/A

Bibliography: PM VII: 372; “Other Discoveries 1 July 1937 to 30 June 1938” 1938, 176; Stager 1993, 107

A brief 1938 report announced the discovery of “a fragment of an Egyptian basalt statue inscribed with hieroglyphs.”<sup>25</sup> As no formal study of the statue was ever made, and its current whereabouts are unknown, nothing can be said about the form that the statue once took or its date.

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<sup>18</sup> Keel 1997, 688–735; Keel 2011b.

<sup>19</sup> Herrmann 2011.

<sup>20</sup> A high percentage of Egyptian ceramic vessels, both locally made and imported, were found at the site (M. A. S. Martin 2008; Stager and Voss 2011). In addition, vessels in faience and stone were discovered (Press 2011).

<sup>21</sup> Wimmer 2008a. The text is written on a sherd from a locally-produced ceramic vessel.

<sup>22</sup> Iliffe 1936; Bell 2011.

<sup>23</sup> The stone is listed as basalt in the publications, but another black stone is also a possibility.

<sup>24</sup> Morris suggests that the statue might be one of a group of royal statues appearing in the southern Levant during the Ramesside period, but recognizes that “the dating and genre of this ... statue is admittedly unclear” (Morris 2015b, 182–83). Compare Cat. 6 from Ashdod, Cat. 21 from Beth Shean, and Cat. 66 from Byblos.

<sup>25</sup> “Other Discoveries 1 July 1937 to 30 June 1938” 1938, 176.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The primary mention of the statue fragment appears in an article entitled “Other Discoveries 1 July 1937 to 30 June 1938,” indicating the general time frame during which the piece was discovered.<sup>26</sup> Starting from the 1930s, the Mandatory undertook several archaeological explorations at Ashkelon, many of them of a salvage nature, and it was likely during one of these that the fragment was unearthed.<sup>27</sup> In his brief mention of the statue, Stager notes that it came from one of “the sections dug by Garstang and Phythian-Adams,” but this does not narrow down the findspot much.<sup>28</sup>

### *Summary*

At some point during 1937 or 1938, a fragmentary Egyptian statue inscribed with hieroglyphs was found at the site of Ashkelon. Nothing is known about the date of the statue or the contexts in which it was discovered. The presence of a piece of Egyptian sculpture at the site is not surprising, though, given the well-documented relationship between Ashkelon and Egypt, which can be seen both in the textual record and through other Egyptian objects discovered during archaeological work there.

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<sup>26</sup> “Other Discoveries 1 July 1937 to 30 June 1938” 1938, 176. Additional finds from Ashkelon recounted with the statue were “a limestone sarcophagus ... a small bronze statuette, a Roman marble head, [and] fragments of decorated *terra sigillata* ware.”

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, Ory’s publication of a tomb excavated in the same time frame (1939).

<sup>28</sup> 1993, 107. That he lists it under the heading of Late Bronze Age finds could further give an indication of the archaeological context of the statue. The sections of the site dug by Garstang and Phythian-Adams can be found in Schloen 2008a, 154, fig. 9.1. Based on the reported timeframe of discovery, however, the statue fragment must have been discovered some time after they ceased working at the site.

### 2.1.1.3 –Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor

#### *The Site*

During a 1969 survey conducted by the Archaeological Survey of Israel in the region of Tel Ashdod, a fragment of an Egyptian royal statue was discovered on the surface.<sup>1</sup> According to reports, the piece was found “ca. 2.5 km from Tel Ashdod, halfway between it and ... Tel Mor.”<sup>2</sup> In antiquity, these sites were heavily involved in Mediterranean trade, as evidenced by the cosmopolitan nature of the finds discovered at them, which include pieces from Egypt, Cyprus and Phoenicia.<sup>3</sup> Egyptian references to the sites are less conspicuous, however; Ashdod is mentioned only once, in the *Onomasticon of Amenemope*, while no known references to Tel Mor exist.<sup>4</sup> Archaeologically speaking, on the other hand, there is substantial evidence of Egyptian contact with if not presence in the region. Finds from Tel Ashdod include a fragment of a doorjamb inscribed for a “Fanbearer on the Right Hand of the King,”<sup>5</sup> a glass inlay incised with the cartouche of Ramesses II,<sup>6</sup> as well as numerous scarabs,<sup>7</sup> stone vessels,<sup>8</sup> and ceramics.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Schulman 1993, 111. The survey was carried out under the direction of A. Kloner.

<sup>2</sup> Schulman 1993, 111. Tel Mor, which lies approximately 6 km northwest of ancient Ashdod, served as a port for that city in antiquity.

<sup>3</sup> Moshe Dothan 1993a; Moshe Dothan 1993b. For further discussion of Ashdod and Tel Mor’s relations with Egypt, see Morris 2005, 550–61.

<sup>4</sup> Golénischeff *Onomasticon* 4: 4-5 (Gardiner 1947, I:191\*, #273; pls. X, Xa). According to Dothan, “it seems that the inscription engraved on a fragment of the city’s gate relates to one of the Amarna letters (no. 263),” providing further textual evidence for connections between Egypt and Ashdod (1993a, 94).

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen 1993. This piece is sometimes associated with the “Egyptian governor’s residency” excavated at the site (Moshe Dothan 1993a, 96).

<sup>6</sup> Barag 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Keel 1997, 662–87.

<sup>8</sup> Sparks 2007, 210–11.

<sup>9</sup> Barako 2007.



**6. Hand of a royal statue** (pls. 8-13)



Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H: 24 cm; W: 14.5 cm; D: 17.7 cm<sup>10</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, likely reign of Ramesses II

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Unknown (IAA 1970-2032)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Leclant 1971, 259; Schulman 1993; M. Dothan and Porath 1993, 11; Görg 2002; Morris 2005, 555–56; van der Veen 2013, 47; Morris 2015b, 182

This finely-worked piece of sculpture preserves the left hand of a life-sized to slightly larger than life-sized figure executed in what has been described as a “creamy white limestone.”<sup>11</sup> The hand is closed around a cylindrical object that bears a hieroglyphic inscription on one end. An additional Egyptian text is found on the figure’s wrist, in the form of a bracelet embellished with hieroglyphs in relief. Together, the two inscribed surfaces provide the correct orientation of the fragment, indicating that the hand was most likely once hanging down at the side of the person represented by the statue. The front of the hand, including the thumb, as well as the front of the implement that it holds are now missing.

Schulman carried out the primary study of the fragment, and although he made a good start in interpreting the unusual piece, more information can still be gleaned from what is preserved. In his description of the statue from which the Ashdod fragment originated, Schulman rightly concluded that it took the form of a standing figure with his

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<sup>10</sup> Schulman 1993, 111. Note that Schulman orients the fragment in a different direction, so that the dimensions are L: 24 cm; W: 17.7 cm; H: 14.5 cm.

<sup>11</sup> Schulman 1993, 111.

or her left hand down at his or her side.<sup>12</sup> He also correctly identified the person depicted as a member of the royal family, based on the presence of royal titulary in both of the inscriptions, which will be discussed in more detail below. It is the figure's delicately rendered garment, however, which ultimately led Schulman to the conclusion that the statue once portrayed a royal woman.

Although accepted without question in subsequent scholarship on the fragment, assigning it to a female as opposed to male statue is not without problems. From what can be seen in the small percentage of the statue that is preserved, the garment in question is made of pleated fabric and includes a long sleeve or shawl covering the left arm. The hem of this sleeve, which is longer in the back than in the front, is fringed, as indicated by incised lines that run perpendicularly to the rows of pleating on the upper part of the sleeve (pl. 10). As Schulman himself notes, fringed sleeves or shawls like the one depicted on Cat. 6 can be worn by both sexes. He argues, however, that "only on statues of women ... does the fringed edge of the shawl or sleeve come down to the wrist," leading him to conclude that the statue once depicted a woman, likely a Ramesside queen.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, garments similar to the one seen in Cat. 6 are most frequently worn by women of both the royal and private realms.<sup>14</sup> However, the famous seated statue of Ramesses II in Turin also depicts a garment that comes down to the wrist on the left arm.<sup>15</sup> The possibility that the statue to which this fragment once belonged depicted a

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<sup>12</sup> Schulman 1993, 112. It is also possible, although less likely, that the fragment comes from a seated statue with the left hand in the lap, akin to Turin Cat. 1380 RCGE 5463.

<sup>13</sup> Schulman 1993, 113. "On those statues of males on which either a shawl or a sleeved upper garment is worn, this never descends as far as the wrist, but generally only as far as the upper biceps, occasionally as far as the elbow" (*Ibid.* 112-13).

<sup>14</sup> Compare CG 42154, a statue of a Ramesside queen; Louvre E 25 409, torso of an Amarna princess; Private Collection, wood statuette of a woman (Dorothea Arnold 1996, 127, figs. 124, 136).

<sup>15</sup> Turin Cat. 1380 RCGE 5463. It is perhaps worth noting that the king holds the document case in his left hand in this statue, as is the case in Cat. 6. A second seated statue of Ramesses II, currently in the Egyptian

male, perhaps the king himself, can therefore not be conclusively ruled out based solely on the type of garment worn.

More instructive for the identification of the figure is the inscribed object held in his or her hand (pls. 10-11). In his description of the statue fragment, Schulman states that “the hand is clenched in a fist and holds a rolled-up handkerchief, the end of which protrudes from the bottom of the fist... Inscribed on the flat base of this handkerchief, in crudely incised hieroglyphs, is *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w)-mrj-Imn*, “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun.”<sup>16</sup> While the presence of handkerchiefs in the hands of individuals is well attested within the Egyptian art corpus, however, the ends of these pieces of cloth are not generally inscribed.<sup>17</sup> In contrast, the similarly-shaped document cases sometimes held by kings frequently bear the royal name in hieroglyphs.<sup>18</sup> Royal women do not hold the document case, however, and the implements that they are often shown holding, such as *menits* and mirrors, are (as with the handkerchiefs) not inscribed. Based on what is preserved iconographically, therefore, it seems most likely that the statue represents a royal male, almost certainly a king, not a royal woman as previously suggested by Schulman.

Utilizing solely the published images of the statue fragment, it is difficult to comment with too much certainty on the content of the inscriptions. According to Schulman’s transcription, it seems that the text on the end of the held implement is

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Museum (JE 36652), may also depict the king wearing a garment with fabric running down to the wrist of the left arm, although breakage on the statue makes it difficult to tell for sure. See also a standing figure of Amenhotep III (MMA 30.8.74).

<sup>16</sup> Schulman 1993, 111.

<sup>17</sup> For an example of a statue with a handkerchief in its hand, see the statue of Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) below.

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion of this element in the hand of the king, see H. G. Fischer 1975, 20–21; Sourouzian 1988, 245–47. For inscribed examples, compare a hand of Ramesses II (Cairo CG 546; Borchardt 1925, II:92, pl. 90) or the limestone colossus of Ramesses II in Memphis, which also wears a bracelet with inscribed titulary, albeit of a different design than that seen on the Ashdod example (Sourouzian 1988, pl. 70d).

written in a column comprised of the seated deities Re and Amun facing each other above the remainder of the name in “crudely incised” hieroglyphs forming the name Ramesses, beloved of Amun.<sup>19</sup> Curiously, the name is not written within a cartouche, although, as Schulman notes, it is possible that the oval shape of the object, which is demarcated with an incised line, was thought to be sufficient.<sup>20</sup>

The second inscription appears on a wide bracelet that is decorated with a horizontal band of text. Much of the text on this bracelet, which peeks out from underneath the garment’s sleeve, is now damaged or missing.<sup>21</sup> It is carved in low relief in hieroglyphs that read from left to right. Schulman, who examined the fragment, stated that the text could “be read quite clearly ... [as] [*R<sup>c</sup>*]-*ms-s(w)-tnr-nhtw* ‘Ramesses-powerful-of-victories.’”<sup>22</sup> Schulman’s reading of the preserved epithet in the inscription as *tnr nhtw* is extremely unlikely, however. He himself acknowledged that “the name ... ‘Ramesses-powerful-of-victories’ is not attested, *per se*, for any Ramesside king.”<sup>23</sup> The flaws in reading what Schulman saw as the tall *ti*-sign (Gardiner U33) followed by the arm with stick (Gardiner D40) and plural strokes as an abbreviated writing of *tnr nhtw* was further pointed out by Görg.<sup>24</sup> His suggestion that this group of signs be read as the

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<sup>19</sup> A comparison of Schulman’s transcription with the published photograph suggests that the second line of text reads from right to left and is comprised of the hoe (Gardiner U6), the *ms*-sign (Gardiner F31) and the tall *s* (Gardiner S29).

<sup>20</sup> Schulman 1993, 111. Note that in other examples from Egypt, the cartouche is drawn, however. For examples, see note 18 above.

<sup>21</sup> The problem of reading the text is complicated by the lack of clear published photographs or line drawings of the inscription.

<sup>22</sup> Schulman 1993, 111.

<sup>23</sup> Schulman 1993, 113. He goes on to point out that Ramesses II often used similar phrases to describe himself, however, such as *ʕ nhtw* or *wr nhtw*.

<sup>24</sup> Görg 2002, 17.

name of the goddess Anat, possibly as a component of a princess' name, is even less convincing, however.<sup>25</sup>

Problems surrounding the interpretation of this brief text arise via two avenues: Schulman's apparent misreading of the signs, which is compounded by the lack of a published line drawing of the inscription, and the perplexing need to make the inscription fit with the identification of its wearer as a female.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the latter obstacle led Schulman to propose the reading of *hmt nsw* "king's wife" at the beginning of the line, something for which there is absolutely no evidence.<sup>27</sup> A comparison of Schulman's transcription of the bracelet inscription with the published photograph reveals that his understanding of the signs was flawed (pls. 12-13).<sup>28</sup> While the reading of the beginning of the inscription as *[R]ᵇ-mss* seems sound, the tall sign that Schulman is reading as *t/t* curves to the right at the top in a text that is reading from left to right, i.e., the sign would have to be backwards for this interpretation to be correct.<sup>29</sup> A more probable solution is that the sign represented here, which it must be noted is damaged at the top, particularly at the left side of the sign, is ʕ (Gardiner O29). This would result in a translation of the bracelet inscription as "Ramesses, great of victories," a combination for which there are good parallels.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Görg 2002, 17. Not only does it require one to take the *nḥt* arm as an 'ayin and the very clear plural strokes as an "ungefügtes" *n*, but the letters within the name would be facing in different directions, with the end of the word (i.e., the *t*) preceding its beginning.

<sup>26</sup> This in and of itself is unnecessary; even though bracelets inscribed with the king's name are often associated with queens and princesses, they rarely bear the women's own titles but usually instead simply the titulary of the king with whom they are associated.

<sup>27</sup> Schulman 1993, 113; Görg 2002, 16.

<sup>28</sup> This was already pointed out by Görg 2002, 16.

<sup>29</sup> What's more, even if the reading of this sign as a tall *t* were correct, the fuller reading of *tnr nḥtw* is impossible, as the *nḥt* arm with plural strokes is a *determinative* of the word *tnr*, and the word is missing the requisite *n* and *r* (*Wb*.V: 382-84).

<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, Ramesses II's Qadesh Poem (*KRI* II: 100: §338); Ramesses II's Abydos dedicatory inscription (*KRI* II: 325.11); Ramesses II's Beth Shean Stela (*KRI* II: 151.2).

Beyond the content of the inscription, a brief note should also be made on the iconographic value of an inscribed bracelet on the wrist of a statue. The first observation to be made is that, as with the other inscription, the inscription on the bracelet is not enclosed in a cartouche despite its inclusion of a king's name. Schulman suggests that the "cartouche shape may, perhaps, be assumed in the ... borders of the bracelet," a suggestion that seems the most likely solution given the present state of evidence.<sup>31</sup> The second observation to be made is that inscribed bracelets are only rarely attested on statuary, but those examples that do exist belong primarily to kings.<sup>32</sup>

The presence of two inscriptions on the statue incorporating the name of Ramesses narrows the date of the statue to the Ramesside period. As Schulman argues, the spelling of the name Ramesses with both the vertical and horizontal bolt-*s*, as occurs on the bracelet inscription, is employed by a handful of Ramesside kings (Ramesses I, II, IV and VI), but only in combination with the "beloved-of-Amun" element by Ramesses II.<sup>33</sup> Ramesses II also uses the phrase *ʿ3 nḥtw*, "great of victories," frequently, not only as part of his Golden Horus name, but also occasionally as an epithet following his nomen.<sup>34</sup> Thus a date in that reign seems the most likely. This date is further supported by the use of limestone for the production of the statue, as that stone was particularly popular in statuary of the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

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<sup>31</sup> Schulman 1993, 111. Compare in particular a statue of Merenptah from Karnak with inscribed cartouche-shaped bracelets on its wrists (Cairo CG 42148; Sourouzian 1989, 151–52, pl. 28). For examples of bracelets inscribed with royal cartouches, see a gold bangle bracelet inscribed with the name of Thutmose III (Leiden AO 2a-b); an ivory bangle incised with the cartouches of Amenhotep III (Leiden F 1986/9.3); an inlaid gold bangle bracelet with the titulary of Psusennes I (Cairo JE 85759). Of particular note is a bead bracelet of Queen Ahhotep with the name of Ahmose written without a cartouche (Cairo CG 52070).

<sup>32</sup> In addition to the statue of Merenptah referenced in the preceding note, see the colossus of Ramesses II in Memphis or the colossus of the same king in Ramesses Square (Sourouzian 1988, pl. 70d-e). Also of interest is the arm of an unpublished statue fragment from the Mut Temple Precinct (Betsy Bryan, personal communication).

<sup>33</sup> Schulman 1993, 113.

<sup>34</sup> See note 23 above.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Because Cat. 6 was found during part of an archaeological survey, no significant comments can be made about the date or nature of its context. However, the presence of other material dating to the Ramesside period at Ashdod, including a possible “governor’s residency,” makes it probable that the statue was set up in the region at a date roughly contemporary to its manufacture. How it got to its final place of deposition is unknown, but it has been suggested that it was “removed from Ashdod at a later date, possibly by robbers.”<sup>35</sup>

### *Summary*

A fragment of a limestone Ramesside statue was discovered as a surface find during a survey of the region between Ashdod and Tel Mor. The piece, which was originally identified as coming from a statue of a royal woman, comes from a life-sized or slightly larger statue of a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king, likely Ramesses II. It preserves only the proper left hand of the statue, but the iconographic elements retained on the fragment, which has two inscriptions, suggest that it came from a standing statue of the monarch with his hand down at his side.

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<sup>35</sup> M. Dothan and Porath 1993, 11.

#### 2.1.1.4 – Jaffa

##### *The Site*

Jaffa, located just south of modern Tel Aviv, is a site on the Mediterranean coast that has been occupied from the Middle Bronze Age through modern times almost continuously.<sup>1</sup> Over the course of the past century, the site has been the focus of several archaeological expeditions.<sup>2</sup> Among the most prominent are those carried out by P.L.O. Guy on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM) from 1948 to 1950 and the work of Jacob Kaplan from 1955 to 1974 under the auspices of the IDAM and later the Museum of Antiquities of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa. Excavations continue today by the Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project, a joint mission of the Israel Antiquities Authority and UCLA co-directed by Martin Peilstöcker and Aaron A. Burke.

The city of Jaffa (Egyptian *Ypw*) appears multiple times in Egyptian textual sources.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most well known presentation of the city is found in the tale of the *Taking of Joppa*, a literary text set during the reign of Thutmose III which recounts the city's fall to the enterprising Egyptians.<sup>4</sup> The site also appears in the topographical lists of several New Kingdom rulers, from Thutmose III through Ramesses II<sup>5</sup> as well as in the

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<sup>1</sup> Burke and Lords 2010, 2. For details on the site's many periods of occupation, see Peilstöcker and Burke 2011.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of archaeological work at the site to date, see Peilstöcker 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Ahituv 1984, 121.

<sup>4</sup> pHarris 500 vs. (Gardiner 1932, 82–85).

<sup>5</sup> Thutmose III (two lists): *Urk.* IV: 783:#62; (W. M. Müller 1910, 81); Amenhotep II(?): *Urk.* IV: 1339.4; Seti I: *KRI* I: 37:#41; Ramesses II: *KRI* II: 216:#71; Ptolemaic copy of Thutmose III's list (W. M. Müller 1910, 66:#13).



geographical treatise in pAnastasi I.<sup>6</sup> In addition, Jaffa is referenced in the Amarna letters, where its importance as a grain storage site is emphasized.<sup>7</sup>

In keeping with the interconnections indicated by the textual evidence, a number of Egyptian finds of import have also been unearthed at Jaffa. They include several scarabs, including a scarab bearing the prenomen of Amenhotep III, one naming Queen Tiye, and a commemorative Lion Hunt scarab of Amenhotep III.<sup>8</sup> Of particular importance are the remains of a monumental gate façade inscribed for Ramesses II.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the presence of numerous Egyptian ceramics, including locally produced varieties, has led the excavators to postulate “a long-term (ca. 250 years) and effectively permanent Egyptian presence in Jaffa during the Late Bronze Age.”<sup>10</sup> Despite the high number of Egyptian or Egyptianizing finds at the site, however, only one piece of sculpture associated with Jaffa has been discovered to date.

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<sup>6</sup> pBritish Museum 10247, line 25.2 (Gardiner 1911, 27\*, 36).

<sup>7</sup> See EA 294 and EA 296, as well as a possible reference to Jaffa in EA 138 (Moran 1992, 336–39, 221–25). The importance of grain storage at the site is also attested in a cuneiform letter from Aphek (Horowitz, Oshima, and Sanders 2006, 35–38, with further references).

<sup>8</sup> Sweeney 2003. So-called Hyksos scarabs have also been found at the site (Burke 2011, 68).

<sup>9</sup> Burke and Lords 2010, 3–4; *KRI* II: 401:#148a.

<sup>10</sup> Burke and Lords 2010, 10. For a discussion of pottery, see: *Ibid.*, 14 ff.

**7. Statue of a New Kingdom Official** (pls. 14-16)



Material: Quartzite

Dimensions: H: 15 cm; W: 15 cm; D: 12.5 cm<sup>11</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Jaffa Museum of Archaeology (MHA 4818)

Manner of examination: Published and unpublished photographs<sup>12</sup>

Bibliography: Schaeffer 1934a, 113; Schaeffer 1939a, 11, pl. II.3; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:21–22, fig. 11; Wastlhuber 2011, 58 (no. 61)

This quartzite fragment preserves the torso of a private statue. The statue is broken at the base of the neck and the bottom of the torso, with additional damage to the arms. The present shape of the statue is quite block-like, indicating that it was likely deliberately re-shaped for reuse as a building stone.<sup>13</sup> The surface of the statue has also been damaged, leaving few traces of its original decoration. Krystal V.L. Pierce, who has undertaken the main study of the fragment, describes it as follows: “The statue is of a man wearing a tunic tied at the neck, with his left arm raised to his chest. A back pillar is positioned directly behind the man, ending just below where the head would be situated.”<sup>14</sup>

This back-pillar is inscribed with two columns of hieroglyphic text that read from right to left (pls. 14 and 16). Although the surface is badly worn, the beginning of each line of the inscription, which contains an offering formula, can be read as follows:

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<sup>11</sup> Pierce In Press.

<sup>12</sup> I would like to thank Krystal V.L. Pierce for providing me with photographs of the statue and also for allowing me to read a draft of her study of the fragment, to be published in the forthcoming Jaffa volume.

<sup>13</sup> Pierce In Press. It is unclear whether the statue was broken to facilitate this reshaping, or if the statue had been damaged prior to its reuse.

<sup>14</sup> Burke and Lords 2010, 27.

*ḥtp di nsw [...] šsp snw*  
A gift the king gives ... receiving offerings<sup>15</sup>

Based on the style of the inscription, Pierce dates it to the Ramesside period, providing a date for the statue as a whole.<sup>16</sup> However, the style of the garment and the choice of quartzite rather than another stone suggest a slightly earlier date during the later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, perhaps the reign of Amenhotep III.

Given the present state of the statue's preservation, few comments can be made about the form that it originally took. Clearly, the statue once represented an official with his left arm bent across his abdomen. The left hand was clenched around an implement, the nature of which can no longer be determined. Incised lines descending from the figure's neck represent the keyhole neckline and ties of a tunic, indicating that the figure's wardrobe once covered both his upper and lower body. Pierce's suggestion that the statue once took the form of a seated male is probable given the positioning of the arm and the placement of the breaks, although a standing figure cannot be ruled out based on the present evidence.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The precise archaeological context of Cat. 7 is not known. According to museum records, the piece was acquired by the museum in 1975, a year after Kaplan's last season of excavation at the site.<sup>18</sup> While the appearance of the piece in the Jaffa Archaeological

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<sup>15</sup> For further discussion of the inscription, see Pierce's forthcoming article. In her examination of the text, she detected an indirect genitive *n* following the *ḥtp di nsw*, helping her date the inscription. This letter is not readily visible in the published photographs, however.

<sup>16</sup> Pierce In Press.

<sup>17</sup> Compare the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty seated statue of Mentekhenu (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 19289; Keller 2005).

<sup>18</sup> Burke and Lords 2010, 28. The records state that the piece came from A. Hazan, who, as Pierce points out, is "most likely ... [the] well-known antiques dealer in the local Jaffa *souk*" (Pierce In Press).

Museum's collection points towards it having been discovered in Jaffa, no conclusive evidence about its provenance remains.<sup>19</sup> However, as discussed above, the archaeological evidence from Jaffa points to a strong connection between the site and Egypt, especially during the New Kingdom, so the presence of an official's statue at the site would not be out of place.

### *Summary*

A quartzite statue fragment housed in the collection of the Jaffa Museum of Archaeology likely comes from that site. The fragment preserves the torso of a male figure dressed in a tunic with a tie at the neck. The statue dates stylistically to the New Kingdom. While its iconography and material align more closely with an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, Pierce's examination of the inscription led her to propose a later Ramesside date.<sup>20</sup> Because it was not formally excavated, no statement can be made about when the statue came to the site, although there is clear evidence for an Egyptian presence there during the period that is contemporary with the statue's manufacture.

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<sup>19</sup> The current excavators at Jaffa have hypothesized that the piece, which was clearly re-shaped for use as a construction block, "was reused as a building stone [at Jaffa] and fell from an excavated section after the winter rain" (Burke and Lords 2010, 28).

<sup>20</sup> The possibility that a later inscription was added to an earlier statue must be considered.

## 2.1.2 – *The Sharon Plain*

### 2.1.2.1 – Makmish

#### *The Site*

Makmish is a small mound or hillock located on the Israeli coast near Herzliyah.<sup>1</sup> The site was the focus of two seasons of excavation under the direction of Dr. Nahman Avigad, the first in October 1958 and the second in August 1960.<sup>2</sup> Excavations revealed that Makmish served as a religious center for the nearby site of Tel Michal (also known as Tel Makmish) during three phases of occupation: the Iron Age, the Persian period, and the Hellenistic period.<sup>3</sup> The cultic nature of the site is evidenced by the discovery of numerous votive figurines as well as other cultic paraphernalia including incense altars.<sup>4</sup> Among them was at least one stone statuette of Egyptian origin.<sup>5</sup>

#### *The Statuary*

#### **8. Statuette of a Nursing Goddess (pl. 17)**



Material: Black stone (Avigad)<sup>6</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Late Period(?)

Archaeological Context: In or around a Phoenician temple

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Avigad 1959; Avigad 1960, 94; Avigad 1993, 933

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<sup>1</sup> Avigad 1960, 90. For an introduction to the site and its finds, see Avigad 1993.

<sup>2</sup> The excavations were carried out on behalf of the Ha'aretz Museum, Tel Aviv in cooperation with the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Preliminary excavation reports can be found in Avigad 1958; 1960; 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Makmish is located approximately 400 m. northeast of Tel Michal (Avigad 1960, 90). For an overview of Tel Michael's occupation with further references, see Herzog 1993.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, it was the discovery of some of these figurines during military maneuvers and the ensuing clandestine digging at the site that led to its excavation (Avigad 1959; Avigad 1960, 90).

<sup>5</sup> According to Avigad, "other fragments of Egyptian figurines are made in limestone," but no further reference to the type or number of these Egyptian pieces is made in subsequent publications (1960, 94).

<sup>6</sup> Avigad identifies the material as "polished black stone" (1960, 94). One possibility is greywacke, a material commonly used in the production of Isis-and-Horus statuettes. For further discussion, see below.

Very little information about this statuette, excavated at Makmish during the 1958 season, has been published. The statuette, made of black stone, depicts a seated female (almost certainly a goddess) with a male child seated in her lap. Only the bottom of the statuette is preserved; the head and proper left shoulder and arm of the child have broken away, as has the upper part of the female's figure from the level of approximately the waist up. The back of the statuette bears a hieroglyphic inscription that likely contains the name of the donor.<sup>7</sup>

The goddess sits on a low-backed seat that is undecorated on the proper right side.<sup>8</sup> She wears a tight, mid-calf length dress. A small strut supports her left arm, which bends upwards to embrace her child. The child is seated perpendicularly to his mother on her lap. His feet rest on a small base that has been carved out of the side of her seat. Statuettes of this type, often depicting the goddess Isis with her infant son Horus, but sometimes other divine mother-son pairs, are commonly found in a variety of materials (most often stone or copper alloy) from the Late Period through the Ptolemaic period.<sup>9</sup> Given the date of the context that the Makmish statuette was discovered in, a Late Period date (perhaps Saite) is most likely.

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<sup>7</sup> No image or translation of the inscription has ever been published. In his initial description of the statuette, Avigad stated that the inscription had "not yet been deciphered" (1959). He later noted that it "apparently contains the name of the votary," but provided no further information (Avigad 1960, 94). Notes held by the Topographical Bibliography of the Griffith Institute indicate that the statuette might be inscribed for the son of Khau Karaanweshem, but this cannot be confirmed without further examination of the object, the current location of which is unfortunately unknown.

<sup>8</sup> The proper left side is likely also undecorated, but cannot be seen in the published photograph.

<sup>9</sup> For numerous stone examples, many made of dark stones like greywacke, see Daressy 1906, 319–28; pl. LXI (Cairo CG 39275–30311). Of particular interest given the cultural find-context of the Makmish statuette is Cairo CG 393921, which is inscribed in Phoenician. Compare also a fragmentary statuette from Jerusalem (Cat. 13), where additional references to statuettes of this type are cited.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The figurines discovered at Makmish, including the Egyptian statuette, are associated with a large, two-room structure identified by the excavator as a sanctuary dating to the Persian period occupation of the site.<sup>10</sup> They were found scattered throughout the building as well as outside of it on the mound's northern slope.<sup>11</sup> This erratic placement seems to be the result "of a clearing operation which followed the destruction of the building ... at the end of the Persian period."<sup>12</sup> The precise findspot of the Egyptian statuette is not stated in the preliminary reports, thus it is possible that it came from within the building or among the objects littered outside of it. Given this structure's short period of occupation, it seems that the statuette both arrived in and was ultimately deposited at Makmish during the Persian period.

### *Summary*

During the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the inhabitants of Tel Michal erected a Phoenician shrine on the nearby hill known today as Makmish. Finds from the religious structure included numerous votive figurines that reflect a variety of cultural influences. Among them was a stone statuette depicting a goddess, likely Isis, and her infant child. The presence of a Late Period Egyptian statuette at this Israeli coastal site is likely the result of the Phoenicians' eclectic taste in statuary and offerings rather than evidence of direct Egyptian connections with the site.

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<sup>10</sup> Avigad 1960, 95.

<sup>11</sup> Avigad 1960, 92. A concentration of votive offerings were found in the northern annex, which has been interpreted as the temple's treasury.

<sup>12</sup> Avigad 1960, 92.

### 2.1.2.2 – Tulul Mas‘ud

#### *The Site*

Tulul Mas‘ud is located on the Sharon Plain of Israel, near the site of Tel Zeror and the modern city of Hadera. Little information has been published about the site, beyond the observation that the surface is littered with Hellenistic ceramic sherds.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Statuary*

##### **9. Statuette of Osiris (pls. 18-19)**



Material: Greywacke<sup>2</sup>

Dimensions: H: 6.5 cm; W: 3 cm; D: 3.3 cm

Date of statue: Late Period or later

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: IAA Storeroom, Beth Shemesh (1986-5519)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Giveon 1967, 118–20; Maier 1968, 424; Leclant 1969, 296; Giveon 1984, 153; 155

This fragment comes from a free-standing statuette of the god Osiris. It preserves the proper left side of the statuette from the top of the shoulder down to the level of the hip. The proper right side of the figure has broken off at an angle, and the head, legs and feet are completely missing. Osiris stands in his standard mummiform pose, with his hands peeking out from his enveloping wrappings. In his left hand he holds the crook, rendered in relief. His right hand, clenched in a fist and resting on his chest above the left arm, almost certainly once held the flail.<sup>3</sup> Osiris wears an intricately incised broad-collar comprised of four rows of beads, which is bisected by his (now missing) beard.

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<sup>1</sup> Giveon 1967, 120.

<sup>2</sup> In his publication of the fragment, Giveon described the material as a greenish-black stone (1967, 118). Careful examination of the fine-grained black stone indicates that it is likely greywacke.

<sup>3</sup> This arm position is common for images of Osiris originating in Lower Egypt (Roeder 1955, 249).



The deity stands against a back-pillar that is inscribed with a single column of text written in hieroglyphs that read from right to left (pl. 19). A vertical line bounds the text on either side. Little of the inscription's original content remains; what can be read is the following:

[... *nt*]r [ʕ]ʔ<sup>4</sup> *nb R3-st3w* [...]⁵  
 [... the Great God], Lord of Rosetau<sup>6</sup> [...]

Stone statues and statuettes depicting Osiris, both free-standing and incorporated into Osirophorous or naophorous statues, become increasingly popular starting during the Late Period and continue in use through the Graeco-Roman period. In his publication of the Osirian fragment from Tulul Mas'ud, Giveon dated the statuette to the Ptolemaic period based in part upon the presence of other pieces of Hellenistic material culture at the site.<sup>7</sup> The style of the statuette would fit in well with numerous examples of Osirian statues dating to the Late Period, however. A large-scale greywacke statue of Osiris from Giza is of particular interest.<sup>8</sup> As with the Tulul Mas'ud fragment, this Osiris, which dates to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, wears an elaborately incised broad collar. An additional point of comparison can be found in the inscription on the statue's back-pillar, which refers to the god as the *nb R3-st3w*.<sup>9</sup> Without any facial characteristics preserved it is difficult to

<sup>4</sup> Only the lower parts of the first two preserved signs remain. Giveon read both as reed leaves (Gardiner M17), restoring the divine name *Iwny* "the Heliopolitan" (1967, 118–19; Leitz 2002a, 189). A re-examination of the text indicates that the two vertical signs' restoration as reed leaves is unlikely, however, as almost the entire length of each sign is preserved with no indication of the top of the reed. A more likely, although still uncertain reading, is *ntr-ʕ*, which also precedes *nb Rʕ-st3w* in other texts (e.g., the stela of Iuefankh (Boston MFA 30-1-117) or that of Sekhetenhorka (Zivie-Coche 1991, 251–52, 257–58).

<sup>5</sup> Giveon, who restores the panel of text on the back pillar as a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula, reads *di prt-hrw t [hṯkt]* ("that [he] might give invocation offerings consisting of bread and beer...") (Giveon 1967, 118). The preserved traces would fit with such a restoration but are too damaged to be conclusive.

<sup>6</sup> This epithet, frequently associated with Osiris, is attested from the Middle Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period (Leitz 2002c, 681–82).

<sup>7</sup> Giveon 1967, 120. Leclant, on the other hand, assigns the statuette to the Late Period (1969, 296).

<sup>8</sup> Boston MFA 29.1131. For a treatment of this statue, see Perdu 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Compare also Cairo CG 38358, a seated statue of Osiris from Saqqara that refers to him as the *ntr ʕ nb R3-st3w* (Daressy 1906, 96–97, pl. XIX).

date the fragment with certainty, however, and a date anywhere from the Late Period through the Graeco-Roman period is plausible.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Based on Giveon's brief discussion of Cat. 9's discovery, it does not appear that the fragment was found as a part of formal archaeological excavations. He states that the piece was discovered on the surface, indicating that it was likely found by chance.<sup>10</sup> No indication of the possible date of deposition, beyond the observation of numerous Hellenistic sherds on the surface, was made.

### *Summary*

A small fragment of an Osirian statuette was discovered on the surface at Tulul Mas'ud in the Sharon Plain of northern Israel. The statuette dates stylistically to the Late Period through Ptolemaic period and likely originated from northern Egypt, as indicated by the placement of the deity's arms as well as the reference to Rosetau on the statuette's back-pillar. Because the fragment was not formally excavated, no indication of when it arrived in Israel or how it was used in this region can be discerned.

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<sup>10</sup> Giveon 1967, 118.

### 2.1.3 – *The Judean Hills*

#### 2.1.3.1 – Jerusalem

##### *The Site*

Located in the Judean hills, Jerusalem is situated along a main north-south route running through the hill country near a number of important latitudinal roads crossing the country, connecting the site to the coast as well as eastward to Transjordan.<sup>1</sup> Serving as a capital city during many periods in history, Jerusalem is one of, if not the, most important sites in Israel. Because of its central importance in the region, it is also the focus of some of the most intensive archaeological research in the country, with areas of the city having been excavated almost continuously since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> However, much of the city's ancient remains remain undiscovered in large part because it continues to be occupied and is therefore difficult to excavate, a fact that is often emphasized.<sup>3</sup>

Within the Egyptian records, Jerusalem first appears in the Execration Texts where it is called *ḫwṣṣmm*.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between Jerusalem and Egypt is also evidenced in the Amarna Letters<sup>5</sup> and in the Biblical book of *Kings*, where it is said that Pharaoh gave the town to Solomon as a dowry for his daughter.<sup>6</sup> Despite the textual evidence for interactions between Jerusalem and Egypt, however, Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds remain extremely sparse. Moreover, many of the Egyptian pieces that have been found in the city and its vicinity, including all of the statuary fragments under

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<sup>1</sup> Aharoni 1979, 57–60.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief overview of archaeological work in Jerusalem, see Reich 2012.

<sup>3</sup> For a critical view of this approach, see A. Ben-Tor 2006a, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Sethe 1926, 53 nos. e27, e28, 58 no. f18; Posener 1940, 86 no. E45; Ahituv 1984, 122. Some scholars have questioned the identification of *ḫwṣṣmm* as Jerusalem in large part because no archaeological remains have yet been excavated dating to the MB IIA, which is contemporary with the texts. See, for instance, Mallon 1928, 5; Na'aman 1992, 278–79; A. Ben-Tor 2006a, 68–70, with further references.

<sup>5</sup> EA 285–291 were written by the ruler of Jerusalem (Moran 1992, 325–34).

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings 9:16, 7:8. For a summary of further evidence for interconnections between Egypt and Jerusalem, see Weinstein 2001b.

discussion here, come from unexcavated contexts. Egyptian finds said to come from Jerusalem include a fragment of a stela preserving three columns of hieroglyphs,<sup>7</sup> the bottom of a *shabti*,<sup>8</sup> and nearly a dozen stone vessels.<sup>9</sup> In addition, four statuary fragments are associated with the city.<sup>10</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **10. Statue of a Royal Woman (pl. 20)**



Material: Red Granite

Dimensions: H: 35 cm; W: 24.9 cm<sup>11</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or later

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Private Collection, Germany

Manner of examination: Published and unpublished photographs

Bibliography: Theis and van der Veen 2012, 510n8; van der Veen 2013, 43, 47; Burger Robin 2015

This fragment preserves the head and torso of slightly less than life-size statue of a royal woman. The piece, which was discovered in the late 1920s during road works just north of the Old City, is broken at the waist, with additional damage to both of the arms and to the proper left side of the head.<sup>12</sup> The woman, who was likely portrayed standing,

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<sup>7</sup> Scheil 1892, 116–17; Theis and van der Veen 2012, 511–15.

<sup>8</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 515–16. The *shabti*, which is currently in a private collection, is said to have been found during building work in the area of the Damascus Gate. It should therefore be viewed with caution.

<sup>9</sup> Sparks 2007, 217–18, with further references.

<sup>10</sup> A fifth fragment, the upper part of a quartzite statue of Amenhotep III in the guise of Amun (Brooklyn Museum 76.39), is sometimes associated with the material coming from Jerusalem because it first made its appearance in the collection of the Russian monastery on the Mount of Olives (Loukianoff 1931, 98). It is quite possible that the statue arrived there in modern times, however, so it will not be included in this study. For a description of the statue with further references see Fazzini 1989.

<sup>11</sup> Burger Robin 2015, 258. I would like to thank Dr. Burger Robin for providing me with an advanced copy of her study of the fragment and for sharing her thoughts and observations on it.

<sup>12</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 510n8.

has her left arm bent across her abdomen.<sup>13</sup> In her hand she grasps a lotus scepter, the top of which runs under the proper left side of her wig, coming to rest on her upper arm.<sup>14</sup>

Significant damage has occurred to the figure's face; not only is the surface of the stone badly abraded, but the nose and most of the lips are now missing. Nonetheless, some observations can be made based on what remains. The woman has a short, rounded face with a somewhat squared jawline and full, fleshy cheeks. Her eyes, which were once inlaid, are set horizontally into her face, with no visible traces of cosmetic lines or other details remaining.<sup>15</sup> Her mouth, although badly damaged, appears small and pursed.

The woman wears a heavy tripartite wig that exposes her large ears, pushing them forward. The wig descends to either side of her face in two sections, coming to the top of her breasts.<sup>16</sup> These lappets of hair are badly damaged, especially at the bottoms, but traces of incised lines breaking the strands into rectangular blocks representing tight, layered curls can still be seen along their lengths.<sup>17</sup> This pattern is better preserved on the rear section of the wig, which descends to the middle of the woman's back and is

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<sup>13</sup> A portion of what is likely a back-pillar can be seen directly beneath the woman's wig in the back. This could, alternatively, be the upper part of a throne (Burger Robin 2015, 260).

<sup>14</sup> For comparable poses see: a wooden statuette of Queen Ahmose Nefertari dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Louvre N 470; Andreu 1997); an alabaster statue of the Gods' Wife of Amun Amenirdis (Cairo JE 3420), a granite statue of Amenirdis (Cairo JE 67871; Habachi 1951, pl. IV), a quartzite statue of Shepenwepet II (JE 36694), and a granodiorite statue of an unidentified God's Wife of Amun (Nicholson Museum, Sydney R 41; Morkot 2006). Several examples where the scepter passes in front of the wig are also known, mostly from the New Kingdom.

<sup>15</sup> In her examination of the fragment, Burger Robin noted that "the proper left eye still has the groove for the eye liner" (2015, 260).

<sup>16</sup> According to Burger Robin's observations, "The lappets are uneven in length. The proper left side extends quite below the level of the left breast; whereas the right side ends at the height to the middle of the breast" (2015, 259). This seems unlikely, however, given the preference for symmetry within Egyptian art; careful examination of the published photograph indicates that the lappets are even in length, and that the area understood by Burger Robin as the extension of the left lappet is in fact simply an area of damage.

<sup>17</sup> Burger Robin identifies these rectangular sections as beads rather than sections of hair (2015, 259).

bounded on the bottom by a raised, horizontal band.<sup>18</sup> On top of the wig, the figure wears a feathered headdress, indicating her status as a queen.<sup>19</sup>

The queen wears a tight-fitting sheath dress, the upper hem of which runs across her chest just below her nipples, exposing most of the breasts. The proper right nipple is covered with a many-petaled rosette, an arrangement that was once mirrored on the left breast, where traces of the lower part of a second rosette can still be seen.<sup>20</sup> The lady wears a broad collar that is rendered in raised relief, passing between the two sections of her hair under which the necklace runs. In addition, she wears large circular earrings that cover the lobes of her ears.<sup>21</sup>

Representations of queens wearing banded tripartite wigs, often with the vulture headdress, and holding lotus scepters are well attested from the New Kingdom on. Among the earliest representations of this type are those depicting Queen Tiye,<sup>22</sup> but it was not until the Ramesside period that this combination became the standard way of representing the king's wife.<sup>23</sup> This set of attributes continues to be associated with royal women of later periods as well, most notably the God's Wives of Amun during the 25<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> It is likely that similar bands once finished the bottoms of the front lappets of the wig as well. The banded tripartite wig, usually worn by deities or humans with a divine aspect, is known from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty on (Fay 1996a, 124–25).

<sup>19</sup> According to Burger Robin, who examined the statue in person, the rest of the headdress was likely inserted into a square opening on the back of the head (2015, 259).

<sup>20</sup> Compare the rosette on the statue of the so-called “White Queen” (Cairo JE 31413/CG 600), dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, or those on a granodiorite statue of Queen Tiye from the temple of Mut (Cairo JE 99821; Bryan 2008, 32–33, 40–41 figs. 1 and 3), or on a granodiorite statue of Tuya, re-worked from a statue of Queen Tiye (Museo Gregoriano egizio 22; Kozloff 1996). The unusually low and off-center placement of the rosettes might suggest that the statue has been re-carved from an earlier work, a theory that Burger Robin dismisses (2015, 261–62).

<sup>21</sup> Compare the Ramesside statues of the “White Queen” (Cairo JE 31413/CG 600); of Isisnofret (Brussels E 5924); of an unidentified queen (Ägyptisches Museum Berlin 10114); or the later statue of Amenirdis (Cairo JE 3420/CG 565).

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, a granodiorite statue of the queen (Cairo JE 99821; Bryan 2008) or a two-dimensional representation of her in the tomb of Kheruef (The Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 25). For further discussion, see Bryan 2008; Sourouzian 2011, 346–49.

<sup>23</sup> Sourouzian 1989, 2–3. Several representations of Ahmose Nefertari dating to the Ramesside period also depict the queen in this manner (e.g., Louvre N 470; Ägyptisches Museum 6908; for further examples see Andreu 1997).

Dynasty.<sup>24</sup> Because the figure's face is so badly damaged, it is difficult to assign the statue to a precise period. Burger Robin dates the statue to the Ramesside period, and more specifically to the reigns of Ramesses II or his son Merenptah.<sup>25</sup> However, a later date for the statue, possibly during the Third Intermediate Period, cannot conclusively be ruled out.

### 11. Head of a Male Statue (pls. 21-23)



Material: Granodiorite(?)<sup>26</sup>

Dimensions: H: 16.7 cm; W: 12.2 cm; D: 15.1 cm<sup>27</sup>

Date of statue: Old Kingdom

Archaeological Context: On the grounds of Saint-Pierre en Gallicante

Current Location: Unknown<sup>28</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 373; Mallon 1928, 5–6; Rowe 1936, 291, pl. XXXVII; Maeir 1989; Theis and van der Veen 2012, 517n28

This head comes from a two-thirds life-size statue of a male official made of black stone. The statue was broken at the top of the neck, with significant damage sustained to the preserved portions, particularly the proper left side of the head and the face, which is so highly abraded as to have removed almost all traces of the facial features.<sup>29</sup> The man depicted wears a short, curled wig with concentric rows of curls

<sup>24</sup> For examples see note 14 above. Versions of this grouping continue down into the Ptolemaic period. See, for instance, a statue of a Ptolemaic queen wearing a tripartite wig (without vulture headdress) and holding a lotus scepter (JE 38582).

<sup>25</sup> Burger Robin 2015, 262. Stylistic features, such as the length of the woman's broad collar in comparison to that of her wig, make an earlier 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date unlikely. See Kozloff 1996, 482.

<sup>26</sup> The statue is made of a black stone identified by Rowe as basalt and by Mallon as black granite (Rowe 1936, 291; Mallon 1928, 5). An examination of the published photographs suggests that the stone is in fact granodiorite.

<sup>27</sup> Rowe 1936, 291.

<sup>28</sup> The statue was formerly in the Museum of the Assumptionist Fathers, Notre-Dame de France, Jerusalem (now the Pontifical Institute Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center). Unfortunately, most of the museum's collection was lost during the 1948 war, and the current location of the statue is unknown (Maeir 1989, 37n4).

<sup>29</sup> The face is so "battered" that Rowe rightly suggested that some of the damage might have been intentional (Rowe 1936, 291). His conjecture that the heavy damage to the wig might hide a uraeus, however, is completely unfounded (*Ibid.*).

emanating out from a circular disc of hair at the top of his head (pl. 23).<sup>30</sup> This wig covers the man's ears and is rounded in front, framing his full, short face. A rectilinear back pillar spanning most of the width of the head rises approximately halfway up the back of the man's wig (pl. 22). It is incised with a simple border consisting of a single line that encloses the beginning of an inscription on its top, left, and right sides. The inscription, which is written from right to left, reads:

*iry-p<sup>ḥ</sup>t* [...]  
 “The hereditary prince<sup>31</sup> ...”

Thus the back-pillar preserves the first in what was likely once a string of titles identifying the person represented.

This title, which is one of the most frequently attested among the nobility, is commonly found in the Old Kingdom but also during other periods. It is therefore of little use in determining the date of the statue, as has already been noted by previous scholars.<sup>32</sup> The style of the wig is instructive, however, as short curled wigs of this type were most popular during the Old Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> If such a dating for the statue is correct, it would be one of the oldest works of Egyptian statuary thus far excavated in the Levant.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Sometimes referred to as a *Lockenperücke*. For further discussion, see Cherpion 1998, 103–5. As the bottom portion of the wig is now missing, it is not possible to determine whether it was shoulder-length or shorter, but the latter seems more likely based on the published photographs.

<sup>31</sup> Jones 2000, I: 315 no. 1157; Ward 1982, 102 ff. Rowe's assumption that this title indicated a prince of royal blood led the statue to be published in Porter and Moss as the “head of a prince,” which is a bit of a misnomer (PM VII: 373).

<sup>32</sup> Maeir 1989, 36.

<sup>33</sup> For comparable pieces from the Old Kingdom, see Cherpion 1998 with further references. An Old Kingdom date for the statue has previously been suggested by both Mallon and Maeir although, as Maeir notes, an archaizing Late Period statue cannot be conclusively ruled out (Mallon 1928, 6; Maeir 1989). One feature that might point towards a later date is the presence of an inscription on the back-pillar, as inscribed back-pillars, while attested, are only rarely found during the Old Kingdom, e.g., an Egyptian alabaster statue (Vienna ÄS 7785; Jaroš-Deckert and Rogge 1993, 72–76) and a granodiorite statue (Vienna ÄS 8566; *Ibid.* 154–56) both tentatively dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. For an overview of this practice, see Eaton-Krauss 2009, 131–36.

<sup>34</sup> Six Old Kingdom statues have been identified within this corpus. For further discussion, see Chapter 3.1.



## 12. Upper Portion of a Male Statue (pl. 24)



Material: Granite or granodiorite<sup>35</sup>

Dimensions: H: 15.4 cm; W: 12.3 cm; D: 10.4 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, late 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: IAA Beth Shemesh Storage Facility (# IAA 1951-1059/1)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Theis and van der Veen 2012, 517–20; van der Veen 2013, 47–48

This fragment preserves the upper part of a private male statue that has been broken at approximately the mid-back. The black granite or granodiorite statue was discovered in Jerusalem in 1951. It portrays a man with a short, round face, a prominent brow ridge, and full, fleshy cheeks whose eyes are heavily hooded and unadorned by cosmetic lines. The man's now broken nose is long and thin and his mouth small with a full lower lip. He wears the so-called duplex or double-style wig that comes down to his shoulders in the back, with the lower part of the wig descending down onto the front of his chest in two lappets.<sup>36</sup> His fleshy ears, which have indented circles likely representing piercings for earrings, peek out from beneath the wig. No clear remains of the man's clothing can be seen, although a deeply incised line at the base of his neck could represent the neck of his garment. Based upon what remains, the original form of the statue cannot be determined.

On the back of the statue, a back-pillar rises halfway up the figure's head. This back-pillar, which measures approximately 5.8 cm in width, is incised with a single column of hieroglyphs reading from right to left that is bordered on either side by an

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<sup>35</sup> Theis and van der Veen identify the stone as black granite (2012, 517–18).

<sup>36</sup> This type of wig, sometimes also referred to as a curled lappet wig, was popular from the New Kingdom through the Late Period (Fletcher 1994, 33; Fletcher 2000, 496–97).

incised register line. As it is preserved, the inscription is quite difficult to read. In their presentation of the text, Theis and van der Veen cautiously read the text as follows:

“*P3-di-pt Wsir nb nswt bik*<sup>37</sup> [...] Padipet (The one, which Heaven has given), Osiris, Lord of the Thrones, falcon [...]”<sup>38</sup>

Although I am unable to present an improved reading of the inscription, a few observations on the published translation can be made. The first is that the interpretation of the first signs as a personal name is unlikely. Aside from the fact that this or similar names are elsewhere unattested to my knowledge, the lack of a preceding title and/or formula (such as the *htp-di-nsw*) is peculiar.<sup>39</sup> The orthography of the name of Osiris is also highly unusual, and the meaning of his epithet remains unclear.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This sign is badly damaged but consists of a rounded back, possibly the back of a bird, with an oblique line projecting from the back that turns down. As Theis and van der Veen have proposed, the best match for this sign is the falcon with flagellum (Gardiner G6), although as the authors’ note a “satisfying explanation” for its presence remains elusive (2012, 519). In his later publication of the fragment, van der Veen amends the end of the translation, reading the name of Horus instead of the word for falcon (van der Veen 2013, 47). Such a writing of the name of Horus would point to a later date during the Graeco-Roman period for the inscription, however, unless Gardiner G12 is to be read instead (Leitz 2002e, 230).

<sup>38</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 518.

<sup>39</sup> Despite the authors’ statement that “it seems clear that the second sign is *t* ... and that the small narrow sign underneath is” the sky hieroglyph (Gardiner N1), closer examination of the inscription raises some doubts. Of the five signs comprising the supposed name *P3-di-pt*, only the arm hieroglyph (Gardiner D36 standing in for D37) and the second *p* (Gardiner Q3) can be clearly read. The first sign, which is small and centered above the arm, is not at all similar to the second *p*, most closely resembling a *t* than any other sign. Although a name beginning with *t3-di* is possible, it seems unlikely given that the statue represents a male rather than a female. The sign that follows it is a long undulating line that does not in any way resemble the *pt* sign, although which sign should be read is not clear. In addition to the signs being unclear, the order in which they are to be read also points away from the reading of *P3-di-pt*, as the signs in the word *pt* are reversed, a fact that Theis and van der Veen have corrected in their transcription of the text without noting it (2012, 518). As an alternative they acknowledge the close similarity to the name written here to the name *P3-di-Pp*, citing multiple attestations of the name, but discount this possibility as the “theophoric element [*Pp*] is too late for this type of statue which clearly dates to the New Kingdom” (Theis and van der Veen 2012, 518n32); see also Ranke 1935, I:123.12.

<sup>40</sup> In this instance the name of Osiris is spelled with the seat sign (Gardiner Q1) followed by Gardiner U40. While both of these signs can be used to write Osiris’ name, they are not usually used in concert with each other (Leitz 2002b, 528). The reading of the epithet as *nb nswt* is also less than certain; while the *nb* sign is clear, the three dots below it do not closely resemble the sign for throne (Gardiner W11) and could easily be plural strokes or some other triplicated small sign. Furthermore, the epithet *nb nswt* is always followed by a qualifier, a role which the following sign does not seem to fulfill in this case (for examples see Leitz 2002c, 672–73).

Due to the peculiarities of the inscription, it is of little help in dating the statue fragment.<sup>41</sup> The style of the wig, however, points towards a New Kingdom date, as duplex wigs were particularly popular among officials starting during the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In large part because of this wig style, and also based on the man's facial features, Theis and van der Veen date the statue to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, likely during the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, numerous statues of men wearing this type of wig dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties can be found in museum collections around the world.<sup>43</sup> It should be noted, however, that in the case of the Jerusalem statue even the rendering of the wig is unusual. For one, the upper portion of the wig is completely smooth, in contrast with other examples that are embellished with striations or curls of hair.<sup>44</sup> As to the lower portion, the lappets come to a point rather than being rounded, and they are striated instead of being divided horizontally into curls, as is the standard treatment of the wig.

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<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, the possibility that the inscription is secondary or has been modified should not be ruled out.

<sup>42</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 518.

<sup>43</sup> For a list of examples, see Theis and van der Veen 2012, 518n31. Compare also British Museum EA 2338 (Russmann 2001, 234–35).

<sup>44</sup> One possible explanation for this is that the statue remained unfinished.

### 13. Lower Portion of a Seated Statuette (pls. 25-27)



Material: Serpentinite

Dimensions: H: 7 cm; W: 3 cm; D: 7 cm

Date of statue: Late Period(?)

Archaeological Context: École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, surface find

Current Location: École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem (no. EBAF 1576)<sup>45</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Barkay 1996, 35–37; Barkay 2000, 55–56;

Wimmer 1990, 1073; Wimmer 1998, 94; Theis and van der Veen 2012, 509–10; van der Veen 2013, 45–6, 67n7

The fragment, which preserves the lower part of a seated figure from about the level of the navel down, is made of a black stone with green mottling identified in the publications as serpentine. Barkay, who was the first to formally publish the piece, described it as a “beautifully-crafted statuette ... [of] a male figure seated on a chair; the head and upper part of the body are missing. The figure wears a long garment reaching down to the ankles, emphasizing the leg muscles and knee contours. The arms, not preserved, were probably stretched forward and held a staff or a standard in front of the face. The back of the chair narrows towards the top.”<sup>46</sup> However, as careful examination reveals, there is no evidence for this placement of the arms, or even to confirm that the statuette once depicted a male.

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<sup>45</sup> I would like to thank Professor Riccardo Lufrani, o.p. for allowing me to examine this piece.

<sup>46</sup> Barkay 1996, 35–36. Barkay compares this statuette to another broken seated figurine found in the Jerusalem area, which he identifies as likely being Egyptian in origin (*Ibid.*, 37). The piece, which was excavated by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald in 1927, is described as being made of “greenish-black stone (gneiss-schist)” (Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929, 126). However, based on the schematic drawing provided in the original publication, it is impossible to say whether or not the sculpture had any Egyptian or Egyptianizing tendencies. Furthermore, the scale of the figure is much smaller than the piece currently under discussion, with a preserved height of approximately 3.6 cm (not the 9 cm stated by Barkay, who used the wrong scale on the drawing to calculate the object’s height), indicating that it was probably an amulet rather than a statue. The current location of the piece is not known.

The figure is seated on a low-backed chair that narrows into a thin back-pillar.<sup>47</sup> The chair's seat comes to about the middle of the figure's thighs, with his or her legs jutting out in front, leaving a significant amount of negative space between the back of the well-carved legs and the front of the seat.<sup>48</sup> The figure wears a long garment that comes to just above the ankles.<sup>49</sup> The surface of the statuette is heavily scratched in many areas, particularly down the front of the skirt's center, which is slightly indented from the legs.<sup>50</sup>

Since its discovery, several scholars have attempted to ascertain the identity of the figure depicted, a challenging feat as no hieroglyphic inscription remains and virtually no iconographically distinctive markers are preserved. Barkay, influenced in part by conversations that he had about the piece with R. Givon, proposed that the statuette once represented a male Egyptian deity, likely either Amun or Ptah.<sup>51</sup> Wimmer, while noting that too little of the statuette is preserved to identify it with certainty, raised the possibility that the fragment is actually part of a private statuette of Middle Kingdom date.<sup>52</sup> More recently, Theis and van der Veen have returned to the suggestion that the statuette represents an Egyptian deity, but prefer to see it as a goddess, likely Sekhmet, rather than a male deity.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Most of the chair's back to either side of the back pillar is now missing.

<sup>48</sup> This space has been recessed but not removed. As Barkay noted, the legs have been worked carefully, with delicately modeled ankles and a realistic rendering of the toes, although no indication of the toenails has been made.

<sup>49</sup> This can be most clearly seen in the negative space between the legs, but the hem of the garment has also been lightly incised onto the legs of the figure on the side.

<sup>50</sup> It is unclear whether this is simply an attempt to render the contours of the legs or the result of the removal of a column of inscription. No traces of any hieroglyphic signs exist on the statuette.

<sup>51</sup> Barkay 1996, 37; Barkay 2000, 55–56.

<sup>52</sup> Wimmer 1998, 94.

<sup>53</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 510n4; van der Veen 2013, 67n7. This suggestion is based on Mazar's argument that a cult of Sekhmet existed in Jerusalem, as evidenced by the presence of a figurine and an amulet identified as representing the goddess that have been excavated there (E. Mazar 2011, 46–47). However, based on the published image of the figurine, the figure represented is human-headed, not

Although very little of the statuette remains, close study can still help with its identification. Barkay's suggestion that the figure represents either Amun, or more likely Ptah, is unsatisfactory based largely on the figure's clothing, which is a tight-fitting garment that comes to just above the level of the ankles.<sup>54</sup> There are good parallels for private individuals, both male and female, wearing long garments of the type seen on Cat. 13, making Wimmer's suggestion that a Middle Kingdom man is represented by the statue more plausible.<sup>55</sup> However, in these examples the figure usually places one if not both hands on his or her lap, yet there are no traces of the figure's hands or forearms on the lap of the statuette under discussion or, for that matter, any remains of the figure's arms at all. This would seem to suggest that the figure's arms were in a raised position, although it is doubtful that they reached out in front of the body to grasp a staff as suggested by Barkay. In fact, close examination of the figure's lap, as well as the areas of damage on the figure, points toward another possibility.

Of particular interest is a small projection from the figure's belly, just to the proper left of center. This feature, which has not been noted in previous studies of the fragment, begs explanation. The thin projection, which tapers down to the figure's lap, does not find good parallels in the placement of a figure's arms or in staffs or other similar elements held by a figure, in part because it is not centered on the sculpture.

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lioness-headed, and therefore should not be identified as Sekhmet (for a publication of the figurine, see E. Mazar 2009, 39–40). The identification of another ceramic figurine fragment excavated in Jerusalem with the goddess is also less than certain (for the figurine, see E. Mazar 2011, 140–41). There is therefore not enough evidence to support the presence of an Egyptian temple to Sekhmet in Jerusalem, making the statuette's (Cat. 13) identification with the goddess less probable. One possible comparison is a figurine of a leonine-headed goddess excavated at the site of Achziv, the current whereabouts of which are unknown (Tocci 1964, 133, pl. XXII).

<sup>54</sup> Traditionally Amun wears a short kilt, precluding his association with the figure; the mummiform Ptah, whose mummy wrappings usually envelop his legs and his feet, is also an unlikely candidate.

<sup>55</sup> Oftentimes these statues have a single column of text running down the front of the garment in between the legs. If such an inscription once adorned Cat. 13 it could account for the scratchy appearance of this part of the garment, a feature that was emphasized in Barkay's illustration of the fragment (pl. 26).

However, when compared with statuettes depicting Isis nursing the infant Horus, a new possibility presents itself, namely that this projection is a brace between the figure of the mother and her child (pl. 27).<sup>56</sup> While this identification cannot be made with certainty given the small percentage of the statuette that is preserved, it would accord well with other features of the statue. For instance, it would explain why the arms of the figure are not preserved, as in this pose one would expect them to be up, with the right arm reaching towards the goddess' breast and the left supporting the child. It would also account for the fact that the figure's lap is not smooth, but rather has a noticeable bump on it with a deeply incised line just to the side of where one would expect the child to be sitting. Identifying this statuette as one of Isis and Horus could even explain why the figure's legs stick out so far from the chair front (i.e., to allow space for the infant's legs to dangle down) and possibly points to the reason that the figure's proper right leg has sustained damage (i.e., from when the secondary figure became separated from the larger work).<sup>57</sup>

As to the date of the statuette, it is difficult to comment with too much certainty given the fact that the only elements that the statuette preserves are relatively long-lived within the corpus of Egyptian art. Barkay places the statuette in the New Kingdom, but provides no justification for this date.<sup>58</sup> Wimmer, on the other hand, suggests the Middle

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<sup>56</sup> Compare Cat. 8, a fragmentary statuette of a goddess and child from Makmish; Cairo CG 39278, a schist statue of Isis and child dated to the Late Period that also has a scratched surface running down the front of the legs (Abd elhaleem 2015; Daressy 1906, 320); Hildesheim RPM 1203, a 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty greywacke statue of Isis and Horus (H. W. Müller 1963, 10–11); Brooklyn Museum 16.430, also a stone statuette of Isis and Horus dated to 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Bleiberg 2008, 41). Examples of private individuals, usually women, holding children in their laps also occur, e.g., the statuette of Satre (Cairo JE 56264; Bernhauer 2010, 253–54, pl. 22); the statuette of Hwi (British Museum EA 1280; Bernhauer 2010, 264–65, pl. 27); or a statuette from Bubastis (Cairo JE 98831; Bernhauer 2010, 271–72, pl. 30).

<sup>57</sup> One possible argument against the statuette's identification as a figure of Isis nursing Horus is the fact that there is no pedestal for the child to rest his feet on.

<sup>58</sup> Barkay 1996, 37. The date is presumably influenced by his belief that a Ramesside temple once stood in this location.

Kingdom.<sup>59</sup> If the statuette is indeed one of Isis (or a similar goddess) nursing an infant, a Late Period date is more likely, given the popularity of these figures in that era, although it is impossible to be certain given the evidence currently available.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Of the four Egyptian statuary fragments found in Jerusalem, none come from formally excavated contexts, all having been found by happenstance, usually as the result of unrelated construction projects. The first piece to be found was the Old Kingdom statue head (Cat. 11), which was discovered in 1925 on the grounds of Saint-Pierre en Gallicante, just south of the Old City on the eastern slope of Mount Zion.<sup>60</sup> How the piece came to be in Jerusalem remains a mystery, although it must have arrived at some point long after the statue was commissioned, as there is no Egyptian presence in Jerusalem during the Old Kingdom.<sup>61</sup>

The next statue to come to light is that of the royal woman (Cat. 10), which was found “ca. 1929 during road works in the ‘gravel’ in the Prophets St. near house 42.”<sup>62</sup> A similarly vague provenance has been assigned to the third fragment to be discovered, the other male statue head (Cat. 12), which was reportedly “found in 1951 by children in the

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<sup>59</sup> Wimmer 1998, 94n12. Van der Veen does not attempt to date the fragment, noting that “the date ... is difficult to determine, although a Ramesside date cannot be excluded” (2013, 45–46).

<sup>60</sup> The statue was presumably unearthed during construction at the site, as the fourth incarnation of the church was built during the 1920s.

<sup>61</sup> Mallon suggested that the head “fut probablement apporté à Jérusalem par quelque amateur de l’époque romaine,” but provides no reasons that this might be the case (1928, 6).

<sup>62</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 510n8. The piece was given to the German Protestant Rector of Jerusalem who returned to Germany with the statue in 1930 (Burger Robin 2015, 258n1).



courtyard of Mr. Noah Gershon's house in the Hayarkon St. in Northwest Jerusalem, near the Mahaneh Yehudah market."<sup>63</sup>

The provenance of the seated stone statuette (Cat. 13), the most recent piece of Egyptian stone statuary to be discovered in Jerusalem, is particularly problematic. The work was discovered in 1975 by Jacqueline Balensi in the rose garden of the École Biblique by chance.<sup>64</sup> Although Barkay associates the statuette with other "Egyptian" finds from the excavations at the École in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>65</sup> it seems more probable that the piece was brought to the grounds in modern times, possibly in soil used in the setup of the rose garden where it was found.<sup>66</sup> Thus its original place and date of deposition are unknown.

### *Summary*

To date four fragments of Egyptian stone sculpture have been discovered in Jerusalem; one portrays a royal woman, two depict male officials, and the fourth likely represents a goddess. The statues span a wide range of time stylistically, with one dating to the Old Kingdom while the rest seem to date to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or later. Because none of the statues were formally excavated, however, little to no information can be gleaned from their provenances about how or when they came to be in Jerusalem or how they might have been utilized in that context.

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<sup>63</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 517, including further discussion on how this findspot relates spatially to other findspots in Jerusalem.

<sup>64</sup> van der Veen 2013, 45–46. The École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem is located just north of the Old City.

<sup>65</sup> Barkay 1996; Barkay 2000. Barkay has gone so far as to argue that a Ramesside Egyptian temple once stood on the grounds now occupied by the École Biblique. However, of his so-called "Egyptian" finds from the site only one other than the statuette can be viewed as Egyptian in origin, a stela fragment inscribed with four vertical lines of hieroglyphs and part of a relief scene. For further treatment of this text, see Theis and van der Veen 2012, 511–15.

<sup>66</sup> Theis and van der Veen 2012, 509–10n4.

### 2.1.3.2 – Gezer

#### *The Site*

Gezer (Tell Jezer or Tell el-Jazari) is a roughly 13 ha site located at a strategic point near the intersection of the Via Maris with the trunk road leading east to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Although Clermont-Ganneau had already identified the site with Biblical Gezer in 1871, formal exploration of the site did not commence until 1902 when R.A. Stewart Macalister, working on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), began excavations there.<sup>2</sup> Gezer was subsequently studied by Raymond-Charles Weill in 1914 and 1924 and still later by Alan Rowe in 1934 during a brief season of excavation sponsored by the PEF.<sup>3</sup> Major study of Gezer continued from 1964-1974 and then again in 1984 and 1990 through excavations conducted by a team from the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School.<sup>4</sup> Renewed excavations at the site began in 2006 under the direction of Steven M. Ortiz (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary) and Samuel Wolff (IAA) and are ongoing.<sup>5</sup> The cumulative excavation results have revealed that Gezer was occupied from the Late Chalcolithic through the Byzantine period.<sup>6</sup>

Gezer (*Ḳṣdr* / *Ḳṣḏr*) is first mentioned in Egyptian sources during the New Kingdom, when the city appears twice in Thutmose III's Karnak toponym lists<sup>7</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Dever 1993, 496.

<sup>2</sup> Dever 1993, 496–97. Macalister's excavation of the site took place from 1902-1905 and from 1907-1909 (Macalister 1912, 3 Volumes). During this large-scale project roughly forty percent of the site was excavated (Ortiz and Wolff 2012, 6).

<sup>3</sup> Maeir 2004; Rowe 1935.

<sup>4</sup> The project was overseen by G.E. Wright from 1964-1965; William G. Dever from 1966-1971, in 1984 and 1990; and J.D. Seger from 1972-1974 (Dever, Lance, and Wright 1970; Dever et al. 1974; Gitin 1990; Dever 1986; Dever 2014; Seger 1988; Seger 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Ortiz and Wolff 2012.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the site's periodization, see Dever 1993, 498–506.

<sup>7</sup> *Urk.* IV: 785:11-2, #104. For an overview of Egyptian references to Gezer see Ahituv 1984, 101–2.

likewise in that of Amenhotep III at Soleb.<sup>8</sup> A fragmentary stela excavated at the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV also refers to the city in relation to plunder (likely in the form of captives) that his majesty removed from the city.<sup>9</sup> Merenptah makes two references to Gezer in his royal inscriptions: in the Amada Inscription where the phrase “the Lord of the Two Lands, who conquered Gezer” is incorporated into his titulary,<sup>10</sup> and in the Israel Stela where he states that Gezer has been seized.<sup>11</sup> In addition to these Egyptian references to the city, Gezer and its rulers are also frequently mentioned in the Amarna Letters.<sup>12</sup>

Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds at Gezer are abundant, so much so, in fact, that Macalister stated that “relics of Egyptian influence came to light almost daily in the course of the excavation.”<sup>13</sup> The numerous finds include nearly 700 scarabs, seals and sealings,<sup>14</sup> a faience kohl tube naming Queen Tiye,<sup>15</sup> an ivory sundial inscribed for Merenptah,<sup>16</sup> a jar handle stamped with the cartouche of Seti II,<sup>17</sup> and five pieces of three-dimensional stone sculpture.

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<sup>8</sup> Hypostyle Hall, Column IV N9, β2 (Schiff Giorgini 1965, 102–3, Doc. 20, H; 115, [Doc. 20, M] e; 137, Doc. 28, E; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 231; Schiff Giorgini 2002, 135; Givon 1964, 250). A fragmentary toponym in the later topographical list of Sheshonq I has sometimes been restored as naming Gezer, but the traces are inconclusive (The Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 4, no. 12). In support of reading the name as Gezer, see Ahituv 1984, 102n220; for arguments against the reading of Gezer, see Kitchen 1996, 435 and n. 57; K. A. Wilson 2005, 105–6.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1556:11; Petrie 1897, 20–21, pl. I.7; Breasted 1906, II: 326; Bryan 1991, 344. The name of the city is damaged, but it is generally agreed upon that the *dmi n K3d3*[...] mentioned in the text should be read as Gezer (*K3d3r*). Further evidence of Thutmose IV’s involvement with Gezer might be found in an Akkadian letter excavated at the site, which Malamat has proposed was authored by the monarch (Albright 1943; Malamat 1961, 228–33; Bryan 1991, 344–45).

<sup>10</sup> *nb t3wy wcfK3d3r* (*KRI* IV: 1.9).

<sup>11</sup> *mhw m K3d3r* (*KRI* IV: 19.5-6).

<sup>12</sup> EA 249, 250, 253, 254, 287, 290, 292, 297, 298, 299, 300, 369, 378 (Moran 1992; Ross 1967).

<sup>13</sup> Macalister 1912, 2:307. For a summary of finds see PM VII: 374-45.

<sup>14</sup> Keel 2013, 165–465.

<sup>15</sup> Dever et al. 1974, pl. 41:12, pl. 75D.

<sup>16</sup> Macalister 1912, I: 15; II: 331; Pilcher 1923; Magdolen 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Gilmour and Kitchen 2012.

## *The Statuary*

### **14. Statuette of Heqaib** (pls. 28-30)



Material: Granite (Macalister)<sup>18</sup>

Dimensions: H: 10.8 cm<sup>19</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Ash pit in the Western hill of Gezer<sup>20</sup>

Current Location: Unknown<sup>21</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 374; Macalister 1905, 317–18; Gardiner 1906; Macalister 1912, II: 311-12; Weinstein 1974, 55; Wastlhuber 2011, 43–44; Schroer 2008, II: 156–7 (no. 374)

This statuette represents a man seated cross-legged on a base that is squared on the front and sides but rounded in the back. The man wears a long, fringed cloak, the hem of which can be seen running along his upper back just below the hairline, and over his arms in the front, creating a v-shaped opening.<sup>22</sup> The man's left hand, which is overly large, peeks out from underneath the cloak, resting open-handed palm side down on his breast. His right hand is clenched in front of his abdomen, apparently holding the two sides of the cloak together. The man wears a plain, shoulder-length wig that reveals his large ears. His long, rounded face gazes slightly upwards when viewed in profile.<sup>23</sup>

Across the man's lap two lines of hieroglyphic text reading right to left have been inscribed into the surface of his garment, the hem of which can be seen running diagonally through part of the inscription. The difficulty in reading the inscription can be seen in the differences between Macalister's 1905 transcription of the text and that published by Griffith in 1906, particularly in regards to the second line of the inscription

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<sup>18</sup> Macalister describes the material as gray granite (Macalister 1905, 318).

<sup>19</sup> Macalister 1905, 318.

<sup>20</sup> Macalister 1905, 317.

<sup>21</sup> The piece is likely in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, as regulations at the time of excavation made all finds the property of the Ottoman government (Macalister 1912, II: 47). At least two statues from Macalister's excavation of Gezer, including Cat. 15, can be found there (Anonymous 1935, 94).

<sup>22</sup> This cloak appears to completely envelop the man's legs and feet.

<sup>23</sup> The details of the face are difficult to make out using the published photographs.

(pls. 29-30).<sup>24</sup> Griffith, who examined a cast of the statuette, translated the text as follows: “May the king give an offering, and (the god) Ptah-Sokar, to the *ka* of the taster (of the bakery?) Heqab, justified.”<sup>25</sup> As Griffith himself notes, this translation remains problematic. Based on the evidence presently available, the most likely reading of the inscription is as follows:

*h̄tp di nsw Pth-Skr n k3 n*<sup>26</sup>  
 An offering the king gives and Ptah-Sokar to the *ka* of

*wdpw n ʿt [t]*<sup>27</sup> *Hk3-ib*<sup>28</sup> *m3ʿ-hrw*  
 the butler of the [bread] magazine Heqaib, justified.

Without better views of the facial details, it is difficult to date the statuette precisely. However, the pose of the figure “is one that became increasingly fashionable in the late Middle Kingdom,” pointing towards a date in the late 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Macalister himself noted the difficulty, stating that “there is considerable doubt about the reading of some of the characters ... which are badly formed owing to the difficulty of working in granite” (Macalister 1905, 318). In his later publication of the statuette he defers to Griffith’s transcription (Macalister 1912, II: 311).

<sup>25</sup> Griffith 1906, 122. The casts are presumably those held by the Palestine Exploration Fund, but a recent search of their collection could not locate the cast of this statuette.

<sup>26</sup> Macalister read *n k3 n*, while Griffith read *n k3.f* arguing for a “hybrid” combination of *di.f* and *n k3 n* (Macalister 1905, 318; Griffith 1906, 122). I have read *n k3 n* here, as it follows the traditional formula, but neither reading can be ruled out based on the published photographs.

<sup>27</sup> By all accounts the man’s title is difficult to read (Macalister 1905, 318; Griffith 1906, 121). The arrangement of the second portion of the title in Macalister’s hand copy is quite close to that seen in a title on a late Middle Kingdom stela currently in the British Museum (EA 1245) (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum Part III* 1912, pl. 21). That title was originally read by Ward as *wdpw n ʿt stp.t* “Butler of the Choice-food-pantry,” but has more recently been read by Hannig as another writing of *wdpw n ʿt t* (Ward 1982, 91, #761; Hannig 2006, I: 753; H. G. Fischer 1997, 57). According to Griffith’s examination of the cast, the phrase *wdpw n ʿt* is “ill written” while the *t* indicating the magazine with which the man was associated is completely missing, likely because “the scribe or engraver here began the word ‘bread’ or the like to complete the title, and then ... changed his mind either through inadvertence or because he was exceeding the space allowable, and superposed the” *hk3* sign, which has an unusually wide base (Griffith 1906, 121–22). Although it is possible that the whole title is *wdpw n ʿt*, such a title is not elsewhere attested.

<sup>28</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 256.3.

<sup>29</sup> Bourriau 1988, 57. Although this basic type of statue is common in this period, the placement of the arms up on the chest rather than flat in the lap is less common. Compare similar examples with the left arm up and right hand down, such as a statue of Senpu from the sanctuary of Heqaib dated to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Habachi 1985b, pl. 168-70) and a statuette of Shesmuhotep from Haraga tomb 606 dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> to early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Manchester 6135; Bourriau 1988, 56–57).

Such a date would accord well with the shape of the face, the exaggeratedly large ears, as well as the style of the garment.

### 15. Male Block Statue (pl. 31)



Material: Limestone (Schulz)<sup>30</sup>

Dimensions: H: 90 cm; W: ≈34.3 cm; D: ≈59.7 cm<sup>31</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II<sup>32</sup>

Archaeological Context: in a house on the Eastern Hill

Current Location: Istanbul Archaeological Museum (10966)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Macalister 1909, 99–100; Macalister 1912, II: 308-9;

Anonymous 1935, 94; Schulz 1992, I: 159; II: pl. 35

Macalister's team excavated this block statue of an unidentified male figure during the winter 1908-1909 season in the area known as the Eastern Hill.<sup>33</sup> The work takes the form of a naturalistic block statue depicting a man seated on the ground with his bent legs pulled up in front of him. When viewed in profile the arms and legs are rendered naturalistically in high relief, but in the front they are hidden by a flat surface (likely created by the man's garment) from which his feet peek out below.<sup>34</sup> Although the surface of the statue is badly abraded, the sculpture was largely complete when it was discovered, with only part of the proper right forearm and a section of the underside of the base missing.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Although Macalister published the material as "gritty micaceous sandstone," both Schulz and an announcement of the museum's acquisition of the statue identify the material as limestone, which seems to be confirmed from an examination of the published photographs (Macalister 1912, II: 308; Schulz 1992, I: 159; Anonymous 1935, 94).

<sup>31</sup> Schulz 1992, I: 159; Macalister 1912, II: 308.

<sup>32</sup> Schulz 1992, I: 159.

<sup>33</sup> The excavation season lasted from November 11, 1908 to February 10, 1909. For more details about the statue's provenance, see below.

<sup>34</sup> The style of the block statue conforms to Schulz's *Äußere Struktur* type 3 (Schulz 1992, I: 20-21; II: 580). For similar block statues with the figure seated on a cushion dating to the reign of Ramesses II, see Berlin 2283 (holding lettuce in one hand; *ibid.* I: 75-76); MFA 03.1891 (*ibid.* I: 90-91, pl. 10); Cologne, Martin Bodmer Foundation (*ibid.* I: 124-25); RPM 5897 (also holding lettuce in one hand; *ibid.* I: 158, pl. 33). Compare also Cat. 98, a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty block statue from Byblos.

<sup>35</sup> These "fragments were found, however, where they had fallen," indicating that the damage was likely unintentional (Macalister 1909, 100). Additional damage to the statue occurred during excavation; as

The figure, who sits on a thin, rounded cushion, is carved on top of an undecorated rectangular base.<sup>36</sup> He has a round face with full fleshy cheeks. The features of the face are almost entirely unidentifiable in the published photographs of the piece.<sup>37</sup> He wears the so-called “double” or “duplex” wig that was popular among officials of the New Kingdom, as well as a short beard that connects his chin to the block created by his body.<sup>38</sup> Both of his hands are exposed on the top of the block. In his right hand, the man holds an ankh sign, while the left grasps lettuce (described by Macalister as an *uat*-scepter).<sup>39</sup> According to Schulz, the presence of these implements in combination with the shape of the face and the style of the wig point to a date during the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>40</sup>

Whom the statue represents is less clear. The statue’s base is uninscribed, as is the back-pillar that rises halfway up the back of the man’s head. According to Macalister, this pillar is divided down the middle by a thin line painted in red, “as though the sculptor had prepared the space for an inscription, but concluded that it was impossible to cut one owing to the gritty texture of the stone.”<sup>41</sup> In any case, no identifiable traces of the man’s name or his titles remain. Given the particularly large scale of the statue, which would make it costly to transport, and its utilization of limestone, a material available in both Egypt and the Levant, however, it is worth considering the possibility that the statue was

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Macalister recounts, the statue’s nose was broken off “through an unlucky stroke of the pick that brought the statue to light” (Macalister 1909, 99).

<sup>36</sup> The base is approximately 19 cm thick (Macalister 1909, 99).

<sup>37</sup> Macalister described the man’s nose as “rather flat,” but beyond this no comments can be made about his features without further examination of the statue (Macalister 1909, 99).

<sup>38</sup> For a description of this type of wig, see Fletcher 2000, 496.

<sup>39</sup> Macalister 1909, 99.

<sup>40</sup> Schulz 1992, I: 159n2.

<sup>41</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 309. This dividing line is bounded at the top and bottom by a horizontal line also rendered in red paint.

manufactured locally for an Egyptian official stationed at Gezer during the New Kingdom, when the city served as an Egyptian military base.

**16. Base of a Statuette of Princess Sobeknefru** (pls. 31-33)



Material: Granite Gneiss<sup>42</sup>

Dimensions: W: 11.8 cm; D: 10.4 cm; H: 5.75 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: in the footing of a wall

Current Location: Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology,

Hebrew Union College, Jerusalem<sup>43</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Weinstein 1974; Dever 1986, 158; Gill and Padgham 2005, 59; Wastlhuber 2011, 45

During Hebrew Union College excavations' eighth season at Gezer a fragment of a statuette inscribed for a royal woman named Sobeknefru was discovered. The fragment preserves most of the base of a granite gneiss statuette, including the heavily eroded feet of the figure. A vertical inscription is shallowly incised along to the top of the base to either side of the woman's feet, set off by column lines. Although the inscription on the proper right side of the statuette is badly damaged, what remains indicates that it contained a mirror image of the inscription found on the opposite side. That better-preserved inscription is written in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from left to right. It says:

[... *h*] *t.f Sbk-nfrw ʕnh.ti*

[...] of his body, Sobeknefru, may she live!

Weinstein, who produced the primary publication on the statuette, restored the text based on comparable formulae to read "the King's Daughter of his body, Sobeknefru, may she

<sup>42</sup> Weinstein 1974, 49. The stone is white with black inflections.

<sup>43</sup> Field no. 1293. The fragment is stored in Box 20 of the Gezer object boxes.



live” (pl. 33).<sup>44</sup> That the woman named is a royal personage is clear; it is uncertain, however, which female member of the royal family is named here. Known princesses with the name Sobeknefru include a daughter of Senwosret I and the future ruler Sobeknefru, a likely daughter of Amenemhat III.<sup>45</sup> In either case the statue can be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Based on the placement of the inscription, the statuette almost certainly took the form of a seated representation of the princess when it was complete.<sup>46</sup>

### 17. Statuette Head (pl. 34)



Material: Limestone (Macalister)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Reused in gate foundation<sup>47</sup>

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawings

Bibliography: Macalister 1912, II: 312

Little can be said about the nature of this statuette fragment which was identified by Macalister as Egyptian in origin. The piece preserves “the head of a small statuette of soft limestone.”<sup>48</sup> Based on the drawings provided in the publication, the fragment is broken at the neck on a diagonal running from front to back. The features of the statuette are almost unintelligible in the provided illustrations, save for the fact that the figure is wearing a chin-length striated wig that exposes the ears. Based on the present evidence, it

<sup>44</sup> Weinstein 1974, 51. It should be noted that on a statue of Queen Sobeknefru she is referred to as simply “daughter of his body,” not “king’s daughter of his body,” although in that case the abbreviation is likely due to space constraints (Louvre E 27135; Delange 1987, 30–31).

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the possibilities, see Weinstein 1974, 51–53. An overview of the evidence for Queen Sobeknefru can be found in Callender 1998. If this statue does indeed represent the later Sobeknefru, this would be the only known attestation of her as a princess as opposed to a ruler.

<sup>46</sup> For similar representations of royal women dating to this period, compare a gray granite statue of Queen Weret from the sanctuary of Heqaib (Habachi 1985b, I: 112–13; II: pl. 193–94); two basalt statues of Queen Sobeknefru from Tell el-Dab’a (Habachi 2001, 168, pls. 14A, 15A–B); and a princess’ statue from Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Cat. 121). The elongated shape of the feet almost suggests that the fragment came from a sphinx of the princess, but sphinx inscriptions are placed between the paws, not to either side of them as in the Gezer fragment (for multiple examples, see Fay 1996b).

<sup>47</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 312.

<sup>48</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 312.

is therefore impossible to comment on what form the statuette once took, when it dates to, or even whether or not it is truly Egyptian.

#### 18. Lower Part of the Statue of the *ʿnh-n-niwt* Deduamun (pl. 35)

Material: Unknown<sup>49</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: late Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate Period<sup>50</sup>

Archaeological Context: In debris near the High Place

Current Location: Unknown<sup>51</sup>

Manner of examination: Published description and transcription

Bibliography: PM VII: 374; Macalister 1903a, 36–37; Macalister 1912, II: 312–13; Weinstein 1974, 55; Wastlhuber 2011, 43–44

Of the Egyptian statuary fragments excavated at Gezer, the fragment inscribed for Deduamun remains the most enigmatic, in large part because no image of it was ever published and its current location is unknown.<sup>52</sup> The ensuing confusion can be plainly seen in the way it is identified in subsequent publications; while most refer to it as a statue<sup>53</sup> or statuette<sup>54</sup> fragment, it has also been described as part of a stela<sup>55</sup> or even as a *shabti*.<sup>56</sup> The only account of the fragment’s appearance was provided by Macalister who described it as “a fragment of a funerary statue inscribed on the foot with hieroglyphics.

The statue had been of the familiar mummy form, standing on a cubical block: the feet,

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<sup>49</sup> No indication of the statue’s material is given in the publications. If it is the “zerbrochene Basaltstatuette” that was accessioned as number 10965 in the Egyptian collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, it would seem to be made of a black stone (Anonymous 1935, 94). It is also possible that this description refers to the statue of Heqaib (Cat. 14), however, although it is unclear based on the published photos why that work would be described as “broken.”

<sup>50</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 313.

<sup>51</sup> See note 21 above.

<sup>52</sup> This dearth of information is the result of Macalister’s apparent lack of interest in the object, regarding which he said that “the contents of the inscription are comparatively unimportant, but it holds out hopes of better things to come, for where there is one inscription there are surely more” (Macalister 1903a, 36).

<sup>53</sup> Macalister 1903a, 36; Macalister 1912, II: 312.

<sup>54</sup> Ward 1961, 42; Weinstein 1974, 55; Wastlhuber 2011, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Griffith 1906, 122. This error likely arose because Macalister published the fragment under the heading “The Egyptian Stele” (Macalister 1903a, 36).

<sup>56</sup> PM VII: 374. Based on the available information the identification of the fragment as coming from a *shabti* cannot be ruled out, as *shabtis* of the Middle Kingdom inscribed with *hṯp-di-nsw* formulae are attested. Indeed, such an identification would fit with Macalister’s description of the statue as a funerary one “of the familiar mummy form,” although it is unclear why he would have described such a small fragment as a statue rather than a figurine or statuette (Macalister 1903a, 36).

swathed together, and the portion of the block in contact with them, alone remain. The inscription is in five lines, the first three of them on the upper surface of the feet, the remaining two on the vertical front face at the ends of the toes.”<sup>57</sup> A transcription of the five-line inscription, together with a translation, was provided by Macalister in both of his publications of the fragment (pl. 35).<sup>58</sup> The inscription, which reads from right to left, contains a standard funerary formula and can be translated as follows:

*ḥtp di nsw Wsir nb ʕnh-t3wy*<sup>59</sup> *di.f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt*  
 A gift the king gives to Osiris, lord of Ankhtawy, that he might give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer

*k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt* [... *n k3 n*]  
 oxen, fowl, Egyptian alabaster, clothing, incense and *mrḥt*-oil [... to the *ka* of]

*ʕnh-n-niwt Ddw-Imn ms.n* [...]  
 the citizen<sup>60</sup> Deduamun, born of [...]

*m irr*<sup>61</sup> *n.f sn*<sup>62</sup> *f mrt*<sup>63</sup> *f Bʕbb*[...] <sup>64</sup>  
 as that which his brother, whom he loves, Babeb... made for him<sup>65</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 312. What type of statue is being described is unclear; possibilities include a block statue or a *shabti* (see note 56 above).

<sup>58</sup> Macalister 1903a, 37; Macalister 1912, II: 312. Slight corrections were made to the transcription between editions, as noted in Macalister 1903b, 125. As with the statue of Heqaib, the translations differ greatly, the earlier being provided by Macalister himself and the later by Griffith.

<sup>59</sup> The publication of the text reads *nb ʕnh.t*, a phrase that does not make any sense. Macalister ignores the *t*, translating it as “the living lord.” A more probable interpretation is that what is actually written in *nb ʕnh-t3wy*, a common epithet of Osiris (Leitz 2002c, 601–2). This assumption was already made by Helck (1976, 106).

<sup>60</sup> Ward 1982, 74 # 604; Hannig 2006, I: 534–36. Traditionally translated as “citizen,” this title seems to have a military connotation. For further discussion, see Berlev 1971.

<sup>61</sup> Although two eyes (Gardiner D4) are written in the transcription, it would make more sense for one of them to be the phonetic complement *r* (Gardiner D21).

<sup>62</sup> It is unclear what word should be understood here. Griffith read *sn* “brother,” a suggestion which I have followed, although this is not an attested writing for that word (*Wb*. IV: 150).

<sup>63</sup> If the word *sn* “brother” is to be read, it is likely that the feminine ending *t* here is a mistake.

<sup>64</sup> Most likely the name of an individual.

<sup>65</sup> The translation of this line is extremely tentative. Griffith translated this section similarly as “having been made for him by his beloved brother” (Macalister 1912, II: 313). In his earlier edition, Macalister suggested “from (or in) his eyes, he praises his beloved Bab‘b’,” although this does not account for all of the signs (Macalister 1903a, 37n1). As Macalister himself notes that this line is “battered and difficult to decipher,” it is likely that there are some errors in the transcription (Macalister 1912, II: 312).

*di.f t hnkt [k3 3pdw] htpw df3w n k3 n ʕnh-n-niwt Ddw-Imn*

He gives bread, beer [oxen, fowl], *htpw*-offerings, and *df3w*-offerings to the *ka* of the citizen Deduamun.

Griffith, who provided the second translation of the fragment, dated the statue to “the later Middle Kingdom, the so-called XIIIth Dynasty,” although he provides no explanation for this determination nor does he state if he had the opportunity to examine the original inscription or its cast.<sup>66</sup> This date would fit well with the name of the official, however, as Deduamun is a commonly attested name during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>67</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Any discussion relating to the archaeological contexts of the Egyptian statuary from Gezer must start with the acknowledgment that Macalister’s understanding of the stratigraphy and periodization of the site is notoriously problematic.<sup>68</sup> This is in large part due to Macalister’s method of excavation in which he divided the tell into a series of approximately 10-meter-wide trenches, excavating one after the other to bedrock before proceeding to the next trench, dumping excavation debris into the previously excavated trench.<sup>69</sup> As a result of this excavation method, it is extremely difficult to match strata (of which Macalister identified nine) across the site, as can be seen in his published plans,

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<sup>66</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 313.

<sup>67</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 402 #14.

<sup>68</sup> See, for instance, Maeir 2004, 1. According to Finkelstein, Macalister’s excavation as well as subsequent work at the site has led Gezer to “become one of the most contested archaeological sites in Israel. Almost every stratum, building and issue related to the mound has turned into a source of contention and dispute” (Finkelstein 2002, 263). Indeed, careful attention to findspots was not a priority for Macalister, as he himself acknowledged, stating that “the exact spot in the mound where any ordinary object chanced to lie is not generally of great importance; thus, so long as we know the date at which a certain type of knife was used, it does not much matter, as a rule, in which of the houses it was discovered” (Macalister 1912, I: ix).

<sup>69</sup> Dever 1993, 497.

each of which “purports to represent a coherent stratum but is actually a composite of elements several centuries apart.”<sup>70</sup>

The first of these statues to be excavated was the fragment inscribed for Deduamun (Cat. 18), which was unearthed during the fall of 1902. The piece was discovered in trench 19 “lying loose in fifth stratum debris, a short distance south-east of the first stone of the alignment” of the High Place.<sup>71</sup> No indication was made of other finds associated with this discovery, which Macalister assigned to his First Semitic Period, now generally equated with the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2500-1800 BCE). The High Place, a cultic local potentially used for the commemoration of a covenant, itself has been dated to the MB IIc, so *if* the deposition of the statue fragment was roughly contemporary with the creation of the High Place alignment, it would have had to arrive at Gezer not long after its date of creation, assuming Griffith’s dating of the piece to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (MB IIB-C) is correct.

The next statuary fragment, that of Heqaib (Cat. 14), was unearthed during the summer 1905 season in trench 29 on the western hill of Gezer.<sup>72</sup> The statuette was found in one of several circular midden or ash pits sunk into the houses on this area of the tell.<sup>73</sup> As with the other pieces of Egyptian sculpture, this context was assigned to the First Semitic Period (Stratum II).

The block statue (Cat. 15) is the last of the statues that Macalister assigned to the “First Semitic Period” level at Gezer. The piece was found in the middle of a structure

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<sup>70</sup> Dever 1993, 497. Macalister himself acknowledged the challenges in creating master plans of each occupation period (Macalister 1912, I: 160).

<sup>71</sup> Macalister 1903b, 37; Macalister 1912, II: 312; III: pl. II. For a discussion of the High Place, see Macalister 1912, II: 381-406; Dever 1973, 68-70; Dever 2014.

<sup>72</sup> Macalister 1905, 317-18; Macalister 1912, II: 311; III: pl. II.

<sup>73</sup> These pits contained “great quantities of broken pottery mingled with cooked sheep and goat bones” (Macalister 1905, 317). The only other find of note was a “small stone tray on three feet, probably meant for grinding grain” (Macalister 1905, 318).

interpreted by the excavator as a house.<sup>74</sup> Located on the southeastern part of the tell on the so-called “Eastern Hill,” this house was discovered at the southern limit of the area Macalister excavated during the 1908-1909 season.<sup>75</sup> According to him, the statue “had fallen, and was lying on its right side” when it was unearthed.<sup>76</sup> Although Macalister described the stratum as “almost devoid of antiquities,” several other artifacts identified by him as being Egyptian in character were found there, including a diorite dish with traces of red pigment interpreted as a painter’s palette; the eye of a (presumably) faience figure; ivory fragments including a disk with what looks like a plumed crown incised on it; and an alabaster vase.<sup>77</sup> The house and its contents were assigned to Macalister’s Second Semitic Period, which he dated to ca. 1800-1400 BCE.<sup>78</sup>

The date of excavation and the context of the fourth statue fragment described by Macalister as Egyptian (Cat. 17) is unknown. According to Macalister, the piece was found “in the foundation of the Maccabaeon Castle.”<sup>79</sup> This structure, interpreted by Macalister as “the dwelling-place built by Simon” Maccabeus, was proved to be a six-chambered Iron Age II gate by subsequent excavations.<sup>80</sup> Thus the deposition of the statue fragment must date to the Iron II or earlier, but beyond that and the fact that the context was likely secondary given the fragmentary nature of the statue and its presence in a foundation, little else can be said about its provenance.

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<sup>74</sup> The structure was apparently destroyed in a fire.

<sup>75</sup> The fragment was found in trench 6; its findspot is noted in the published plan (Macalister 1912, II: 312; III: pl. II).

<sup>76</sup> Macalister 1909, 99.

<sup>77</sup> Macalister 1909, 99–100. Based on the line drawings provided for these objects, it is unclear whether or not they were Egyptian.

<sup>78</sup> Macalister 1909, 98–99.

<sup>79</sup> Macalister 1912, II: 312.

<sup>80</sup> Macalister 1912, I: 209-23; Dever 1990, 102–6; Finkelstein 2002, 266–68.

The statuette base of princess Sobeknefru (Cat. 16) is the only piece of Egyptian statuary excavated by the HUC mission at Gezer. The fragment was discovered on July 9, 1971 in Field VI, Area NE5.<sup>81</sup> It was reused as a footing stone for wall 5061 in stratum 6C/B, a context which was assigned an LB II date.<sup>82</sup> The secondary context of the fragment therefore dates much later than its date of creation, and no information can be gleaned about its date of arrival at the site.<sup>83</sup>

### *Summary*

Numerous seasons of excavation at Gezer have produced five fragments of Egyptian statuary, although the status of one of those pieces (Cat. 17) as Egyptian remains to be proven. Of the four remaining statues, three can be dated to the Middle Kingdom, while the fourth dates to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. As the periodization and stratigraphy of the site are hotly contested, it is impossible based on the existing evidence to comment conclusively on when the statues arrived at Gezer or, for that matter, when they were deposited in their findspots in most cases.<sup>84</sup> However, based on the published excavation reports it can be inferred that most if not all of the statues were recovered from secondary contexts.

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<sup>81</sup> Weinstein 1974, 49, 51; Dever 1986, 158. Locus 5062.1.

<sup>82</sup> Weinstein 1974, 51; Dever 1986, 73–76, 158, Plan XVI. The fragment was discovered immediately below Surface 5062, which abuts Wall 5061. The wall is part of a structure in a large granary complex.

<sup>83</sup> Kempinski hypothesizes that the statue may have originally been associated with a monumental MB structure at the site, perhaps a palace (Kempinski 1993, 180).

<sup>84</sup> Opinions on when the Middle Kingdom statues arrived at Gezer remain divided. While some argue for their arrival roughly contemporaneously to their date of manufacture (Kempinski 1976, 213–14; Kempinski 1993, 180; Wastlhuber 2011), others suggest that they represent a later trade in Egyptian antiquities (Weinstein 1974; Finkelstein 2002, 276).

#### 2.1.4 - Edom

##### 2.1.4.1 – Petra

###### *The Site*

The Nabatean capital of Petra is located in the Wadi Musa of modern-day Jordan. Although traces of remains dating to as early as the prehistoric period have been found in the region, Petra itself was not founded until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.<sup>1</sup> Numerous archaeological projects have been undertaken at Petra since the site was “discovered” at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Among them is the work of Philip C. Hammond on behalf of the Princeton Theological Seminary and later the University of Utah.<sup>3</sup> No known references to Petra are made in ancient Egyptian textual sources. Likewise, finds of an Egyptian character are relatively unknown from the site. One exception to this is a fragmentary Osirophorous statue excavated in the Temple of the Winged Lions.

###### *The Statuary*

#### **19. Osirophorous Statue (pls. 36-39)**



Material: Schist (Meza)<sup>4</sup>

Dimensions: H: 20.5 cm; D: 13.4 cm<sup>5</sup>

Date of statue: Late Period, 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or later

Archaeological Context: Cella of the Temple of the Winged Lions

Current Location: Jordan Archaeological Museum (JAM 16193)<sup>6</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Hammond 1977, 85, 243 pl. LVII, 2; Hammond 1990; Hammond 1996, 126, 138; Meza 1993; Meza 1995; Meza 1996; Meza 1998; Meza 2002, 794–95; Weber 2002, 541, pl. 175; Parlasca 2004; Pétigny 2008, 279–80; Perdu 2016, 541

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<sup>1</sup> Negev 1993, 1183–84. Traces of an Iron Age Edomite presence at the site have also been found.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of archaeological work at the site, see Negev 1993, 1183; Hammond 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Hammond 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Meza 1998, 775n2. The stone from which the fragment is made has also been erroneously identified as basalt (Hammond 1996, 126).

<sup>5</sup> Meza 1998, 775n2.

<sup>6</sup> Field number R.I. 13 (Hammond 1977, 85).



This fragment comes from an Osirophorous statue depicting a man holding an un-enshrined statuette of the god Osiris.<sup>7</sup> Only the lower part of the statue is preserved; the base, including the feet of both figures, is now missing, as is the upper half of the statue from approximately the level of the man's hips up. This damage has also removed the head of Osiris, some of the pleating of the man's kilt on both the proper right and left sides of the statue, and his arms.<sup>8</sup> The man stands in a striding pose with his left leg advanced. He wears a long, pleated kilt that comes to mid-calf. The garment is of the type that produces a long, trapezoidal panel in the front. The delicate carving exhibited in the statue reveals the contours of the man's legs beneath the thin fabric. His arms, now removed, are extended forward at an angle; his hands would have once grasped the shoulders of the Osiris figure that he holds in front of him.<sup>9</sup>

Osiris is shown in his typical mummiform guise. His head (together with his crown) and feet are now missing, but his divine beard remains. An indentation demarcating the deity's legs beneath his wrappings demonstrates the same interest in revealing the contours of the body beneath garments seen in the depiction of the primary figure. The god's arms are crossed over his torso, with the right arm resting higher on the chest than the left.<sup>10</sup> He grasps the flail in his right hand and the *heqa*-scepter in his left. The staffs of these implements both bend markedly when they enter Osiris' hands. The hands themselves are free of the mummy wrappings, as indicated by incised lines on each wrist producing cuffs.

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<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that this fragment is frequently referred to as a stele by the excavator (Hammond 1990, 115; Hammond 1996, 13, 33, 101).

<sup>8</sup> Based on an examination of the published photographs, it appears that the man's arms have been deliberately removed. The motivations for this are unclear, although it could reflect the importance of Osiris' image to the statue's reuse but general antipathy towards the image of the dedicator.

<sup>9</sup> A significant amount of negative space separates the statuette of Osiris from the figure of the man who holds it.

<sup>10</sup> This position is standard for statues of Osiris originating in Lower Egypt (Roeder 1955, 249).

In addition to the style of the statue, two panels of inscription also aid its attribution and dating. The first of these inscriptions is found on the proper left side of the statue, utilizing the space between the back of the man's advanced left leg and the back-pillar (pl. 38). This inscription, written in two columns of hieroglyphs that read from left to right, provide part of the man's genealogy. The inscription reads:

*s3 n ḥbs-diw P(3)-š3-Ḥr [...]*  
The son of the ḥbs-diw-priest<sup>11</sup> Paashahor<sup>12</sup>

*s3 n ḥm-ntr tpy n Hr Mntw<sup>13</sup> [...]*  
The son of the chief ḥm-ntr-priest of Horus, Montu...

The second inscription appears on the back-pillar, bounded by two vertical register lines (pl. 39). The inscription, which is written from right to left, reads:

*[...] psdt-ntrw imyw Km-wr<sup>14</sup> ntrw ḥnt st wrt ḥs[...]*  
[...] the ennead of the gods who are in Athribis,<sup>15</sup> and the gods who are over the place great of praise<sup>16</sup> [...]

<sup>11</sup> Literally “the one who clothes the five.” This title is specific to the Osirian cult of Athribis in the Delta, indicating that the statue likely originated in that area. For further discussion, see Vernus 1978, 444–47.

<sup>12</sup> Compare the name *P3-š3-Imn* (Ranke 1935, I: 103 #14).

<sup>13</sup> Note the reversal of the *n* (Gardiner N35) and *t* (Gardiner V13) in the writing of *Mntw*.

<sup>14</sup> The reading of these signs is uncertain, with both *Km-wr* (Athribis) and *Kmt* (Egypt) being plausible interpretations. The word is comprised of Gardiner I6, a thin horizontal sign that could be a simplified writing of either *m* (Gardiner Aa13) or the nome sign (Gardiner N24), a *t* (Gardiner X1), and the city determinative (Gardiner O49). Because of the appearance of the Athribis-specific title *ḥbs-diw* on the statue, *Km-wr* has been read here. For a list of the varied spellings of Athribis, including some that resemble the orthography on the Petra statue, see Vernus 1978, 344–50.

<sup>15</sup> H. de Meulenaere, who was the first to translate the statue, read this passage as “... the gods, who are in the nomes of Athribis” (Hammond 1990, 115). In her earlier publications of the fragment, Meza read the passage “The gods who are in the city of Dep” (1993, 428; 1995, 180), later amending this to “The gods who are in Athribis” (1996, 172; 1998, 781). Citing her treatment of the text, the *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* lists this as the only known attestation of *ntrw-imy-Km-wr* “Die Götter, die in Athribis sind” (Leitz 2002d, 468). Alternatively, J. Allen suggested reading *Kmt* rather than *Km-wr*, and also noted the trace of a round sign at the beginning of the line, indicating that a more accurate reading of the passage might be “the ennead that is in Egypt” (Meza 1995, 179n6).

<sup>16</sup> H. de Meulenaere read “the gods who are in front of the big place, the praised ones” (Hammond 1990, 115). Meza read “the gods who are the foremost of the great place of praise” (1996, 172) or “the gods who preside over the great seat of praise” (1998, 781). The *Lexikon* provides this as the only attestation of *ntrw-ḥntyw-st-wrt* “Die Götter, die Vorsteher der großen Stätte” (Leitz 2002d, 537). It should be noted that the similar *ḥnty-st-wrt* and *ḥntyw-st-wrt* are associated almost exclusively with the temple of Edfu (Leitz 2002e, 851–52, 888).

Although first developed during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, theophorous statues, and particularly those representing Osiris, became particularly popular during the Late Period.<sup>17</sup> The importance of Osirophorous statues within a temple context can particularly be seen in the vast number of examples Legrain discovered in the Karnak Cachette.<sup>18</sup> Made of durable, black stones, these heavily inscribed statues were designed to allow the dedicator to take part in temple activities in perpetuity.<sup>19</sup> Based on the *hbs-diw* title on the statue and the reference to *Km-wr*, it is likely that the statue was originally set up in an Egyptian temple in Athribis.<sup>20</sup>

In her numerous treatments of the Osirian fragment, Meza dates the statue to the end of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty through the very beginning of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> This date is based not only on the statue's style, but also on the use of the *hbs-diw* title, which is first used in Athribis during the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and the orthography of *Km-wr*, which Meza argues fits best with exemplars from the end of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty through mid-Dynasty 26.<sup>22</sup> Statues of an official presenting a smaller sculpture of the god Osiris are particularly popular during the Late Period, starting from Dynasty 25 and appearing through the Ptolemaic period.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For the introduction of the theophoric statue type during the New Kingdom, see Bernhauer 2010, 58–67.

<sup>18</sup> e.g., The greywacke statue of Inheretiuferkh (CG 48647/JE 37447; Josephson and Eldamaty 1999, 106–8, pl. 47); the greywacke statue of Dkedmontuiufankh (CG 48649/ JE 37370; Josephson and Eldamaty 1999, 111–12, pl. 49). For a list of statues from the cachette dating to this period including Osirophorous statues, see PM II: 151 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Russmann 2010.

<sup>20</sup> For other Egyptian works of art from Athribis found abroad, see section 3.4.2 below.

<sup>21</sup> This date has been generally accepted, e.g., Weber 2002, 541.

<sup>22</sup> Meza 1998, 780–81.

<sup>23</sup> *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 52; Seidel 2009. Compare the statue of Ankhpakhered (St. Louis 222:24, 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 32–34, pl. 52–3 [no. 28]); an uninscribed Osirophorous (The Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum 11, 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; *ibid.*, 46, pl. 36); the statue of Irethorru (WAM 22.215, 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; *ibid.*, 51–52, pl. 41); the statue of Harbes (MMA 19.2.2, 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; *ibid.*, 55, pl. 44).

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The statue fragment was discovered during the 1975 excavations of the Temple of the Winged Lions, a structure located north of the *Via Sacra* opposite the Qaşr Bint Far‘un.<sup>24</sup> Named for the discovery of winged feline capitals in the vicinity of the altar, the temple, which was in use from 27-363 CE, consists of a square cella with a central platform altar fronted by a portico.<sup>25</sup> Ample evidence from among the temple’s finds indicate that it was dedicated to a goddess, identified by scholars as either ‘Allat<sup>26</sup> or al-‘Uzza.<sup>27</sup> In either case, it is clear that the goddess had strong ties, at least ichnographically, to the Egyptian goddess Isis.<sup>28</sup>

The Osirian fragment was found in the temple’s cella in an area designated Site II.6 located in the northwest quadrant of that room.<sup>29</sup> The fragment was “recovered beneath the A.D. 363 fall rubble,” indicating that it was still in use within the temple when it was destroyed by earthquake.<sup>30</sup> The location of the fragment in front of a wall with in-set niches further indicated to the excavator that the piece was on display at the time of the temple’s destruction.<sup>31</sup> Hammond has suggested that the fragmentary statue was presented to the goddess as a votive offering, being a fitting choice because it

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<sup>24</sup> Negev 1993, 1187.

<sup>25</sup> Hammond 2003. The former date is provided by an inscription found in the temple and dated to “the fourth day of ‘Ab [19 August], the 37<sup>th</sup> year [A.D. 17] of Areta, king of the Nabataeans,” which the excavator believes was set up to commemorate the temple’s opening (Hammond 1996, 5). The destruction date is provided by a Syriac letter that gives that date of the major earthquake that destroyed the temple as May 19, 363 (Hammond 1996, 6).

<sup>26</sup> Hammond 1990, 122 ff.; Hammond 1996, 109–11.

<sup>27</sup> Zayadine 2003, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Hammond 1990; Hammond 1996, 101–11. Furthermore, the size of the temple and the content of the frescoes that decorate its walls have led the excavator to posit that it was home to a mystery cult akin to those dedicated to Isis or Isian goddesses elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world. For more general discussion of the worship of Isis at Petra, see Zayadine 1991; Zayadine 2003, 63–64; Donner 1995; Parlasca 1998; Valske 2013.

<sup>29</sup> Hammond 1996, 126. For a plan of the temple with the excavation grid marked, see Hammond 1996, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Hammond 1996, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Hammond 1996, 33.

depicted the god Osiris who, through the syncretism between Osiris and the Nabataean god Dusares and that between Isis and the goddess of the temple, was understood to be her consort.<sup>32</sup> Such a suggestion would not be outside the realm of possibility, as the Nabateans' penchant for acculturation, and their trade ties with Egypt are well known.<sup>33</sup>

### *Summary*

While the fragmentary Osirophorous statue discovered at Petra dates to the Late Period and likely hails from Athribis in the Delta, its appearance in Jordan dates much later. The statue, which was found within a temple complex, was likely valued by the Nabateans not for political reasons but because the statue, as preserved, represents Osiris, consort of the goddess Isis. Strong parallels in the iconography of Hellenistic Isis and the goddess worshiped in the Temple of the Winged Lions suggest a syncretism between the goddesses.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested by Hammond that the Nabateans may have seen a synchronism between Egyptian Osiris and the Nabataean deity Dusares.

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<sup>32</sup> Hammond 1977, 243, pl. LVII, 2; Hammond 1990; Hammond 1996, 112.

<sup>33</sup> For an overview of Nabataean trade practices, including relations with the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt, see Graf and Sidebotham 2003.

<sup>34</sup> For references see note 28 above.

### 2.1.5 – Moab

#### 2.1.5.1 – Kerak

##### *The Site*

Kerak is located in the region of central Transjordan traditionally known as Moab.<sup>1</sup> It is positioned at an intersection between the major north-south route through Transjordan and an east-west route leading from the desert to the Jordan River.<sup>2</sup> The city, which is most famous today for its crusader castle, first rose to prominence as an important Moabite city during the Iron Age; it continues to be occupied to modern times.<sup>3</sup>

Within Egyptian textual sources, only one possible reference to Kerak, found in Thutmose III's Karnak topographical lists, has been identified.<sup>4</sup> Also of interest are references in the lists of Ramesses II referring more generally to Moab.<sup>5</sup> Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds in the region are relatively rare, a fact that is likely due largely to a lack of extensive archaeological research thus far.<sup>6</sup> Although not from Kerak, one object that is frequently cited in discussions of relations between Egypt and Moab is the Balu'a stela, a locally-produced basalt stela with highly Egyptianizing iconographic features.<sup>7</sup> From Kerak itself, the only known Egyptian piece is a statue fragment discovered by chance in the 1950s.

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to this region with further references, see Daviau 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Johns 1997, 280.

<sup>3</sup> An archaeological survey conducted of the Kerak Plateau revealed that the site of Kerak “has been used by human beings almost steadily since at least as early as the Chalcolithic period,” with ceramic remains dating as early as the Early Bronze age recovered (Miller 1991, 89).

<sup>4</sup> *Urk.* IV: 785.5–6 #101. For the identification of *Hrkr* with Kerak, see Redford 1982, 63.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of attestations of Moab in Egyptian sources, see (Ahituv 1984, 143). Attestations of the name read as Moab can be found on the base of a Ramesses II statue outside Luxor Temple (*KRI* II: 185, Statue C #14), in the forecourt of Luxor Temple (*KRI* II: 180.2), and in the list from Amara West (*KRI* II: 216.1 #17). The identification of Moab, as well as specific locals within it, has been much debated in the literature. For some recent treatments, see Kitchen 2007; Na'aman 2006; Worschech 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Worschech 1997, 232 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Amman Archaeological Museum JMA1419 (PM VII: 382; Bosshard-Nepustil and Morenz 2003; Routledge and Routledge 2009).

**20. Moabite-inscribed Torso Fragment (pls. 40-41)**



Material: Granodiorite<sup>8</sup>

Dimensions: H: 14 cm; W: 12.5 cm; D: 17 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Kerak Museum (no. 6807)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Reed and Winnett 1963; M. Weippert 1964, 170, fig. 6; Rollston 2010, 44; Parker 2013; Parker and Arico 2015; Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 63–64

The Kerak fragment is a wedge-shaped piece of granodiorite with one worked surface. At the time of its discovery, the primary interest in the piece lay in its Moabite inscription.<sup>9</sup> Still, Reed and Winnett, who conducted the first study of the work, made an attempt to situate it within the larger monument to which it once belonged. They noted that the text had been inscribed into a decorated surface consisting of a wide band above “the fragments of twelve incised lines curving slightly to the left and giving the impression of fluting or a shell-like panel.”<sup>10</sup> They correctly recognized this design as a representation of a garment and, through comparisons with a stela from Neirab, suggested that the piece came from a stela executed in a Syrian style.<sup>11</sup>

An additional element of the fragment, which long went unnoticed in scholarship, is the presence of a carved navel. Located above the belt line, this seemingly insignificant feature is in fact quite useful in interpreting what type of monument the fragment

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<sup>8</sup> The stone is identified by Reed and Winnett as “gray-black basalt,” but careful examination reveals that it is more likely to be granodiorite (1963, 1; Parker and Arico 2015, 105).

<sup>9</sup> The inscription, which is incomplete, reads “... [Ke]moshyat, King of Moab, the ... [temp]le(?) of Kemosh, for an altar, because ... and now, I have made ...” For further treatment of the Moabite text with a history of scholarship, see Parker 2013; Parker and Arico 2015, 105–7.

<sup>10</sup> Reed and Winnett 1963, 4.

<sup>11</sup> “Since Kerak is located on the main north-south highway which provided cultural contacts with Syria, it is possible that the Kerak fragment is a part of an inscribed stela for which the pattern was imported from the north” (Reed and Winnett 1963, 4–5).

originated from, as navels are rarely depicted in Near Eastern art outside of Egypt.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the combination of the navel, the wide belt, and the pleated fabric indicate that the fragment comes from an Egyptian statue of a male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt.<sup>13</sup> What type of statue it comes from is less clear given the positions of the breaks, with both a standing or a seated figure being a possibility. The date of the statue is also unknown, as the *shendyt*-kilt was one of the most frequently depicted garments in ancient Egypt for millennia, being worn by both private individuals and kings.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The archaeological contexts surrounding the Kerak fragment remain a bit murky. According to Reed and Winnett, the piece was purchased for the Jordan Archaeological Museum in 1958.<sup>14</sup> The Bedouin who sold the piece stated that “he had discovered the fragment in a foundation trench that was cut for the construction of a new building in Kerak.”<sup>15</sup> It was subsequently reported to Dr. Awni Dajani, the then Director of the Department of Antiquities, that the fragment had in fact been found “in the Mubayyed in quarter of the city ... in an ancient wall, while it was being demolished.”<sup>16</sup> In either case, the statue fragment did not come from formal excavations, and therefore nothing about its find context can be used to reveal further information about how or when the statue was used and eventually deposited at the site.

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<sup>12</sup> For further discussion, see Parker and Arico 2015, 110–11.

<sup>13</sup> For other *shendyt*-kilt wearing statues, see Cats. 41, 42, 43.

<sup>14</sup> Reed and Winnett 1963, 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> Reed and Winnett 1963, 4. It was further reported that the fragment “was found at a depth of 2.50 meters” although the exact location within Kerak was not given (Reed and Winnett 1963, 4).

<sup>16</sup> Reed and Winnett 1963, 4n6b.



### *Summary*

A fragmentary piece of an Egyptian male statue was found at Kerak during a construction project in the city. The statue, which once depicted a man wearing a *shendyt*-kilt, cannot be dated conclusively based upon what is preserved. Furthermore, based on the manner of its discovery, its find context cannot provide more information about how or when the statue was deposited at the site, beyond the fact that it was reinscribed by a Moabite king in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

## 2.1.6 – *The Jordan Valley*

### 2.1.6.1 – Beth Shean

#### *The Site*

Beth Shean (Tell el-Huṣn; Beisan) is a 4 ha mound situated at the intersection of two major roads.<sup>1</sup> The site, which is located in an agriculturally rich area, was occupied with few breaks from the Late Neolithic through Medieval times. A team from the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Clarence S. Fisher, Alan Rowe, and G.M. FitzGerald successively carried out the first major archaeological exploration of Beth Shean between 1921 and 1933.<sup>2</sup> In 1983, Yigael Yadin and Shulamit Geva explored the Iron Age remains on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Work under the auspices of Hebrew University was resumed between 1989 and 1996 under the direction of Amihai Mazar.<sup>4</sup>

The name of Beth Shean (Egyptian *B3t-š3r*) can be found in numerous Egyptian textual sources dating to the New Kingdom and later.<sup>5</sup> The city appears in the toponym lists of Thutmose III,<sup>6</sup> Seti I,<sup>7</sup> Ramesses II,<sup>8</sup> and Sheshonq I.<sup>9</sup> In addition, it is found in a

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<sup>1</sup> For introductions to the site, see A. Mazar 1993; A. Mazar 2008; Panitz-Cohen 2013. The site was known as Nysa or Scythopolis during the Hellenistic through Byzantine periods. During the Ramesside presence at Beth Shean, the occupied area of the site is estimated to have measured anywhere between 1.5-2 (Mullins 2012, 127) and 3 ha (A. Mazar 2009, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Rowe 1930; Rowe 1940; F. W. James 1966; F. W. James and McGovern 1993; Braun 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Yadin and Geva 1986.

<sup>4</sup> A. Mazar 2006; A. Mazar and Mullins 2007a; Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009; A. Mazar 2012.

<sup>5</sup> A list of Egyptian Beth Shean references can be found in Ahituv 1984, 78–79. B. Mazar's suggestion that the *ʿIsinw* of the Execration Texts refers to Beth Shean has been largely discounted (B. Mazar 1962, 12–13; 1968, 75n23; Sethe 1926, 56 no. F14; Posener 1940, 65 no. E3). For further discussion with additional references, see A. Mazar and Mullins 2007b, 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* IV: 786.#110.

<sup>7</sup> Beth Shean is included in Seti I's lists at Karnak (*KRI* I: 29.#56A, 32.#51A), on the bases of sphinxes from his Qurna temple (*KRI* I: 33.#16, 34.#16), and in a list from Abydos (*KRI* I: 32.#B1, with an orthographic error).

<sup>8</sup> *KRI* II: 163.#28.

<sup>9</sup> The Epigraphic Survey 1954, pls. 3-4.

Ramesside satirical letter.<sup>10</sup> It is also included on two locally-produced Egyptian stelae discovered at Beth Shean. The first, a private stela for the builder Amenemope and his son Paraemheb, shows an offering scene before “Mekal, the great [god], lord of Beth-Shean.”<sup>11</sup> The second is a royal stela erected by Seti I during the first year of his reign that recounts his quelling of an assault against the city.<sup>12</sup> Beth Shean is also mentioned once in the Amarna Letters, where it is referred to as a garrison.<sup>13</sup>

Owing to its role as an Egyptian garrison, Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds from Beth Shean are particularly numerous.<sup>14</sup> Objects span the whole gamut of Egyptian material culture, including scarabs, seals and sealings;<sup>15</sup> amulets;<sup>16</sup> vessels;<sup>17</sup> and examples of Egyptian script.<sup>18</sup> Of particular interest are architectural fragments and monumental stelae carved on-site.<sup>19</sup> These include the aforementioned stelae of Amenemope and Seti I, as well as additional private exemplars and large-scale royal pieces erected by the early Ramesside kings.<sup>20</sup> Among the architectural remains are several lintels and jambs, including multiple fragments inscribed for Ramesses-

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<sup>10</sup> pAnastasi I 22.8 (Gardiner 1911, 24\*; 34.6).

<sup>11</sup> Rowe 1930, 14–15, pl. 33. For further references, see PM VII: 377.

<sup>12</sup> *KRI* I: 12.9, 12.12.

<sup>13</sup> EA 289 (Moran 1992, 332–33).

<sup>14</sup> For a summary of finds see PM VII: 376–80; Higginbotham 2000, 130. An overview of the finds and their relation to the site’s function as an Egyptian garrison can be found in Morris 2005, 249–52, 583–611, 755–62.

<sup>15</sup> B. Brandl 2006; B. Brandl 2007; B. Brandl 2009; Goldwasser 2009a; Keel 2010, 95–215; Weinstein 1993.

<sup>16</sup> Cowie 2006; Herrmann 2009.

<sup>17</sup> For recent studies on Egyptian and Egyptianizing ceramic vessels at Beth Shean, see M. A. S. Martin 2006; M. A. S. Martin 2009. Treatment of the stone vessels can be found in Sparks 2007, 227–30.

<sup>18</sup> Wimmer 2007; Wimmer 2009; Goldwasser 2009b.

<sup>19</sup> For a list by archaeological level, see A. Mazar 2009, 7–10.

<sup>20</sup> Private works include the round-topped stela of a woman before Astarte (PM VII: 377) and the stela of Hesinakht before the goddess Antit (PM VII: 379). From the royal realm, see two stelae of Seti I (*KRI* I: 11–12, 15–16); a stela of Ramesses II from Year 18 (*KRI* II: 150–51); and two stela fragments, possibly originally from the same stela (Rowe 1930, 34 fig. 8, pl. 49:2).

Userkepes, the commander of the Beth Shean garrison under Ramesses III.<sup>21</sup> In addition, four pieces of Egyptian statuary were discovered at the site.<sup>22</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **21. Statue of Ramesses III (pl. 42)**



Material: Basalt

Dimensions: H: 148 cm; W: 39 cm; D: 78 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Ramesses III

Archaeological Context: Level V, in courtyard outside temple

Current Location: Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (S.886)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 379; Phythian-Adams 1924, 4; Rowe 1930, 36, 38, pl. 51; Higginbotham 1999; Wimmer 2000; Mojsov 1992, 166–68;

Higginbotham 2000, 232–34; Schroer 2011, 142–43 (no. 644); Mojsov 2012, 294

Although clearly a representation of an Egyptian monarch, this basalt statue of Ramesses III lacks much of the finesse traditionally associated with Egyptian royal sculpture. The statue, which is made of a coarse-grained, locally-procurable gray basalt, was discovered in two pieces, broken at the waist.<sup>23</sup> The slightly over-life-sized statue depicts Ramesses III seated on an undecorated throne with a projecting, tapering back-pillar that rises to the middle of the king's head. The statue is arranged on a thick base, roughly rectangular in shape, which is also undecorated. Ramesses sits in a traditional pose, with his hands resting in his lap. The proper right hand is fisted around an unidentifiable, badly worn object (likely a piece of fabric), while the left hand, now largely damaged, is placed open palm-side down. Both of the statue's arms have broken

<sup>21</sup> PM VII: 378-80; Ward 1966; Sweeney 1998; Sweeney 2009.

<sup>22</sup> An additional small limestone statuette head may also have an Egyptianizing character (Penn Museum 29-107-296; Field no. 27-10-603). The very worn fragment has been identified as the head of a female statuette and comes from Level VI, Locus 1204 (F. W. James 1966, 328:1, fig. 107:1).

<sup>23</sup> Yannai's assertion that the statue "was not broken accidentally, but was cut by some kind of saw in antiquity" cannot be substantiated by an examination of the statue (1996, 188). It is worth noting that monumental stelae erected in the Levant by Egyptian monarchs, including those from Beth Shean, are also frequently made of local basalt (Wimmer 2002, 2).

away, but the rest of the work remains in good condition, with the exception of some slight damage to the face, including the loss of the nose and breakage on the chin.

Ramesses wears a short, belted kilt with pleating that runs horizontally across his legs, curving slightly to show the pulling of the fabric. The front panel of the kilt is unusually thick and rigid, with no indications of pleating. An anomaly within Egyptian sculpture, this panel most likely depicts an over-emphasized yet unadorned kilt front-panel of the type frequently depicted on royal men of this period, particularly in standard-bearing statues.<sup>24</sup> Sections of these front panels can be seen on the upper sides of Ramesses' thighs, running onto his knees in the forms of ribbon-like bands passing perpendicularly over the pleated fabric. The king's chest is adorned with an incised broad collar consisting of four strands. He wears a wig that is short in the back and long in the front, coming to rest on his chest in two plaits to either side of his face. The wig, sometimes referred to as the civil wig, is worn over a headband, which is particularly pronounced in the statue from Beth Shean.<sup>25</sup> The wig is comprised of echeloned curls, with large, circular curls in the front, and bangs. A series of indentations running concentrically around the top of his head may indicate reworking where another type of headdress was removed. A uraeus is affixed to the front of the wig above the headband; the body of the serpent, which lies back flat against the wig, loops twice. Ramesses' feet are clad in T-strap sandals with large bows, but no indications of the shoes' soles have been made. The feet, which run right up to the edge of the statue's base, appear to have

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<sup>24</sup> In contrast, Mojsov identifies the garment as the *shendyt*-kilt (1992, 166). For further discussion of standard-bearing statues, see Cat. 22 below.

<sup>25</sup> Mojsov 1992, 151, 290; Vandier 1958, I: 409. For other more canonical representations of this wig, see a quartzite statue of Seti II (British Museum EA26; Strudwick 2006, 224–25; Russmann 2001, 178–79); a granite standard-bearing statue of Merenptah (Cairo JE 37481; Sourouzzian 1989, 83–85, pl. 16); or a granite standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cairo JE 38682 / CG 42150; Chadeffaud 1982, 66–67; Legrain 1909, II: 15–16, pl. XIII).

been shaved back slightly, with the result that the upper parts of the toes are at a slightly higher level than the top of the foot.

The surface of the statue's face is badly worn, making it difficult to comment too extensively on the king's facial features. Both the nose and the chin are missing and, as was previously noted, the forehead is unusually large. Ramesses' small, almond shaped eyes are ringed in thick cosmetic lines that extend towards his hairline.<sup>26</sup> The shape of the eyes is mimicked in his prominent arching eyebrows, which also extend to the hairline. Ramesses' mouth, although damaged, is full and wide. When viewed from the side, the facial features are extremely flat, an impression that is compounded by the lack of a nose. Indeed, the flat treatment of the eyes, which almost appear inset, led Higginbotham to conclude that the visage of Ramesses III had been reworked from an earlier statue.<sup>27</sup>

The treatment of Ramesses' body in the Beth Shean statue is equally unusual. As with the face, the execution of the torso is quite flat, with the exception of the breasts, which are rounded with incised nipples. A faint, rounded impression lower on the abdomen running parallel to the breasts is also an unusual feature for Egyptian sculpture, and may represent the king's ribcage.<sup>28</sup> The representation of the neck is also peculiar. A deeply incised v-shape on the throat may represent the tendons in the neck, but is markedly un-Egyptian.<sup>29</sup> Several elements exhibited in the legs are also unusual for Egyptian statuary, including their particularly wide spacing and their scrawniness,

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<sup>26</sup> Contra Mojsov 1992, 166, who states that no cosmetic lines are present.

<sup>27</sup> See below for further discussion of Higginbotham's study.

<sup>28</sup> Mojsov 1992, 167.

<sup>29</sup> Mojsov 1992, 166.

although they are well modeled, depicting the musculature of the legs as well as details of the knees and ankles.<sup>30</sup>

A cartouche identifying the king has been faintly incised on the front of each shoulder.<sup>31</sup> The inscription on the proper right shoulder is written in hieroglyphs that read from right to left. It reads:

*nb ḥꜥw (Rꜥ-mss ḥꜥ3 Twnw)|*  
The Lord of Appearances, Ramesses, Ruler of Heliopolis

The inscription on the proper left shoulder is written in hieroglyphs that read from left to right. It reads:

*nb t3wy (Wsr-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ mry Imn)|*  
The Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre, beloved of Amun

Although the individual features of the statue reflect a knowledge of contemporary stylistic conventions, several peculiarities in its execution indicate a lack of expertise in its creation. These include the size of the head, which is too small for the body, the flat “raccoon-like” facial features, the unparalleled rendering of the garment, and the wide spacing of the king’s legs. The recognition of these peculiar features has led the statue to be the focus of renewed study in recent years. Higginbotham conducted the first such examination, putting forth the suggestion that the statue was not originally designed to depict Ramesses III, but had merely been re-carved for him.<sup>32</sup> She further argued that, given the unusual placement of the figure’s legs, in its original design the work had likely been a double statue depicting a deity seated behind a figure of a king.<sup>33</sup> She went on to tentatively identify the deity in question as Onuris, noting that the

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<sup>30</sup> The style of the legs is particularly surprising given Ramesses III’s preference for “massive legs that create the impression of physical mass and strength” (Mojsov 2012, 292).

<sup>31</sup> *KRI V*: 251.

<sup>32</sup> Higginbotham 1999. Her treatment of the statue can also be found in Higginbotham 2000, 232–34.

<sup>33</sup> Higginbotham 1999, 228–29. For numerous examples of such statues, see Seidel 1996.

iconographic features of the more traditional Amun could not have produced the Ramesses III statue, in large part because Amun does not wear a wig while the Beth Shean Ramesses III does. Such an identification is unlikely, however, not only because Onuris is traditionally depicted standing, but also because large-scale statues of him are unheard of. Wimmer, reaching a similar conclusion about the identification of the deity as Onuris, built on Higginbotham's argument, suggesting that the statue instead originally depicted a local deity, either El or Mekal, seated behind a figure of Ramesses II or Seti I.<sup>34</sup>

While the "scrawny, widely-parted legs" do beg explanation, it must be kept in mind that this is a statue being produced in the provinces, not by the highly-trained sculptors of the Egyptian court usually responsible for the production of royal images. Furthermore, the work was created from local basalt, a stone that is extremely difficult to carve. Indeed, a quick survey of stone statuary produced in a Levantine style reveals that the blocky nature of the Ramesses III statue is not so unusual in the region.<sup>35</sup>

Higginbotham's, and by extension Wimmer's, argument that the statue of Ramesses III was repurposed from a pre-existing work has some merit. Many features of the statue, such as his flat face, the indentations on the upper part of his wig, and the carving back of his feet indicate some level of retouching. Indeed, Ramesses III was a

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<sup>34</sup> Wimmer 2000, 33–34. Wimmer's cautious suggestion that the missing king's statue from this dyad is the partial basalt statue excavated at Beth Shean (Cat. 22) is untenable. That an Egyptian king would have allowed himself to be represented being crowned by a foreign deity is also highly implausible given the Egyptian worldview, although it should be noted that a cylinder seal from Beth Shean shows Ramesses II shooting arrows before a deity variously identified as Resheph or Seth (Rowe 1936, 252–53, pl. XXVIII; Stadelmann 1967, 74–75).

<sup>35</sup> These statues are, admittedly, produced on a smaller scale. Compare, for instance, two statues from Hazor (Yadin et al. 1961, pls. CCCXXVI–CCCXXVII, CCCXXX; Beck 1989) or a statue of a Syrian prince in the Cleveland Museum of Art's collection (Kozloff 1974, 22–26).



well-known re-worker of earlier kings' statuary.<sup>36</sup> That the original form of the statue was a double-statue of the coronation type is implausible, however. One of the defining features of this type is that the god raises his arms slightly to touch his hands to the back or side of the king's crown. Ramesses' hands lie in his lap, however, making such a pose in the original statue impossible.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, there is no evidence for the removal of an additional sculpture element, such as a smaller figure, from the space between what is now the king's legs.

In his study of the sculpture of Ramesses III, Mojsov notes that it "follows several traditions of the New Kingdom, displaying outstanding diversity and reflecting the eclecticism of his age."<sup>38</sup> As such, the Beth Shean Ramesses III statue, with its distinctly Ramesside type of wig and its traditionally New Kingdom sandals, fits comfortably within the Ramesses III corpus, its inclusion in which is made clear by the inscriptions present on the statue. While all of the requisite elements for a Ramesside royal portrait are present, however, something is lacking which set this statue apart from works created in Egypt proper. This can particularly be seen in the two-dimensional feel that the statue possesses with the torso and face being extremely flat as well as the unusual execution of the king's garments. Potential recarving is a possible source for some of these peculiarities, although if this is the case it is more likely that the statue was reworked from one depicting an earlier Egyptian monarch rather than a deity or other anthropomorphic figure.

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<sup>36</sup> Mojsov 2012, 292–93, 295–96. It should be noted, however, that Higginbotham's assertion that a statue fragment inscribed for the king now in Strasburg provides a precedent for Ramesses III repurposing a divine statue for himself is without evidence (Higginbotham 1999, 229; Spiegelberg 1909, pl. IX; Mojsov 1992, 157–59).

<sup>37</sup> This was already pointed out by Wimmer (2000, 34n5).

<sup>38</sup> Mojsov 1992, 139.

## 22. Fragment of a Standard-Bearing Statue (pl. 43)



Material: Basalt

Dimensions: H: 55 cm; W: 50 cm; D: 19.5 cm<sup>39</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Level V, beneath temple floor

Current Location: Unknown<sup>40</sup>

Manner of examination: Published drawing and unpublished photographs<sup>41</sup>

Bibliography: PM VII: 379; Rowe 1925a, 309; Albright and Rowe 1928, 287; Rowe 1930, 36–37, pl. 50 [1]; Rowe 1940, 33, 71, pl. 28 [18]; F. W. James 1966, 34, 135–36; Chadeffaud 1982, 79

A large piece of fractured, dark black stone identified by Rowe as basalt preserves the lower-middle part a standing statue of an Egyptian male. The statue, which is broken at the waist and just above the knee, is of the standard-bearing type that first became popular during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>42</sup> It portrays a bare-chested man wearing a kilt with a central pleated panel.<sup>43</sup> The man supports a tall standard with each of his arms.<sup>44</sup>

Because the statue is uninscribed as preserved, the identity of the person depicted is unknown. The double-standard subset of the standard-bearing statues, a type to which the Beth Shean fragment belongs, gains popularity during the reign of Ramesses II, and remains a frequent choice under subsequent monarchs.<sup>45</sup> This pose was common for

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<sup>39</sup> Chadeffaud 1982, 79.

<sup>40</sup> Field no. 25-5-908. The statue remains were badly damaged, and it is possible that the piece was never removed from the site (Chadeffaud 1982, 79). In the remarks section of the Field Register, neither Jerusalem nor Pennsylvania is listed as the recipient of the piece in the distribution of finds (“Field Register” 1925, 63).

<sup>41</sup> Photographs of the now-missing statue fragment can be found in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

<sup>42</sup> Bryan 2010, 921. For a study of standard-bearing statues with an extensive catalogue, see Chadeffaud 1982. Some, including Eaton-Krauss, have argued for the origin of this statue type during the Middle Kingdom, but others remain doubtful of such an early attribution (Eaton-Krauss 1976, 69; Bryan 1987, 18–19).

<sup>43</sup> Utilizing the photographs and drawings of the piece, it is impossible to determine the length of the kilt. It most likely belongs to Chadeffaud’s costume type 1 or 4 (1982, fig. 4).

<sup>44</sup> This is Chadeffaud’s Attitude C (1982, Fig. 3).

<sup>45</sup> Eaton-Krauss 1976, 69n2. Statues of this type are quite common during this period, and several examples can be found in Chadeffaud’s study. See in particular statues of Ramesses II (e.g., Cairo JE 44668; [Ramsès le Grand 1976, 64–67]; Cairo CG 575 [Borchardt 1925, II:123–25, pl. 98]); Merenptah (e.g., Cairo JE 37481 and JE 37483; Sourouzian 1989, 79–85, pls. 15-16); and Seti II (Cairo CG 1198; Borchardt 1934, IV:97–99, pl. 169).

statues of princes and kings during the Ramesside Period, but is also utilized by private persons. Rowe identified the figure as a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty “king or royal personage,” while Chadeffaud went further, tentatively suggesting that it is another representation of Ramesses III.<sup>46</sup>

Without further examination of the statue it is not possible to say conclusively whether it was produced locally or in Egypt. However, given the production of other Egyptian statues at the site, including another in basalt (Cat. 21), local production for the statue is possible and perhaps even likely.

### 23. Falcon Statue (pl. 44)



Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H: 45.3 cm; W: 10.5 cm; D: 28 cm<sup>47</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Level VI, in a temple beside the altar

Current Location: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (29-107-916)<sup>48</sup>

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: PM VII: 378; Rowe 1925a, 312; Rowe 1925b, 1326; Rowe 1940, 13, 17, 81, pls. XXXV:8, LIA:4; Eisenberg 1999, 28, fig. 4; Mullins 2012, 143

Among the more charming three-dimensional Egyptian or Egyptianizing sculptures from the Levant is this painted limestone figure of a falcon wearing the Double Crown. The falcon stands on a long, rectangular base. Its legs and feet are long, blocky, and unproportionately large. Despite the coarse treatment of the bird’s body, however, effort has been made to indicate details of its physiognomy. For instance, incised lines render the markings around the falcon’s large, bulging eyeballs, and the tail feathers have been articulated in relief. On its head, the falcon wears the Double Crown of Upper and

<sup>46</sup> Rowe 1925a, 309; Chadeffaud 1982, 79.

<sup>47</sup> “Field Register” 1925, 79. According to the excavation records, the statue measured 46.2 cm in height when discovered, but presently measures 45.3 cm.

<sup>48</sup> Field no. 25-9-622.

Lower Egypt with a uraeus. When discovered, traces of the vibrant polychrome painted decoration on the falcon still remained. As described by Rowe, this included “patches of red paint on the breast; traces of red paint on the crown and between the legs; traces of blue paint on the tail and the claws and of red paint on the base.”<sup>49</sup> Today much of this decoration is undetectable with the naked eye, with the exception of the Red Crown, which still bears much of its red paint. The statue is relatively intact, with only a small amount of damage to the uppermost part of the crown.

Given the falcon form of the statue and the type of crown that it wears, the statue has been identified as an image of Horus, the Egyptian god of kingship. Statues of Horus in full falcon form are attested in a variety of media, including copper alloy and stone.<sup>50</sup> Although uninscribed, a date for the statue during the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty would fit well not only with comparable examples, but also with the statue’s archaeological context, which will be discussed further below.

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<sup>49</sup> Rowe 1940, 81 [8] .

<sup>50</sup> Compare in particular an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty limestone statue of Horus from Abydos currently in the collection of the Musée royal de Mariemont (B.126; Derriks and Delvaux 2009, 67–71). Also of note given the likely Ramesside date of the Beth Shean falcon is the famous statue of a young Ramesses II between the wings of a Horus falcon (Cairo JE 64735; *Ramsès le Grand* 1976, 4–14). See also two copper alloy Horus falcons discovered at Ugarit (Aleppo Museum 4352; Louvre AO 11599; Schaeffer 1929, pl. LII; Weiss 1985, 288–89).

#### 24. Head of a Male Statuette (pl. 45)



Material: Granodiorite<sup>51</sup>

Dimensions: H: 5.5 cm; W: 7.1 cm; D: 5.1 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Level IX, outside temple

Current Location: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (29-107-925)<sup>52</sup>

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: PM VII: 377; Rowe 1928a, 82; Rowe 1928b, 149, 152; Rowe 1930, 14; Rowe 1940, 93, pl. LXIXA:4; Mullins 2002, 99, pl. 69:8

This statuette head depicts an Egyptian male wearing a striated, shoulder-length wig that is parted in the center. The fragment has broken away from the rest of the statuette at the level of the shoulder.<sup>53</sup> Additional damage can be seen on the top of the proper right side of the head, where there is some loss, as well as on the face.

The man has a short, round face that is framed by his wig, which peaks up in the middle at the part.<sup>54</sup> His hair is tucked back behind his ears, which are slightly bent and kidney-shaped when viewed from the side. Few details of the facial features remain; the nose and mouth have been completely worn away. The eyes are preserved, however; they have straight lower lids, sharp inner canthi, and arched, widely open upper lids. Both the upper and lower lids are emphasized by cosmetic lines that extend outward from the outer corner of the eye. Plastic, arched eyebrows mimic the shape of the cosmetic lines.

One particularly intriguing aspect of this statuette fragment was never meant to be seen, and in fact may shed light upon how the piece was utilized at Beth Shean. At discovery, it was noted that a hole had been bored into the bottom of the statue to a depth

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<sup>51</sup> Rowe identified the stone as basalt, but inflections in the stone make it more likely to be granodiorite. The stone was identified by Rowe as basalt

<sup>52</sup> Field no. 27-12-85.

<sup>53</sup> Although an unusual placement for breakage, other examples do exist, e.g., a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of a standing male (Louvre A 77; Delange 1987, 89–90).

<sup>54</sup> This aspect of the hairstyle is uncommon for Egyptian statues, whose wigs usually form straight lines across the forehead, although similar examples, many dating to the Old Kingdom, do exist. It is possible that the man's natural hair is represented here.

of 14 mm.<sup>55</sup> Such treatment indicates that the piece was valued so much that, when broken, an attempt was made to repair it.<sup>56</sup> Given the high position of the statuette's break, no comment can be made on the form that it originally took.<sup>57</sup> That the statuette once represented a male official is clear, though.<sup>58</sup> Stylistically the eyes point towards an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date for the statuette.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

As a New Kingdom garrison town with a permanent Egyptian presence, it is not surprising that numerous pieces of Egyptian sculpture dating to that period, including statues, have been excavated at the site.<sup>59</sup> The Egyptian sculptural finds come from three separate levels: Level IX, Level VI, and Level V, which were initially dated by Rowe to the reigns of Thutmose III, Seti I, and Ramesses II, respectively.<sup>60</sup> Since that time, numerous re-evaluations of Beth Shean's stratigraphic dates have taken place, with the result that Level IX remains dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Level VI is now dated to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and Level V is dated to the post-Egyptian Iron Age presence at the site.<sup>61</sup>

Stratigraphically speaking, the earliest work of Egyptian statuary to be unearthed at Beth Shean was the male head (Cat. 24), which was excavated on December 6, 1927 in

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<sup>55</sup> "Field Register" 1927, 366. See the field photograph and field register drawing for further detail ("Photograph Album VIII: Photos 1451-1628. Box 49" 1927, Photo 1522).

<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately the lower part of the statuette has not been found. It is unclear whether the head broke off from a larger piece and was then reattached or if it was in fact designed as a replacement piece for a damaged head.

<sup>57</sup> It is certainly not from a canopic jar as suggested by Cowie, however (Mullins 2002, 99).

<sup>58</sup> Rowe's suggestion that the statuette might represent a deity is unlikely (1928b, 149).

<sup>59</sup> The date of the garrison's inception is debated. In their study of the city, James and McGovern argued for a transition to Egyptian control during the reign of Seti I (Levels IX to VIII) (F. W. James and McGovern 1993, 235). Others see an Egyptian presence taking hold earlier during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (A. Mazar 2009, 1).

<sup>60</sup> Rowe 1930, 7.

<sup>61</sup> For the most recently revised periodization of Beth Shean's stratigraphy, see A. Mazar and Mullins 2006, 13, table 1.2. Additional approaches to re-dating Beth Shean's strata can be found in multiple sources, including Albright 1938a, 76–78; F. W. James 1966; Yannai 1996.

Level IX, Locus 1227.<sup>62</sup> In his publication of the fragment, Rowe describes it as coming from “the floor near the northeastern *outside* corner” of the room north of the Inner Sanctuary.<sup>63</sup> This locus (1227) was understood by Rowe to be an open space between the northern and southern temples of Thutmose III (loci 1226 and 1234).<sup>64</sup> Re-evaluation of the archaeological remains has revealed that Rowe’s “northern temple” (1226) is unlikely to have had a religious function, however, while the “room north of the Inner Sanctuary” (1230) is likely to have been a shrine in its own right, and perhaps served as the primary religious structure for this period.<sup>65</sup> It therefore seems that the fragment was discovered in an open space just north of a temple, near the eastern end of the temple’s north wall. While it is not certain that the statuette can be associated with the religious structure, the discovery of what has been described as a *psš-kf* knife in the same context points towards a cultic relationship for the objects from 1227.<sup>66</sup> As to the date of this locus, Mullins’ examination of the pottery revealed a mixture of MB and LB forms.<sup>67</sup> Further complicating matters is the fact that, based on further exploration of the level by the Hebrew University excavations, Rowe’s Level IX “conflated two discrete phases of occupation,” the first dating to the LB IB and the second to the LB IIA, that is roughly contemporary with the Amarna period in Egypt.<sup>68</sup> Thus the find context for Cat. 24 can

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<sup>62</sup> “Field Register” 1927, 366. This locus is located immediately north of the room marked “5” in the plan published by Rowe (1928b). Its position in square R-8 can be more clearly seen in the plan of level IX published by McGovern (1985, 12). Another sculptural fragment preserving the foot and part of the base of an alabaster statue (field. No 27-10-129) was discovered in Level IX, Locus 1233, but it is not of an obvious Egyptian character (“Field Register” 1927, 143).

<sup>63</sup> Rowe 1928b, 149. The “Room North of [the] Inner Sanctuary” is indicated by the number 5 on Rowe’s plan and by the locus number 1230 on McGovern’s (Rowe 1928b; McGovern 1985, 12).

<sup>64</sup> Mullins 2002, 82. Subsequent study of the so-called “Northern Temple of Thothmes III” has cast doubt upon its identification as a religious structure (Mullins 2002, I: 83).

<sup>65</sup> Mullins 2002, I: 71, 83, 94, 120-23.

<sup>66</sup> Mullins 2002, I: 99, 326.

<sup>67</sup> 2002, I: 99.

<sup>68</sup> Mullins 2012, 130–31.

be described as roughly religious in nature and dating generally to the period contemporary with the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in Egypt.

Following the destruction that brought Beth Shean's Level IX to an end, Seti I reconfigured the town in Level VIII.<sup>69</sup> Despite the strong Egyptian presence at the site during the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Levels VIII and VII are devoid of Egyptian statuary. One work was found in Level VI, however, which dates to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty occupation of the site.<sup>70</sup> The falcon statue (Cat. 23) was found on September 28, 1925 in the altar room of the so-called Temple of Seti I (Locus 1021B).<sup>71</sup> The temple, which follows the same basic plan of the Level VII temple that occupied the same spot, is comprised of a tripartite sanctuary accessed via its courtyard by a short set of steps.<sup>72</sup> The central room (1021B) contained an altar made of bricks topped with two large pieces of limestone.<sup>73</sup> The falcon statue was found on the floor "immediately to the west of the altar."<sup>74</sup> The statue's close relationship with the altar, together with its size, has led some to argue for its identification as the cult statue of the Level VI temple.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, scholars such as Wimmer see the crude nature of the statue as precluding its function as the focal point of the cult.<sup>76</sup> In this case, the identification of the statue as a votive offering might be more appropriate, although the lack of dedicatory (or indeed any) inscriptions makes this difficult.

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<sup>69</sup> A. Mazar 2011, 160 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Although initially dated to the reign of Seti I, subsequent investigation of Beth Shean's archaeological remains have led to the conclusion that in fact Level VI dates to the reign of Ramesses III. This is based largely on the reliefs of Ramesses-Userkephes which bear the cartouche of Ramesses III (F. W. James 1966, figs. 92–93).

<sup>71</sup> "Field Register" 1925, 79. The temple was dated to the reign of that monarch based on the presence of foundation deposits inscribed for Ramesses I, and seems to have continued in use "onwards to just before the time of Ramesses III" (Rowe 1940, 13).

<sup>72</sup> A plan of this level can be found in F. W. James 1966, fig. 77. For a description of the temple, see Rowe 1940, 13–21; F. W. James 1966, 14–16; Mullins 2012, 142–43.

<sup>73</sup> Rowe 1940, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Rowe 1940, 17.

<sup>75</sup> e.g., H. Weippert 1988, 287; Zwickel 1994, 191.

<sup>76</sup> Wimmer 1998, 97.



The statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 21) was unearthed in locus 1009 of Level V during the 1923 season of excavation.<sup>77</sup> Locus 1009 is described by Rowe as the “east end of [the] room west of [the] corridor” just to the west of the so-called Southern Temple of Ramesses III.<sup>78</sup> Subsequent studies of the stratigraphy of Level V associate locus 1009 with the Northern Temple of Ramesses III (locus 1024), however, as the statue is more aligned with it than with the Southern Temple.<sup>79</sup> As James points out, the statue’s position “against the west side of the curtain west wall of 1024” is not a secondary place of deposition, but rather its emplacement within a larger Egyptianized environment that she refers to as the “stelae room.”<sup>80</sup> This room, which also includes locus 1016, contained monumental stelae of Seti I and Ramesses II.<sup>81</sup> It has been interpreted as a courtyard outside Temple 1024 (the Northern Temple), the walls of which were lined with Egyptian royal monuments.<sup>82</sup> Although initially dated to the reign of Ramesses II, Rowe ultimately re-dated Level V and its contents to the reign of Ramesses III, making the level contemporary with the date of the statue discovered within it.<sup>83</sup> In her reexamination of the Level V remains, however, James came to the conclusion that the level actually dates to the Iron Age IB or IIA, making the emplacement of these royal monuments within this courtyard later than their date of manufacture.<sup>84</sup> It has therefore been largely assumed that the statue together with the

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<sup>77</sup> Rowe 1940, 29, pl. III. For a photograph of the statue at discovery, see F. W. James 1966, fig. 81:3.

<sup>78</sup> Rowe 1940, 23. For a description of this temple and related structures, see Rowe 1940, 22–30.

<sup>79</sup> See, for instance F. W. James 1966, 34–38; Yannai 1996, 187; Higginbotham 1999, 225; A. Mazar 2009, 10. For an isometric drawing of the statue and its spatial relationship to the Northern Temple, see Rowe 1940, 33 fig. 9.

<sup>80</sup> F. W. James 1966, 35. For a photograph of the statue in situ, see F. W. James 1966, fig. 81:3.

<sup>81</sup> F. W. James 1966, 34–36.

<sup>82</sup> See, for instance, F. W. James 1966, 34–36; Yannai 1996, 189.

<sup>83</sup> Rowe 1930, 36.

<sup>84</sup> F. W. James 1966, 151–53; A. Mazar 2009, 10. Yannai redated this level to the late Ramesside period, but his arguments have not been generally accepted (Yannai 1996; A. Mazar 2009, 11).

stelae were originally erected in Level VI, or perhaps VII, and later moved to a place of reverence in Level V.<sup>85</sup>

The fragment of the standard-bearing statue (Cat. 22) was discovered on September 27, 1925 in Room 1024, the interior of the structure designated the “northern temple of Rameses III” by Rowe.<sup>86</sup> This building, measuring 16.14 x 8.24 meters on the interior, was a single-roomed structure entered through the southern end of the western wall.<sup>87</sup> The statue was found beneath the floor of a reservoir that was cut into the northwestern part of the structure during Byzantine times. In her re-evaluation of the Iron Age levels at Beth Shean, James assigns the statue fragment, as well as other Egyptian finds from the area, to the lower (e.g., earlier) phase of Level V at the site, which she dates to “one of the later 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty monarchs, perhaps no later than Ramses VI.”<sup>88</sup> As to the identification of the structure itself, there is some ambiguity regarding its function. Rowe identified it as a temple, likely dedicated to the goddess Ashtoreth (Astarte).<sup>89</sup> James, on the other hand, has argued that Room 1024 “seems more likely to have been an administrative center rather than a *bona fide* temple.”<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Albright 1938a, 77; F. W. James 1966, 150; Weinstein 1992, 143; Higginbotham 2000, 232; A. Mazar 2009, 10; Mullins 2012, 143. Morris suggests that the statue was originally the focus of a statue cult at the site during the Ramesside period (2005, 759).

<sup>86</sup> “Field Register” 1925, 63; Rowe 1940, 31–35. For the position of the statue within the temple, see Rowe 1940, pl. 12.

<sup>87</sup> Rowe 1940, 31.

<sup>88</sup> 1966, 133–36.

<sup>89</sup> 1925a.

<sup>90</sup> 1966, 140. This is based largely on the lack of religious paraphernalia from the structure when compared with Beth Shean’s southern temple. More recently, Mullins has argued for the structure’s identification as a religious structure to be reinstated, although he does note that in the later phase of Level V it seems to have “served a more secular, administrative purpose” (2012, 150–51).

### *Summary*

Over the course of several seasons of excavation at Beth Shean, at least four pieces of Egyptian sculpture were unearthed. Despite their small number, they provide a representative sample of Egyptian statuary classes, with one piece depicting a private person, one a king, and another a deity. The fourth likely also portrays a king, or perhaps a prince. A unique aspect of the Beth Shean statues is that many seem to have been produced locally, not imported from Egypt as is the standard practice at other sites in the Levant. This is not surprising given the city's status as an Egyptian garrison, but it is somewhat curious that more statuary was not discovered at a site that "was intensively occupied by Egyptians who raised families, worshipped their own and local gods, made crafts utilizing Egyptian technology and aesthetics, and finally buried their dead according to the tenants of their religion."<sup>91</sup> All of the Beth Shean Egyptian statues date to the New Kingdom, which is the period of Egyptian occupation at the site, although the two royal statues come from levels postdating the Egyptian presence at the site, perhaps indicating their status as heirloom pieces. According to the current interpretation of the site's archaeological remains, all four of the statues were associated with contexts that were religious in nature.

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<sup>91</sup> Morris 2005, 611.

### 2.1.6.2 – Pella

#### *The Site*

Pella (also known by the modern name of Khirbet or Ṭabaqaṭ Faḥl) is an 8 ha site located in the eastern foothills of the Jordan Valley.<sup>1</sup> As with many of the sites discussed in this study, Pella lies at the intersection of ancient trade routes.<sup>2</sup> Pella boasts a long period of occupation, with evidence for a presence at the site from prehistoric periods through Ottoman times.<sup>3</sup> Several small studies of the site were undertaken between 1887, when Schumacher produced a brief report for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the beginning of large-scale excavation of the site by the College of Wooster in 1967.<sup>4</sup> From 1979 to 1985, a joint team from the College of Wooster and the University of Sydney excavated Pella's remains.<sup>5</sup> Since 1986, fieldwork at the site has been carried out solely by the University of Sydney, a project that is currently under the direction of Stephen Bourke.

Pella (Egyptian *Pḥr*) is mentioned numerous times in Egyptian textual sources, with most exemplars dating to the New Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> The earliest attestation is found in the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts, where the earlier version of the city's name (*Piḥ3wm*) is used.<sup>7</sup> The city is also frequently found in the toponym lists of New Kingdom

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<sup>1</sup> S. J. Bourke, Sparks, and Schroder 2006, 9. An introduction to the site can be found in (R. H. Smith 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Hennessy and Smith 1997, 257.

<sup>3</sup> For a historical overview of Pella's occupation, see Hennessy and Smith 1997.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview see R. H. Smith 1993, 1175. Results from the 1967 season can be found in (R. H. Smith 1973).

<sup>5</sup> A. McNicoll, Smith, and Hennessy 1982; A. W. McNicoll et al. 1992; R. H. Smith and Day 1989; Hennessy 1989.

<sup>6</sup> An overview of Egyptian references to Pella can be found in R. H. Smith 1973, 23–33 and Aḥituv 1984, 153–54 (under the heading “Peḥal”). See also Kitchen 1992 with sources on Jordan in general.

<sup>7</sup> Posener 1940, 68–69 no. E8.

monarchs, including those of Thutmose III,<sup>8</sup> Amenhotep III,<sup>9</sup> Horemheb,<sup>10</sup> Seti I,<sup>11</sup> and Ramesses II.<sup>12</sup> In addition, Pella is cited on a stela erected by Seti I at Beth Shean which implicates it in an uprising.<sup>13</sup> Further information about the city and its relations with Egypt can be found in the Amarna Letters<sup>14</sup> and pAnastasi IV, which identifies Pella as a supplier of chariot spokes.<sup>15</sup>

Finds of an Egyptian or Egyptianizing character are relatively rare at Pella, consisting mostly of scarabs,<sup>16</sup> amulets,<sup>17</sup> and vessels.<sup>18</sup> One oft-cited work is a group of ivory inlays from a box that utilize highly Egyptianizing themes.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the excavators have identified two fragments of stone sculpture as Egyptian in origin.

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<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV: 782 line 4 #33.

<sup>9</sup> For Pella's appearance in the Soleb list of Amenhotep III, see Giveon 1964, 249; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 230; Schiff Giorgini 2002, 133, #a1. Pella also appears as a caption to a bound foreigner on a statue base discovered at Amenhotep III's temple at Kom el-Hitan (Varille 1935, 174).

<sup>10</sup> Pella is included among the toponyms listed in name rings on the base of a colossal statue of the king north of the tenth pylon at Karnak (Simons 1937, 135 #13).

<sup>11</sup> Pella is mentioned several times in the records of Seti I, including in toponym lists from Karnak (*KRI* I: 29 #54; I, 32 #49a), from Abydos (*KRI* I: 32 Series A #2), and on sphinx bases from Seti I's Qurna temple (*KRI* I: 33 #15, 34 #13).

<sup>12</sup> Pella appears in the topographical lists of Ramesses II in the hypostyle hall at Karnak (*KRI* II: 163 #26), in the Aksha temple (*KRI* II: 211 #11 [fragmentary]), and at Amara West (*KRI* II: 215 #11).

<sup>13</sup> *KRI* I: 12 line 10. For further discussion of Beth Shean, see Section 2.1.6.1 above.

<sup>14</sup> Amarna Letters EA 255 and EA 256 (Moran 1992, 308–10).

<sup>15</sup> pAnastasi IV, lines 16,10-16,11 (Gardiner 1937, 53–53a; Caminos 1954, 201). According to the site's excavators, oaks once surrounded Pella, lending to its importance to the woodworking and timber export industries (S. J. Bourke and Eriksson 2006, 343).

<sup>16</sup> Richards 1992; S. J. Bourke et al. 1994, 113–14, 120–21; S. J. Bourke et al. 1998, 188–89; S. J. Bourke and Eriksson 2006; S. J. Bourke, Sparks, and Schroder 2006, 52–53.

<sup>17</sup> S. J. Bourke et al. 1994, 115–16; S. J. Bourke et al. 1998, 199.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of stone vessels at Pella, see Sparks 2007, 230–32. A discussion of some of the ceramic finds from Pella can be found in S. J. Bourke and Sparks 1995, 156–59. Among other interesting vessel-related finds was the lid to a model faience basket (Bourke et al. 1998, 194; fig. 22:19).

<sup>19</sup> Amiet 1986; Potts 1987.

**25. Base of Striding Statuette** (pls. 46-47)



Material: Basalt (Bourke)

Dimensions: Unknown<sup>20</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Temple constructional fill

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph and drawings

Bibliography: Bourke 2005, 115; Bourke 2012, 164, 168 fig. 7, pl. 40

Among the sculptural finds from Pella was the base of a statuette made of a greenish-gray stone identified by the excavators as “fine polished olivine basalt.”<sup>21</sup> In his brief treatment of the statuette, Bourke states that it “seems very probably to be an Egyptian Middle Kingdom product.”<sup>22</sup> The fragment preserves the thick base of the statuette together with the feet of the figure it once represented. The left foot, which is partially broken in the front, is positioned in advance of the right, indicating that the figure once stood in a striding pose.<sup>23</sup> This pose is attested almost exclusively for male statuary, thus its use here indicates that the person once depicted by the statuette is a man. The small proportion of the statue preserved together with the extreme popularity of this pose make it difficult to date conclusively on stylistic grounds. However, it would fit well with the corpus of private striding male statues known from the Middle Kingdom, a date which its archaeological context also supports.

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<sup>20</sup> Based on the published scaled drawing, the dimensions are approximately H: 7.4 cm; W: 9.7 cm; D: 12.9 cm.

<sup>21</sup> Bourke 2012, 168.

<sup>22</sup> 2012, 164. The date of deposition indicates that the statuette must date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or earlier.

<sup>23</sup> Egyptianizing statues produced in Jordan sometimes exhibit this same pose. See, for instance, the limestone statue of Yerah ‘Azar (JAM 1656) or a male statuette of an unidentified individual (JAM 11260) (Zayadine 1986a; Zayadine 1986b; Bienkowski 1991, 40, 44).

## 26. Lower Portion of a Male Statue in an Asymmetrically-Seated Pose (pl. 48)



Material: Granite<sup>24</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Temple votive deposit

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Bourke 2012, 178, pl. 40c

This fragment preserves the lower part of the statue of a man seated on the ground in an asymmetrical pose. His right leg lies on the ground, while the left leg is bent up in a pose that is well attested in sculpture of a variety of periods, from the Old Kingdom through the Late Period.<sup>25</sup> This pose is commonly (but not always) associated with scribes. In his presentation of the text, Bourke describes the statue as being in an “Egyptian scribal pose,” but it is unclear from the published image whether or not the requisite piece of papyrus spread over the man’s lap is present to identify him specifically as a member of the scribal class.<sup>26</sup> Given the style and the choice of stone, a date for the statue during the New Kingdom, probably the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, is most likely.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The statuette base (Cat. 25) was found during the 2001 season in a “sounding through the Middle Bronze Age temple floor.”<sup>27</sup> Its context was associated with the third phase of the temple structure, which the excavators date to ca. 1700/1650-1500/1450

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<sup>24</sup> Bourke describes the material as Aswan granite (2012, 178).

<sup>25</sup> For an overview of this statue type with further examples, see Scott 1989. The pose is first found during the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, with numerous examples dating to the Middle Kingdom and to the Late Period (Scott 1989, 99–101, 180–84, 407–12). Compare, for instance, a quartzite example of Middle Kingdom date (British Museum EA48032); a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty quartzite statue (CG 42184; Legrain 1909, II:48–49, pl. 46); a New Kingdom statue of sandstone (Cairo CG 1090; Borchardt 1934, IV:51, pl. 162); a 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue in granite (Cairo CG 653; Borchardt 1925, II:197, pl. 120).

<sup>26</sup> Bourke 2012, 178. Statues of men in this asymmetrical cross-legged pose appear both with and without papyrus sheets in their laps (e.g., Scott 1989, xix). Compare especially the statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142).

<sup>27</sup> Bourke 2005, 115.

BCE.”<sup>28</sup> The fragment, together with the head of a life-size basalt statue, was “recovered from the terracing/foundation deposits associated with the construction” where it seems to have been used as “constructional fill.”<sup>29</sup>

The fragment that once formed part of an asymmetrically-seated New Kingdom statue (Cat. 26) was also discovered within the temple. It was found inside a small pit interpreted by the excavators as one of several votive offering deposits “immediately inside the eastern entrance” of the Temple with Pillared Hall.<sup>30</sup> This phase of the temple (Temple Phase 5) is dated to the Late Bronze Age, ca. 1300-1100 BCE.

### *Summary*

To date two Egyptian statue fragments have been excavated at Pella, a Jordanian site with close ties to both Tell el-Ajjul and Beth Shean. One, a small statuette base, was discovered in fill relating to the construction of the Middle Bronze Age temple. The other, part of an asymmetrically-seated statue made of Aswan granite, was found in what appears to be a votive deposit in the Late Bronze Age phase of the temple.

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<sup>28</sup> Bourke 2012, 163. During this phase, which is the first phase of Pella’s stone “fortress” temple, took the form of a stone anten-temple.

<sup>29</sup> Bourke 2012, 164.

<sup>30</sup> Bourke 2012, 178. Additional pits contained a copper alloy Resheph-type figurine and a blue-glass scarab. Regarding the interpretation of the finds, Bourke states that “all three offerings are currently viewed as votive, although given the eroded state of the floors in the eastern end of the antechamber, it is possible that they might be better related to ‘clean-up/disposal’ deposits produced by the Late Bronze Age IIA earthquake destruction” (2012, 178–79).



### 2.1.7 – *The Jezreel Valley*

#### 2.1.7.1 – Tell Ta'anek

##### *The Site*

Tell Ta'anek (Biblical Taanach) is a roughly 4.5 ha site located in the Jezreel Valley, 8 km southeast of Megiddo.<sup>1</sup> The first large-scale occupation of the site commenced in the MB II, coming to an end in the LB I, when the city suffered a major destruction, possibly at the hands of Thutmose III.<sup>2</sup> A second destruction of the city, dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century, is often attributed to Sheshonq I.<sup>3</sup> The first study of the site was undertaken by Ernst Sellin, who carried out three excavation seasons between 1902 and 1904 on behalf of the University of Vienna.<sup>4</sup> Paul W. Lapp conducted a second series of investigations over the course of three seasons in 1963, 1966, and 1968.<sup>5</sup>

Tell Ta'anek (Egyptian *T3ʕn3k*) is first attested in Egyptian sources during the reign of Thutmose III, who includes it in his Karnak toponym list and also in his annals, where it is mentioned in the account of the year 23 campaign to Megiddo.<sup>6</sup> The city also appears in a ration list dating to the reign of Amenhotep II<sup>7</sup> and on the Bubastite Portal of Sheshonq I.<sup>8</sup> Also of note are two cuneiform tablets excavated at Ta'anek that date to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> The tablets, composed in Akkadian, were written by an Amanhatpa

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<sup>1</sup> Glock 1993, 1428.

<sup>2</sup> Glock 1993, 1432. A small presence dated to the EB II/III was followed by a long gap in occupation.

<sup>3</sup> Glock 1993, 1432. Minimal evidence for a later occupation of the tell includes a 9<sup>th</sup>-century tower and some Persian period pits. The Hellenistic and Roman occupations of the site were not located on the tell itself (Kreuzer 2000, 1268).

<sup>4</sup> Sellin 1904; Kreuzer 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Lapp 1964; 1967; 1969. This work was conducted on behalf of ASOR and the Graduate School of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* IV: 783:1 #42; *Urk.* IV: 650:10; *Urk.* IV: 653:11. For a brief discussion of Egyptian sources for Ta'anek, see: Aḥituv 1984, 184–85.

<sup>7</sup> pHermitage 1116A vs. col. 72 (Golénischeff 1993, pl. 6).

<sup>8</sup> The Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 7.

<sup>9</sup> A total of thirteen tablets were discovered at the site.

(Egyptian Amenhotep) to the local ruler of Taanach, thus providing clear evidence for Egyptian contact with the site in that period.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the abundance of textual evidence for the interaction of Egypt and Ta'anek, however, very few finds of an Egyptian character have been discovered at the site.<sup>11</sup> They include small finds, such as scarabs<sup>12</sup> and amulets<sup>13</sup>; a handful of stone vessels;<sup>14</sup> and a single statue fragment.

### *The Statuary*

#### **27. Lower Portion of a Male Statue (pl. 49)**



Material: Black granite (Sellin)

Dimensions: H: 6.5 cm; W: 7.5 cm; D: 8.5 cm<sup>15</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Main street trench, in the corner of a room<sup>16</sup>

Current Location: Unknown<sup>17</sup>

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: PM VII: 380; Sellin 1904, 66–67; Rowe 1936, xli

This fragment preserves the lower part of a statuette depicting a male figure sitting cross-legged with both hands on his lap, palm sides down. The statuette has been broken at a diagonal running from the upper bicep of the figure's left arm to the elbow of

<sup>10</sup> Glock 1983, 61, with further references. Letter 5 contains an order that troops be sent to Megiddo, while letter 6 chastises the prince of failing to report to Amenhotep in Gaza. Several scholars have argued that the author of the letters is the future (or perhaps even current) King Amenhotep II, but there is no basis for such an assertion, especially given the popularity of the name Amenhotep during this period among commoners and royalty alike. For further discussion, see: Der Manuelian 1987, 83–90.

<sup>11</sup> Glock estimates that only 17% of the site has been excavated, so it is possible that more Egyptian finds remain to be found (Glock 1983, 64).

<sup>12</sup> Sellin 1904, 20, fig. 13, 28, fig. 23, 50, fig. 53, 73, fig. 100, 88 figs. 121, 123, 111 fig. 125; Lapp 1969, 47–48.

<sup>13</sup> Sellin 1904, 20, figs. 99, 88, 124; Lapp 1967, 36, fig. 25. Among the amulets are three depicting Bes.

<sup>14</sup> Sparks 2007, 222–23.

<sup>15</sup> Sellin 1904, 66.

<sup>16</sup> Sellin 1904, 66.

<sup>17</sup> Given the date of excavation, the piece is likely in Istanbul, but this has not been confirmed.

his right arm. The figure is seated on a roughly square-shaped base that accounts for just less than one-third of the statue's preserved height.

Two vertical lines of hieroglyphic text are inscribed on the figure's lap, between his arms. As it is presented in the published drawing, the text is almost illegible.

However, Sellin does provide the following (unverifiable) translation of the text:

“[Totenopfer?] ... für das Ka des Vorstehers der ... [Thoth?] ..., Sohn der ... .”<sup>18</sup> The presence of a formulaic inscription on this section of the statue, apparently a *hṯp-di-nsw* offering formula, accords well with other examples of this statue type, most of which date to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>19</sup> Despite this, Sellin felt that the inscription was a secondary addition.<sup>20</sup>

Sellin dates the statue to the Late Period, stating simply that, “die Schriftzüge führen etwa in die Zeit Psammetichs (663-610).”<sup>21</sup> Given that no photograph of the piece was ever published, it is impossible to comment on this palaeographical observation. However, the fact that this statue type is most common during the Middle Kingdom makes an earlier dating, probably during that period, much more likely based on the present evidence.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Sellin 1904, 66. The translation was provided by Herr Prof. Krall.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance CG 476, CG 482, and CG 483, all from Abydos; the double statue of Nebawer and Khentykhety from Serabit el-Khadim (Brussels E.2310). Compare also Cat. 55 from Tel Dan.

<sup>20</sup> “Auf die Vorderseite der ganzen Figur war, wie es scheint, nicht vom Künstler selbst, sondern von einem anderen mit einem spitzen scharfen Instrumente eine Legende in ägyptischen Hieroglyphen hineingeritzt” (Sellin 1904, 66).

<sup>21</sup> Sellin 1904, 66–67.

<sup>22</sup> For further discussion of this pose and its popularity during the later Middle Kingdom, see Scott 1989, xviii, 149–54.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

In his work at the site, Sellin dug three long, five-meter-wide trenches, two running east-west and one running north-south.<sup>23</sup> In these trenches he identified four strata, which he numbered from 1 (the earliest) to 4.<sup>24</sup> The Egyptian statue fragment (Cat. 27) was found in the center of the tell in an area referred to by Sellin as the *arabische Schicht* or the *arabisch Berg* during the excavation of the *Hauptstraße*, a five-meter wide street running north-south across the site.<sup>25</sup> Beneath the Islamic level from which the area derived its name, Sellin encountered stratum 3a, a phase that encompasses the LB I through the Umayyad period at various places on the site. Among his finds here were fragments of Cypro-Phoenician pottery and vessel with a crenelated base that he identified as a *Räucherschale*.<sup>26</sup> He also found the remains of stone walls that he believed had belonged to houses; the statue fragment was found in the corner of one of these houses.<sup>27</sup>

Although Sellin's excavation techniques were good for his time, their usefulness for modern study, particularly stratigraphic analysis, is limited.<sup>28</sup> Because his stratum 3a covered such a long time period, the stratigraphy is of little use in determining the date of the statuette's deposition, beyond pointing to a date in the LB I or later.<sup>29</sup> If the statue is indeed a work of the Middle Kingdom, this would indicate that it was deposited in its findspot much later than its date of manufacture. Furthermore, the identification of its

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<sup>23</sup> Meehl 1995, 37. When necessitated by the finds the trenches were enlarged in some areas.

<sup>24</sup> Meehl 1995, 37. These strata contained materials from the Early Bronze through modern (Ottoman) periods (Meehl 1995, 457, fig. 49).

<sup>25</sup> Sellin 1904, 66; Meehl 1995, 51.

<sup>26</sup> Sellin 1904, 66; Meehl 1995, 51.

<sup>27</sup> Sellin 1904, 66.

<sup>28</sup> Meehl 1995, 36 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Meehl 1995, 457, fig. 49. Remains of LB I mud-brick architecture were found in the following level (Meehl 1995, 51).

findspot as a house should be taken with caution given the prominent position of the location at the apex of the mound, a spot that would usually be reserved for monumental buildings.<sup>30</sup>

### *Summary*

A single piece of Egyptian stone statuary was excavated at Tell Ta'anek (Biblical Taanach) in the Jezreel Valley. The statue, which is missing its upper portion, is made of a dark stone and portrays a man seated on the ground with his hands in his lap. It bears a hieroglyphic inscription, the full content of which is unknown, and dates stylistically to the Middle Kingdom. The statue fragment is reported to have come from a domestic context dating to the LB I or later, although the rudimentary excavation techniques used at the time of its discovery makes this attribution less than secure.

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<sup>30</sup> Indeed in plans this area is usually referred to as either the Arab Fort or the Arab Palace (Glock 1993, 1431, 1429).

### 2.1.7.2 – Megiddo

#### *The Site*

Megiddo (also known as Tell el-Mutesellim) is located in the Jezreel Valley at a strategic crossroads along the Via Maris.<sup>1</sup> The site, which measures just over 6 ha, boasts finds from the pre-pottery Neolithic (pre-3300 BCE) through the Persian period. Gottlieb Schumacher conducted the first formal study of the site for the Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas from 1903-1905.<sup>2</sup> The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago began more extensive excavations in 1925 starting under the direction of Clarence S. Fisher, followed by P.L.O. Guy and ultimately Gordon Loud.<sup>3</sup> Beginning in 1960, work at the site was resumed by Yigael Yadin on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Ongoing exploration of the site is being carried out under the auspices of Tel Aviv University as part of a project that was begun in 1992 by Israel Finkelstein and David Ussishkin, with Baruch Halpern serving as a co-director from 1994.<sup>5</sup> It is currently headed by Israel Finkelstein (Tel Aviv University) and Eric Cline (The George Washington University).

As a strategically important city, Megiddo (Egyptian *Mkti*) is named in several Egyptian sources dating from the New Kingdom on.<sup>6</sup> The first unequivocal references to

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the site, see Aharoni, Yadin, and Shiloh 1993; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Schumacher 1908; Watzinger 1929.

<sup>3</sup> Lamon and Shipton 1939; Loud 1948; Harrison 2004. This expedition concluded in 1939.

<sup>4</sup> Seasons were conducted in 1960, 1961, 1966, 1967, and 1971. For the results of this excavation, see Yadin 1960; Yadin 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Cline 2013a.

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of Egyptian references to Megiddo, see Ahituv 1984, 139–40; Görg 1974, 137–50. The somewhat surprising lack of earlier references to Megiddo, most notably in the Execration Texts, has often been remarked upon by scholars (Aharoni 1979, 147). Görg has argued that the name of Megiddo does in fact appear in the Execration Texts and that the name traditionally read as *Mki* should instead be read as *Mkti* (Megiddo), moving back the earliest references to the site to the Middle Kingdom, although his

Megiddo come from the reign of Thutmose III, where the city appears numerous times in the annals that recount the famous Battle of Megiddo,<sup>7</sup> in the king's topographical lists,<sup>8</sup> in a dedication of offerings to Amun at Karnak,<sup>9</sup> and on the Gebel Barkal stela.<sup>10</sup> Additional 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty references to the city include an appearance in the annals of Amenhotep II,<sup>11</sup> two mentions in a list of rations allotted to foreign envoys,<sup>12</sup> and a citation in the topographical list of Amenhotep III at Soleb.<sup>13</sup> That Megiddo remained relevant during the Ramesside period can be seen in its presence in the satirical letter contained in pAnastasi I,<sup>14</sup> as well as in the city's inclusion in Seti I's topographical list at Kanais (Wādī Abbād).<sup>15</sup> The last attested Egyptian reference to Megiddo is found in the topographical list of Sheshonq I on the Bubastite Portal in Karnak.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the city and its ruler appear multiple times in the Amarna letters.<sup>17</sup>

Over the course of numerous excavation seasons at Megiddo many objects reflecting Egyptian influence have been discovered, most notably several pieces of inscribed ivory dating to the New Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Of particular interest are an ivory model pen case inscribed for a royal messenger to all foreign countries bearing the cartouches of

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suggestion has largely been ignored in subsequent scholarship (Görg 1974, 142–45; Görg 1976; Posener 1940, 83 no. E37, 93 no. E62).

<sup>7</sup> *Urk.* IV: 649:6, 649:12, 650:12, 655:12, 657:12, 667:13, 658:1, 658:10, 660:8, 663:5, [663:15], 664:4.

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV: 6:#2; Simons 1937, 111; 115 #2; 123-4, #31.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV: 759:4.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1234:17. For the reading of this passage as “the vicinity of Megiddo” see Aharoni 1960, 182.

<sup>11</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1308:11.

<sup>12</sup> Reference to the *wꜣwty n Mkti* is found on the verso of pHermitage 1116A (also known as pLeningrad 1116A) in lines 68 and 185 (Golénischeff 1993, pls. 6, 16; Epstein 1963).

<sup>13</sup> Schiff Giorgini 2002, 121, #α5; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 220; Givon 1964, 243.

<sup>14</sup> 23, 1. (Gardiner 1947, 24\*, 68: 9; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 184, 188–89 n.i.).

<sup>15</sup> Simons 1937, 147, #5; *KRI* I: 36:10, #5.

<sup>16</sup> The Epigraphic Survey 1954, pls. 4 #27, 7; Simons 1937, 178, 181. It has often been argued that the presence of Megiddo in the topographical list of Sheshonq I reflects an actual campaign by the pharaoh to that site, as evidenced by a stela fragment inscribed for Sheshonq I discovered there. For further references, see note 21 below.

<sup>17</sup> EA 242-244; 246 (Moran 1992, 297–99, 300).

<sup>18</sup> For an overview of Egyptian finds from Megiddo, see PM VII: 380-81. For a discussion of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing ivories from Megiddo, see Loud 1939; E. Fischer 2007.

Ramesses III<sup>19</sup> and several panels of ivory inscribed for the singer of Ptah south of his wall, lord of Ankhtawy Kerker.<sup>20</sup> Also of importance is a relief fragment bearing the cartouches of Sheshonq I thought to come from a monumental round-topped stela once erected at the site.<sup>21</sup> Other finds include the always ubiquitous scarabs, seals and amulets as well as numerous stone vessels which, unlike those at many other sites in the region, show a marked preference for imported Egyptian vessels over locally produced Egyptianizing pieces.<sup>22</sup> Within the realm of sculpture, finds include a copper alloy statue base inscribed for Ramesses VI<sup>23</sup> and six fragments of Egyptian stone statuary.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> J. A. Wilson 1939, 11–12, pl. 62; E. Fischer 2007, 151–64, pls. 30–31. Wilson’s suggestion that the owner’s name be read as Thutmose has been followed in much of the literature surrounding this piece (J. A. Wilson 1939, 11–12; Valloggia 1976, 171–72). As other scholars have pointed out, however, this reading is not certain and perhaps even unlikely (Bryan 1996, 58; Higginbotham 2000, 67–68; E. Fischer 2007, 159–63).

<sup>20</sup> J. A. Wilson 1939, 12–3; pl. 63; Bryan 1996, 58–59; E. Fischer 2007, 165–76–43. The phrase “great one of Ashkelon” (*wr ʿ3 n Isk3rn*) also appears, although scholars debate whether it should be understood as an epithet of Ptah (perhaps in reference to a temple of that deity in Ashkelon) or as a title of Kerker. For further discussion with a history of scholarship, see E. Fischer 2007, 168–75.

<sup>21</sup> C. S. Fisher 1929, xi–xii, 12–16; Lamon and Shipton 1939, 60, fig. 70; Ussishkin 1990, 71–74; Schipper 1999, 129–32, 297 Abb. 7–8.

<sup>22</sup> Publication of the scarabs, seals and amulets are scattered throughout the excavation reports (see notes 2–5 above; notable examples are cited in PM VII: 381). For discussion of the stone vessels, see Sparks 2007, 223–25.

<sup>23</sup> Breasted 1948.

<sup>24</sup> An additional fragment, sometimes interpreted as the leg of an Egyptian basalt statuette, was discovered at the site in 1998, but has not been included in this study because it cannot be conclusively identified as Egyptian based on style as too little of it is preserved (Sass and Cinamon 2006, 406). The fragment measures 8.7 cm long by 2.3 cm wide by 3 cm deep and is currently held in the IAA storeroom at Beth Shemesh (IAA 2009–617). An irregularly shaped fragment of diorite was also found at Megiddo (field number 96/F/18/AR3); it has been tentatively identified as a statue fragment, “though from which part [of the statue] is difficult to guess” (Sass 2000, 418, 417 Fig. 12.53:12). The present author did not examine the latter piece. Yet another piece (OIM A 18409; field number a-543) excavated by Loud has sometimes been identified as a block statue, although its crude form argues against it being an Egyptian import (Loud 1948, pl. 267; Harrison 2004, 66; pl. 25:7).



**28. Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of the Nomarch Djehutyhotep (pls. 50-53)**



Material: Diorite

Dimensions: H: 24.1 cm; W: 12.4 cm; D: 17 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Senwosret II-III

Archaeological Context: Area B-B, Stratum VII, Temple 2048

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (OIM A18622)<sup>25</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography:<sup>26</sup> PM VII: 381; Loud 1936; Rowe 1936, xlvii, n.iii; J. A. Wilson 1941; Loud 1948, pl. 265; Ward 1961; Weinstein 1974, 54; Helck 1976, 104, 106; Wimmer 1998, 109–10; Cohen 2002, 87; Gill and Padgham 2005, 58; Novacek 2011, 26–27; Wastlhuber 2011, 46

This fragmentary statue of a male official is among the best-known pieces of Egyptian sculpture from the Levant, in large part because of the importance of the person it represents: the nomarch of the Hare Nome Djehutyhotep. The nomarch was once seated on a cube-like seat with an extending back-pillar, a statue type common for royals and non-royals alike in many periods. The fragment preserves the block of the figure's seat, retaining his lap and a portion of the fronts of his legs. Djehutyhotep wears a pleated *shendyt*-kilt, and sits with his left hand placed palm-side down on his lap, while the right hand (now largely missing) grasps a piece of folded cloth that can still be seen running partway down his thigh (pl. 50). The statue is inscribed on three surfaces: the proper right and left sides of the seat in four columns each, and the back of the seat in a single column that ran down the (now mostly missing) back-pillar. On each face, the columns of inscription are delineated by vertically incised register lines. The inscriptions on the left and right sides of the statue contain *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formulae, while that on the back

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<sup>25</sup> Field number a 1199.

<sup>26</sup> The statue of Djehutyhotep is cited in discussions of Middle Kingdom Egyptian material culture in the Levant almost without exception. Only some of the more pertinent references have been included here.

provides part of what is presumably Djehutyhotep's titulary, although the beginning of the text is now missing, and there are several enigmatic phrases.<sup>27</sup>

As previously noted, the proper left side of the statue's seat is inscribed with four columns of hieroglyphic text that read from left to right (pl. 51). The stone's surface has broken away in the leftmost portion of the first column's bottom third, as well as in a substantial section of the third and fourth columns, and the bottom of columns two through four. As preserved the text can be read as follows:

*ḥtp di nsw Hmnw nb ḥ3st-ntr*<sup>28</sup> *di.f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt [k3w] 3pdw n k[3]*<sup>29</sup> *n [im3ḥ]*<sup>30</sup>  
 A gift the king gives to Khnum, lord of the divine hill-country,<sup>31</sup> that he might  
 give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, [oxen] and fowl to the *ka* of  
 [the revered one]

*ḥ3ty-ḥ hrp-nsty imy-r ḥmw-ntr wr-diw rh-nsw m33 sšt3*<sup>32</sup> [...] *the count, the controller of the two thrones,*<sup>33</sup> *the overseer of ḥm-ntr priests,*<sup>34</sup>  
*greatest of the five,*<sup>35</sup> *royal acquaintance, who sees the secrets*<sup>36</sup> [...]

<sup>27</sup> A similar arrangement of inscriptions on statues of the period is common. Compare, for instance, several examples from the sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine: e.g., the statue of Khema, which has a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula in four columns on the proper left side of the statue and a list of titles on the proper right side, both presented in three columns (Habachi 1985a, 43–44, pls. 40–45); the statue of Senbebu, which is inscribed on the two sides and the back of the seat with five columns of text each (Habachi 1985a, 75–76, pls. 126–28); the statue of Imeni inscribed on both sides with three columns each (Habachi 1985a, 87–88, pls. 142–43); the statue of Ipi inscribed on both sides in five columns each and in a single column on the back (Habachi 1985a, 88–89, pls. 144–46).

<sup>28</sup> This epithet of Khnum, seemingly to be read as *nb ḥ3st-ntr* determined with the city sign (Gardiner O49), is unattested elsewhere either as an epithet for Khnum or indeed for any other deity (Leitz 2002c, 711).

<sup>29</sup> As Wilson notes, the placement of what remains of the *k3*-sign (Gardiner D28) is not centered within the column (1941, 228, n.c). The formulaic nature of the text does not allow for the addition of another word or sign at the beginning of the block, however.

<sup>30</sup> The tail of what is likely to be an *im3ḥ*-sign (Gardiner F39) is visible at the end of the column.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson translated this epithet “Lord of the-Foreign-Country-of-the-God,” and his interpretation has been followed in subsequent treatments (1941, 227). Although “foreign land” is a well-attested translation for the word *ḥ3st*, and a particularly tempting one given the statue's discovery in just such a foreign land, the more neutral translation of “hill-country” has been used here (*Wb*.III: 234; Hannig 2006, II: 1838–41). While it is possible that the toponym refers to a cult place of Khnum in Megiddo, it is more likely that it names a yet to be identified temple or shrine of that god somewhere in Egypt proper, possibly in the desert regions. For instance, Helck connected this version of Khnum with that associated with the necropolis of the 15<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome (Helck 1971, 69; Helck 1976, 106). For further discussion of this epithet and possible readings of it, see J. A. Wilson 1941, 227–28, n.a; Wimmer 1998, 109–10.

<sup>32</sup> Note the unusual spelling of *sšt3* with the land sign (Gardiner N16) rather than the more traditional kiln (Gardiner U30).

<sup>33</sup> Ward 1982, 134 #1151; Hannig 2006, II: 1939.

<sup>34</sup> Ward 1982, 35 #259; Hannig 2006, I: 220–24.

<sup>35</sup> Ward 1982, 88 #734; Hannig 2006, I: 707. This title was held by the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis.

*nsw sdsr šnwt hry-t[p] ʕ3 n [Wnt<sup>37</sup> ...] n šps-nsw<sup>38</sup> [...]*  
king, who sets the courtiers apart,<sup>39</sup> the Great Overseer [of the Hare nome ...] of  
the king's nobleman [...]

*hn[...Dḥwty]-hṯp ms n S3t[-hpr-k3]<sup>40</sup>*  
foremost(?)<sup>41</sup> [... Djehuty]hotep born of Sat[kheperka]

The inscription on the proper right side of the seat is also arranged in four columns, here written in hieroglyphs that read from right to left, mirroring those on the opposite side of the statue (pl. 52). Damage to the surface has removed a small portion of the top of each column, a significant portion of the bottom of column one, and most of column four. As preserved, the text reads:

<sup>36</sup> Although Djehutyhotep does not have the epithet *m33 sšb3*... in his tomb, he is listed as a *hry sšb3 n ntr m swt dsrwt* and a *hry sšb3 n rw-prw.s* (Newberry 1893b, pl. VI). See also his description as a *hry sšb3 n m33 wʕ* [...] (Newberry 1893b, pl. 7). For further discussion of this passage, see below.

<sup>37</sup> Although no traces of the word *Wnt* remain on the statue fragment, the nome's name can be restored through comparison with the titles found in Djehutyhotep's tomb.

<sup>38</sup> Wilson translates this passage as "of the Royal Favorite..." but admits that "A diligent search of Middle Kingdom titles has provided no resolution of the titles or epithets of Thuthotep at the end of this line and at the beginning of the next. A full square is lost at the end of line 3" (1941, 227, 299 n.f). It seems likely given the presence of the man seated on a chair (Gardiner A50) that this phrase should be read as the title *šps-nsw* (Wb.IV: 449; Hannig 2006, II: 2441; Ward 1982, 174 #1510). Traces of what could be the same title are also found in Djehutyhotep's tomb (Newberry 1893b, pl. IX fragment 3).

<sup>39</sup> An almost identical string of epithets appears in the tomb of the nomarch Djehutynakht at Bersha (Griffith and Newberry 1895, 23–24, pl. 7). It reads *m33 sšb3 [... nsw sds[r] šnwt*, which Griffith and Newberry translated as "Seeing the secrets of the house of the king, dignifying the courtiers," restoring a *pr* sign in the lacuna following *sšb3* (1895, 24). In his treatment of the Djehutyhotep statue fragment Wilson is more cautious, translating the passage as "he who sees the mysteries [of] ... the King and exalts the courtiers," noting that "Newberry's restoration of *pr*, 'house,' in the lacuna ... seems to be an unsupported guess, although a reasonable one" (1941, 227, 229 n.e). One potential argument against the restoration of *pr* in the lacunae in both Djehutynakht's tomb and Djehutyhotep's statue is that such an arrangement would result in a lack of honorific transposition that is found in the standard writing of *pr-nsw*. For further information on *sdsr*, see Wb.IV: 394; Hannig 2006, 2414; Hoffmeier 1985, 146–65.

<sup>40</sup> The name has been restored based on the multiple appearances of Djehutyhotep's mother's name in his tomb (Newberry 1893b, 7–8; J. A. Wilson 1941, 229 n.g). Throughout the tomb the name of *S3t-hpr-k3* is spelled two different ways, with *hpr* spelled either phonetically or with the *hpr*-beetle (Gardiner L1), either of which would fit with the traces preserved on the statue fragment.

<sup>41</sup> Although not enough of this title is preserved on the statue to restore it, it is worth noting that in his tomb Djehutyhotep holds the title of *hry-tp i3wt hntt* "chief of principal offices" (Newberry 1893b, pl. XVI; Ward 1982, 123 #1048).

*hṭp d[i nsw] Dḥwty nb mdw-ntr [...]i*<sup>42</sup>

A gift [the king gi]ves to Thoth, lord of divine words<sup>43</sup> [...]

[*im3h*] *hr ntr-3 h3ty-ḥ hrp-nsty imy-r ḥmw-ntr s3b ḥd-mr Dp*<sup>44</sup> *r [ḥm [...] ntrw]*<sup>45</sup>

[to the one revered] before the Great God, the count, the controller of the two thrones, the overseer of *ḥm-ntr* priests, the senior administrator of Buto,<sup>46</sup> ...<sup>47</sup>

[...] <sup>48</sup>*imy-ist wḥb-3 n Dḥwty sm*<sup>49</sup> *rdi mdw drf*

... Councilor,<sup>50</sup> Chief Priest of Thoth,<sup>51</sup> *sm*-priest, who can read writing (aloud)<sup>52</sup>

<sup>42</sup> As Wilson notes, “The presence of a reed leaf toward the end of the line makes restoration of the customary mortuary formula difficult here” (1941, 229 n.i). One possibility is that the reed leaf represents the end of *im3hy*, forming part of the phrase *im3hy hr*, which is continued on the next line. Wilson instead reads a compact writing of *im3h hr* with all signs at the top of the next column, acknowledging that “the *im3h* sign is probable but not certain” (1941, 299 n.j). Such a reading would account for the placement of the *h* (Gardiner Aa1), which is not centered above the *r* (Gardiner D21).

<sup>43</sup> In his treatment of the text, Wilson raises the possibility that this is the earliest recorded use of this epithet for Thoth, citing the *Wörterbuch*’s dating of it to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1941, 229 n.h). According to Leitz, however, there are two other attestations of Thoth *nb-mdw-ntr* dating to the Middle Kingdom (2002c, 654–55). One appears on a scribal statue from Karnak, where *Dḥwty nb-mdw-ntr* is listed among other deities in a *hṭp-di-nsw* formula inscribed on the papyrus (CG 42040; Legrain 1906, I:24, pl. 25). The other appears in the tomb of *Hsw* the Elder at Kom el-Hisn (Silverman 1988, 30, line 21).

<sup>44</sup> Note the unusual spelling of *Dp* with the forearm with bread-loaf (Gardiner D37) rather than the simple hand (Gardiner D46).

<sup>45</sup> The reading of this broken section is very difficult. What is legible seems to be an *r* followed by a long, flat sign centered above two vertical signs. This tripartite group stands to the right of another tall, rounded sign, perhaps *ḥm* or something similar. Wilson reads the second vertical sign as a stroke, stating that based on his observation the lower end of the sign was visible before the break in the stone (J. A. Wilson 1941, 229 n.i). Its placement in relation to the *ntr* sign would point towards a possible reading of *ntrw* with plural strokes.

<sup>46</sup> Ward 1982, 148 #1268. For the title *s3b ḥd-mr Dp* in Djehutyhotep’s tomb, see Newberry 1893b, pl. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson tentatively reads “Mouth of Hierakonpolis” here, but notes that the perplexing position of what he interprets as the *Nhn* sign (Gardiner O47) to the right of center raises doubts (1941, 227, 229 n.i). That Djehutyhotep held the title of *r-Nhn* can be seen in its multiple attestations in his tomb (Newberry 1893b, pls. 6, 7, 16). For references for this title, see Ward 1982, 64 #523; Hannig 2006, I: 345. The following title is even more perplexing due in part to the loss of the signs’ bottoms. Wilson suggests *ḥm-ntr* priest, but notes that “the writing is extraordinary” (1941, 229 n.i).

<sup>48</sup> The first legible signs in this column, the beginning of which is damaged, are two signs for the number ten (Gardiner V20). The most likely title ending in these signs is *wr mdw šmḥw* “Great One of the Tens of Upper Egypt” (Ward 1982, 87 #721; Hannig 2006, I: 703). For this and the parallel title *wr mdw T3-mḥw* in the tomb of Ahanakht I at Bersha, see Willems 2007, 103–4. As Wilson notes, however, the traces between and slightly above the two signs does not seem to complete the number thirty, raising the possibility that some other title was once recorded here (1941, 229–30 n.m).

<sup>49</sup> As Wilson notes, a diagonal line runs through the *s* (Gardiner S29). Nonetheless, the reading of *sm* seems secure. For this title in Djehutyhotep’s tomb, see Newberry 1893b, pl. 16.

<sup>50</sup> Ward 1982, 9, #23; Hannig 2006, I: 189; *Wb*. I: 127.1, 73.1

<sup>51</sup> Ward 1982, 81 #662.

<sup>52</sup> Hannig 2006, II: 2796. This epithet, which is attributed to private persons during the Middle Kingdom, becomes an epithet for deities, particularly Thoth, starting in the New Kingdom (J. A. Wilson 1941, 230 n.o; Leitz 2002d, 746). For other Middle Kingdom examples see the tombs of Djefaihapi I at Assiut (Griffith 1889, pl. 6) and Amenemhat at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893a, pl. 7), both of whom were also nomarchs of their respective nomes.

[...] *K3y s3 D[hwty-ḥtp*<sup>53</sup> ...]  
[...] Kay's son Dj[ehutyhotep ...]

The interpretation of the inscription on the back of the statue is particularly problematic (pl. 53). While it is clear that the single column of hieroglyphs, which read from right to left, contains part of Djehutyhotep's titulary, at present the arrangement of signs cannot be connected with any known titles from the Middle Kingdom, either in Djehutyhotep's tomb or elsewhere. The section can be tentatively read as follows:

[...] *pr-Dḥwty*<sup>54</sup> *m wr gm*<sup>55</sup> *ḥk3* [*ʿrkwy*<sup>56</sup>] *m pr-Hnmw K3y s3 Dḥwty-ḥtp*  
[...] Temple of Thoth [as one great of finding, *ḥk3 ʿrkwy*<sup>57</sup>] in the Temple of Khnum, Kay's son Djehutyhotep

John Wilson was the first to identify the official once represented by the statue with the owner of Bersha 2, which was published by Newberry in 1893 and is particularly famous for its depiction of the transportation of a colossal statue of the deceased.<sup>58</sup> This

<sup>53</sup> According to Wilson, "the beak of the Thoth ibis and the right end of the *ḥtp* sign may be discerned chiefly because one knows where to look for them" (1941, 230 n.q). The considerable space left below the nomarch's name leads one to wonder whether his mother might also have been mentioned on this side of the statue, mirroring the arrangement on the proper left side.

<sup>54</sup> The reading of the divine Ibis perched on a standard (Gardiner G26), while damaged, is clear. How it relates to the following signs is unknown, however. It is immediately followed by a *pr*-sign (Gardiner O1) that is centered over the head of an owl (Gardiner G17). In his treatment of the text, Wilson interpreted this as a case of honorific transposition, reading *m pr-Dḥwty* "in the House of Thoth" (1941, 227). The fact that this phrase is soon followed by the parallel *m pr-Hnmw*, which does not utilize honorific transposition and utilizes the stroke with the *pr*-sign, makes such a reading unlikely, however.

<sup>55</sup> This bird sign most closely resembles the black ibis hieroglyph (Gardiner G28), which would provide a phonetic value of *gm*. Other readings such as *dšr* (Gardiner G27) or *snm* (Gardiner G52) are also possible, however.

<sup>56</sup> The reading of these signs, written as a dual, is unclear. They are most plausibly to be read as the band of string or linen (Gardiner V12), as suggested by Wilson (1941, 230 n.t).

<sup>57</sup> Although this is almost certainly a priestly title relating to the cult of Khnum, the translation of this title remains elusive. Wilson hesitatingly translates this passage "Ruler of the Two Cords," but also raises the possibility of "Ruler of the Last Two Days (of the Month)" (1941, 230 n.t). Neither is particularly satisfactory; *ʿrk* is not otherwise attested with the meaning "cord," and the lack of the sun determinative makes a reading of *ʿrkwy* unlikely (*Wb*.I: 211-13; Hannig 2006, I: 548). He also notes the much later priestly title *ḥk3 ʿrk*, attested from the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb*.III: 172.23; Mokhtar 1983, 196-97). That title, attested only twice, seems to be exclusive to the Heracleopolitan nome. For attestations, see a stela of now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 1035) (Perdu 1985; *La Collezione egiziana del Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli* 1989, 142-43; Sternberg-El Hotabi 2005); and a scene from the temple of Dendera (Mariette 1873, IV:pl. 34).

<sup>58</sup> Newberry 1893; PM IV: 179-80. Djehutyhotep is often referred to as "Djehutyhotep II" within academic scholarship. In addition to the tomb and the statue fragment currently under discussion, he is also known

connection was based not only on the similarity in Djehutyhotep's titles on the statue and in his tomb, but also on the agreement of his parents' names, which are given in the tomb as Kay and Satkheperka.<sup>59</sup> The association with such a well-attested individual aids not only in the dating of the statue, but also with understanding more about the person that it represents. A nomarch of the Hare Nome, Djehutyhotep grew up during the reign of Amenemhat II and served as an official into the reign of Senwosret III.<sup>60</sup> This means that his statue, while lacking art historically significant dating criteria in its current state, can be dated to the reigns of either Senwosret II or Senwosret III.

While the association with a tomb provides one with more information about the depicted individual than for most private statues excavated in the Levant, however, much about Djehutyhotep's life remains a mystery. It has often been pointed out that even with a fairly well-preserved tomb relatively little is known about the man's life itself beyond what can be inferred from his titles which, for the most part, are standard for a nomarch of the Hare Nome and a High Priest of Thoth.<sup>61</sup> One exception to this, which has sometimes been thought to have particular significance in light of the discovery of this

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from a lapis lazuli seal in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 10.130.319) that is inscribed on the bottom for the *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> hrp-nsty imy-r hm-ntr wr-diw Dhwti-htp m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* (Mace 1911, 12; Newberry 1928, 111; G. T. Martin 1971, 136 #1774; pl. 46 [14]). For an overview of evidence for Djehutyhotep, see (Franke 1984, 449 #781). In addition to the sources already mentioned, Franke erroneously lists coffin CG 28088; while the coffin (and its partner CG 28087) was found in a shaft tomb in front of the tomb of Djehutyhotep, it is inscribed for the *imy-r pr* Neferi. For further discussion of the coffin, see (Daressy 1899, 40–42; Allen 1976; Brovarski 1981, 25–26, 29).

<sup>59</sup> For Djehutyhotep's parents names and titles, see Newberry 1893b, 7–8 and the translation commentary above. A more complete family tree of the nomarchal family can be found in Willems 1983, 102.

<sup>60</sup> The fragmentary titularies of Amenemhat II, Senwosret II, and Senwosret III are found on the jambs at the entrance to the tomb, allowing for a firm dating of the official's life and career (Newberry 1893b, 3, 6, pl. V; J. A. Wilson 1941, 230–31).

<sup>61</sup> “Of the events of Tehutihetep's life, or of his personal character, we know scarcely anything. The scenes in the tomb are mostly of the ordinary type for the period” (Newberry 1893b, 7); “the biographical evidence on Thuthotep himself is slight” (J. A. Wilson 1941, 231). For an overview of Djehutyhotep's titles and epithets, see Favry 2004, 56–58.

official's statue abroad, is that of  $\epsilon_3 h_3st nb(t)$  "Door of Every Foreign Land."<sup>62</sup> Despite its clear relation to lands outside the Nile Valley, however, its function remains unclear. It is possible that it should be seen as related to the similar titles  $r-\epsilon_3 h_3swt$  "Entry of Foreign Lands," which is attributed to Khnumhotep III at Beni Hassan<sup>63</sup> and to Sarenput I at Qubbet el-Hawa;<sup>64</sup>  $r-\epsilon_3 h_3swt rsyt$  "Entry of Southern Foreign Lands," which is attributed to Sarenput II at Qubbet el-Hawa;<sup>65</sup> and  $r-\epsilon_3 \check{S}m\epsilon_w W_3st T_3-sti$  "Entry of Upper Egypt, Thebes and Nubia" attributed to Senwosretseneb in his graffito at Kumma.<sup>66</sup>

While intriguing, the presence of the title "Door of Every Foreign Land" in the Bersha tomb offers no firm evidence in favor of or against Djehutyhotep having had a presence in any foreign country, be it Nubia, Libya or one of the cities of the Levant, such as Megiddo. Nonetheless, many scholars have taken the title, combined with the discovery of the statue in Megiddo, as firm evidence in favor of Djehutyhotep's presence in that city. Some assume that he lived in Megiddo as an expatriate for some period of time, perhaps even governing the city on Egypt's behalf.<sup>67</sup> Others are more cautious

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<sup>62</sup> Newberry 1893b, 16; pl. 10; PM IV: 179 [12]. The title appears on the southeast wall of the tomb's main chamber in a list of titles that "were very fully given, but are now much destroyed," written above Djehutyhotep's head in a scene that shows the deceased being purified (Newberry 1893b, 16). The title, for which this is the only known attestation, has been translated as "the gate of every foreign country" (Newberry 1893b, 16), "Door of Every Foreign Country" (J. A. Wilson 1941, 231), and "Door to Every Foreign Land" (Ward 1982, 71 #588).

<sup>63</sup> Newberry 1893a, 44, 61, pl. 26. The reference appears in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Beni Hassan Tomb 3), Khnumhotep III's father, which dates to the reign of Senwosret II. It is perhaps notable that Khnumhotep II's primary title was Administrator of the Eastern Deserts (*imy-r h\_3swt i\_3bt*). For the account of an apparent military campaign to Byblos recorded in Khnumhotep III's tomb, see Allen 2008; Allen 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Edel 1971, 34–35, Abb. 11; H. W. Müller 1940, 28, pl. 4d.

<sup>65</sup> H. W. Müller 1940, 80, pl. 34.

<sup>66</sup> Dunham and Janssen 1960, 156, RIK 87, pl. 100G. For the  $r-\epsilon_3$  titles, see also Ward 1982, 101; Hannig 2006, I: 1451.

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, the following statements: "On sait maintenant qu'il existe une relation directe entre Djéhoutyhotep et le pays d'origine de son troupeau. En effet, on a trouvé la statue de cet important personnage à Mégiddo où il a dû résider en service commandé" (Posener 1957, 160); "Among the dignitaries of the Hare nome, Djehutyhotep displays once in his tomb at el-Bersheh the title 'door of every foreign country' ... This indicates that he too carried out administrative duties in relation to foreign lands, **especially as he resided in Megiddo**" (my emphasis) (Aufrère 2002, 212); "... it may be deduced that

about his role in Palestine,<sup>68</sup> while still others believe that he never stepped foot in the region.<sup>69</sup>

If one accepts that the statue was not originally designed to be set up in a Levantine temple, the question of where the statue originated arises. While this is a question that pertains to all of the works treated in this study, it is particularly pertinent for Cat. 28, as this piece can be linked to a specific person with firm ties to a particular locality in Egypt.<sup>70</sup> While nothing can be said conclusively, the issue warrants brief consideration here. In his recent treatment of the Bersha necropolis, Willems has convincingly argued for the existence of a series of chapels dedicated to the Hare Nome nomarchs that were part of the elaborate ritual landscape of Deir el-Bersha/el-Ashmunein.<sup>71</sup> It is therefore plausible that the statue of Djehutyhotep discovered at Megiddo was originally displayed in a chapel dedicated to the nomarch within his nome, akin to that seen for, e.g., Heqaib at Elephantine. It is also worth noting that in addition to referring to Thoth, the nome's foremost deity for whom Djehutyhotep served as high priest, the text on the statue also invokes an as-yet unidentified manifestation of

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during the reign of Sen-Usert III, Thuthotep was sent to Palestine to consolidate Egyptian control of, at least, the vital routes in order to maintain communications between Egypt and the North (Phoenicia and Mesopotamia). Megiddo, which controls a vital passage to the North and the East as well, was an obvious choice of residence for Thuthotep..." (Harif 1978, 31); "Thuthotep's tomb inscription contains a title that may identify him as the governor of Egyptian holdings in Asia. It is therefore assumed that Canaan was under Egyptian rule at that time and that the seat of the local governor was at Megiddo" (Aharoni, Yadin, and Shiloh 1993, 1009); Flammini also takes it for granted that Djehutyhotep lived in Megiddo (Flammini 2001).

<sup>68</sup> "He might have been an Egyptian 'inspector' in Megiddo" (Kempinski 1989, 55).

<sup>69</sup> Helck 1976, 106; Weinstein 1974, 54.

<sup>70</sup> For further treatment of this question see section 4.2 below.

<sup>71</sup> Willems, Peeters, and Verstraeten 2005; Willems 2014, 98–123. The colossal statue depicted in Djehutyhotep's tomb was likely erected in (or in front of) just such a shrine.



Khnum.<sup>72</sup> Another possible location for the intended emplacement of the statue, if it was not Megiddo, is therefore a cult place dedicated to Khnum *nb h3st ntr*.<sup>73</sup>

## 29. Upper Portion of a Female Statue (pls. 54-56)



Material: Diorite

Dimensions: H: 13.9 cm; W: 10.3 cm; D: 10.2 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Senwosret I–Amenemhat II

Archaeological Context: Area B-B, Stratum VII, Temple 2048

Current Location: Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (36.1897)<sup>74</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 381<sup>75</sup>; Loud 1936; Loud 1948, pl. 266 [2];

Palestine Archaeological Museum 1937, 51; Kempinski 1989, 179, fig. 47 [18]; Wastlhuber 2011, 47

Of the six statuary fragments excavated at Megiddo, Cat. 29 is the only one that portrays a female. Carved of a heavy, dark stone identified by the excavators as diorite, the woman, with her classically Middle Kingdom features, is an exquisite work of Egyptian sculpture. The statue is broken at the level of the breast, preserving the upper torso and head of the figure, which is in very good condition with the exception of some damage to the face that has removed the nose and some of the surface above and below it.

The woman has a full, round face with fleshy cheeks. She wears a voluminous, striated tripartite wig tucked behind her ears, which are pushed forward by the hair. Her natural sideburns show through under the wig. Incised v-shaped lines on the front of her

<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, a brief survey of contemporary statues of this type indicates that it is unusual to provide two *htp-di-nsw* formulae on the same statue invoking different deities or groups of deities. See especially several examples from the Heqaib shrine at Elephantine, particularly those mentioned in note 27 above.

<sup>73</sup> Perhaps a shrine dedicated to a form of the deity worshipped in the desert regions. Of course, a cult place for a deity and a location for the veneration of the nomarch need not be mutually exclusive, e.g., with the case of Djefaihapi at Assiut (Kemp 1995, 39 ff.).

<sup>74</sup> Field number a 273.

<sup>75</sup> It should be pointed out that this statue fragment is referenced twice in the section on statuary from Megiddo, first as one of the “three [statuettes] re-used in the temple-platform,” where it is cited from the final report, and later as the “basalt bust of another statuette” published in the *Illustrated London News* (PM VII: 381). It should also be noted that the type of stone is incorrectly given in the latter entry.

chest indicate that she is wearing a tight-fitting sheath dress with wide straps. The cosmetic lines are rendered plastically in thick, rectilinear lines that extend outwards from the eye almost to the hairline, running parallel to the heavy eyebrows. These lines encase both the upper and lower lids and widen as they near the hairline. In her study of Amenemhat II's statuary, Fay determined that the treatment of both the mouth and the eyes was distinctive enough to distinguish the sculptures depicting that king from those representing other rulers of the dynasty.<sup>76</sup> According to Fay, "The form of the eye shared by the sculptures identified as Amenemhat II, or contemporary with his reign, is large with a horizontal lower rim and a semi-circular upper rim that reaches its highest point above the middle of the eye ... Wide brows in low relief dip at the root of the nose, and extend far beyond the outer corners of the eyes; and the cosmetic lines, which embrace the sharp outer canthi, are wide and set parallel to the brows. A deep depression lying between the inner canthi, the root of the nose, and the lower edge of the brow forms a pocket of shadow usually shaped approximately like a right triangle."<sup>77</sup> This description fits Cat. 29 exactly. Regarding the mouth, Fay observes that in statues of this king the mouth "is wide, and set horizontally above a square chin. In two examples ... a slight downward pull at the mouth corners is detectable when they are viewed from below. The corners are marked by vertical, curved folds."<sup>78</sup> This description also fits with the woman portrayed in this statue, including the downturn to the mouth, which gives the impression that she is pouting. Based on careful study of the woman's visage, the statue can

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<sup>76</sup> Fay 1996b, 53.

<sup>77</sup> Fay 1996b, 53.

<sup>78</sup> Fay 1996b, 53.

therefore be dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and more specifically to the reign of Amenemhat II or possibly his father Senwosret I.<sup>79</sup>

The type of statue from which the fragment comes is difficult to determine based upon what is preserved. The woman is positioned against a wide back-pillar, perhaps more accurately described as a back-slab in this instance, which is also quite deep (pl. 55).<sup>80</sup> The slab, which is uninscribed, rises three-quarters of the way up the woman's head and has a rounded top. When the statue is viewed from the front, this back-pillar is invisible, but from the sides and back it is a substantial element of the sculpture. Large back-pillars of this type are not widely attested within the Middle Kingdom art corpus, making it difficult to pinpoint a pose for the woman. However, the size of it in proportion to that of the statue would seem to point to her once having been standing.<sup>81</sup> As to the identity of the woman depicted, although nothing can be said conclusively given the lack of a preserved inscription on the statue, the extremely high quality of carving on the artwork brings to mind examples representing the royal woman of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> The statuary of Senwosret I, which is incredibly numerous, adopts a number of different styles. For an overview, see Freed 2010, 891–95; Vandier 1958, 173–79. One of these styles is particularly close to the statuary of Amenemhat II, so much so that Fay has posited that the statues of both kings were made in the same workshop, and that those of Senwosret I might best be dated to the later part of his reign (Fay 1996b, 57). See especially the king's colossal statue from Tanis (Cairo JE 37465; Fay 1996b, 57–58, pls. 73–74).

<sup>80</sup> The back-pillar measures between 3.5 (at the top) and 4.2 cm (at the lowest preserved point) in thickness.

<sup>81</sup> If the back-pillar was intended to be inscribed in the manner of a stela, which its shape is reminiscent of, however, it is possible that the figure was once seated. Compare, for instance, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Tjehen (Vienna AS 63; Jaroš-Deckert 1987, 99–105).

<sup>82</sup> For several examples of queen's statues dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, many of which are of a similar scale to this piece, see Freed and Josephson 2009. Compare also a statue of an unidentified royal woman (WAM 22.376; Steindorff 1976, 32; pl. X 365). While most wear a uraeus, indicating their royal position, this is not always the case. See for example a statue of Queen Senet ("Queen Senet, XII Dynasty (c.1985-1785 BC)" 2015). It must be acknowledged, however, that there are also numerous examples of high-quality stone statues depicting private women, such as the statue of Sennuwy (MFA, Boston 14.720) and the statue of the nurse Sitsnefru from Adana (MMA 18.2.2).

Such a possibility is intriguing given the numerous statue fragments depicting 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty princesses discovered in the Levant.<sup>83</sup>

### 30. Upper Portion of a Male Statuette (pls. 57-58)



Material: Diorite

Dimensions: H: 8.8 cm; W: 5.1 cm; D: 4.4 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Area B-B, Stratum VII, Temple 2048

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago (OIM A18320)<sup>84</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 381; Loud 1948, pl. 266 [3]; J. A. Wilson 1941, 226; Givon 1978, 29; Kempinski 1989, 179, fig. 47 [19]; Wasthuber 2011, 46; “The Oriental Institute Integrated Database” 2015

This fragment preserves the upper part of a statuette depicting a standing male official of the late Middle Kingdom. The figure of the man is preserved from approximately the level of the hips up; there are slight areas of damage on the arms and the head. The man stands against an uninscribed back-pillar that rises to the base of his wig. He wears a high-waisted kilt that knots at the waist. His arms, which are at his sides, are positioned in such a way that suggests that his hands once rested on the fronts of his thighs in a gesture of reverence.<sup>85</sup> The musculature of his bare chest and upper arms is carefully rendered. The man wears a shoulder-length striated wig that curves over his shoulder, coming to rest on his chest in two points.<sup>86</sup> The wig exposes the man’s large ears, which are pushed forward by the hair. Damage to the surface of his short, round

<sup>83</sup> See the sphinx of Princess Ita from Qatna (Cat. 135); a princess’ statue from Ugarit (Cat. 121); the base of a statue inscribed for Princess Sobeknefru from Gezer (Cat. 16).

<sup>84</sup> Field number a 234.

<sup>85</sup> For a discussion of this pose and its appearance in royal statuary during the reign of Senwosret III, see Russmann 2001, 101–4; Bourriau 1988, 55; 59. For private examples, see Cat. 124 from Ugarit and numerous examples from Byblos (Cats. 87, 88, 89, 90, 96).

<sup>86</sup> This type of wig first appears during the reign of Amenemhat II, and is thought to mimic the shape of the *nemes* headcloth worn by the king. For further discussion, see Vandier 1958, 252; Bourriau 1988, 57; Freed 2010, 897. Other examples of this hairstyle on statuary found in the Levant include Cat. 3 from Tell el-Ajjul; Cat. 34 from Jo’ara; Cat. 137 from Qatna; and Cat. 94 and Cat. 109 from Byblos.

face has obliterated the nose and mouth, but the eyes are still clearly visible, with each of the eyelids as well as the eyeballs rendered in raised relief.

As the name of the man, which would almost certainly have appeared on the statuette's now missing base, is not preserved, no comments can be made regarding his identity. However, the work fits in well with the preponderance of small-scale private statuettes of lower-ranking officials that begin to be found under Senwosret III and continue to proliferate through the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>87</sup> Standing statues of this type, with the official wearing a long, high-waisted kilt that ties in the front above a protruding belly, dating to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> through the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are particularly numerous.<sup>88</sup> It is thus likely that this statuette dates to that period, making it the latest of the datable Middle Kingdom statues excavated at Megiddo.

### 31. Torso of a Male Statue (pls. 59-60)



Material: Granite

Dimensions: H: 9.2 cm; W: 11.3 cm; D: 8.9 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area B-B, Stratum VII, Locus N=2048

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago (OIM A18358)<sup>89</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Loud 1948, pl. 267 [6]; J. A. Wilson 1941, 226;

Wastlhuber 2011, 47; "The Oriental Institute Integrated Database" 2015<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Freed 2010, 902 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Compare the statuette of an unidentified male, also made of diorite, currently in the Louvre (E 20185, 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; Delange 1987, 187; "Homme debout" 2015); a basalt statuette of an unidentified male in the collection of the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst (Gl. 14, 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; Dietrich Wildung 1984b, 100 #90; 241; *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst* 1976, 43); the stone statuette of Senwosret-ankh (Ashmolean 1888.1456, early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; Whitehouse 2009, 64–65); the black diorite statue of Khentika (MMA 62.77, 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; "Statue of Khentika with Shaved Head" 2015); the serpentine statuette of Imenytirry (MMA 22.1.190, 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; "Statuette of Imenytirry in Long Kilt" 2015).

<sup>89</sup> Field number a 339.

<sup>90</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, Porter and Moss do not include this fragment in their list of Egyptian objects from Megiddo, despite its clear Egyptian origin and their inclusion of another statuette fragment (Cat. 32) published on the same plate as Cat. 31. In some cases, this seems to have led to a conflation of Cat. 31 and Cat. 32, neither of which has ever been formally published beyond the photographs included in Loud's plates, in subsequent publications of the Megiddo material.

This statue fragment, made of dark gray granite, preserves the torso of a male figure. The statue has broken at an angle going from the upper part of the chest up to the top of the back-pillar, removing the head and neck; and at the level of the hips. The figure is positioned against a wide, uninscribed back-pillar which would have once risen to the base of the man's neck. That the man was once standing rather than seated can be inferred from the position of the arms, which are straight rather than bent at the elbows, as well as his position vis-à-vis the back-pillar, which he leans back against. Little is preserved of the man's costume – he is bare-chested and wears a kilt that is held up by a thin, undecorated belt. This element of his attire can be seen on the front of the statue, where the lower part of the belt has been broken away, but is even clearer on the statue's sides. Traces of a loop rising from the belt on the proper right side of the abdomen, if part of the sculpture and not merely the result of damage or imperfections in the stone, would point towards the man wearing a short, triangular kilt (pl. 60). Statues of men, both royal and private, wearing such a kilt held up by a thin belt with the protruding tab of fabric on the proper right side are known from the Middle Kingdom, in keeping with the dates of the other statues found in this assemblage.<sup>91</sup> If this interpretation is correct, the man's hands would have likely come down to rest on the front of the kilt in a gesture similar to that seen in Cat. 30. Given what is preserved, however, another garment, such as the *shendyt*-kilt, which is also held up by a belt, cannot be conclusively ruled out. The

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<sup>91</sup> This tab represents the underside of the kilt, which has been pulled up into a loop and secured with the belt. Both kings and private individuals wore kilts of this type. For royal examples, see a statue of Senwosret III (British Museum EA 686; Russmann 2001, 101–4); a granodiorite statue of Amenemhat III (Cleveland Museum of Art 1960.56; Berman 1999, 48, 155–57). For private examples, compare a fragmentary 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of an unknown individual also made of gray granite from Elephantine (Habachi 1985a, 96–97; pl. 173 [no. 75]); the gray granite statue Neferwenher (Cairo CG 426; Borchardt 1925, II:32; pl. 69); the greywacke statuette of Sahathor (WAM 22.61; Steindorff 1976, 26; pl. 11 [no. 41]); the granodiorite statue of Tetu (Berlin ÄMP 8432; Dietrich Wildung 2000a, 153; 185 [no. 75]). Such a garment is also known from other periods, however.

treatment of the torso, which exhibits the so-called tripartite division created by the groove running up the center of the abdomen and the shelf created by the pectorals, is also in keeping with a Middle Kingdom date for the statue.<sup>92</sup> As to whom the statue represents, without an inscription it is impossible to say, although it is likely to have been a man of some rank given the size of the sculpture as well as the choice of a relatively expensive stone, namely granite, for its production.

### 32. Feet and Base of Statuette (pl. 61)



Material: Diorite<sup>93</sup>

Dimensions: H: 3.6 cm; W: 5.6 cm; D: 4.9 cm

Date of statue: Unknown (possibly Middle Kingdom)

Archaeological Context: Area CC, Stratum VII B, Locus E=1831

Current Location: Oriental Institute Museum, University of Chicago (OIM A20568)<sup>94</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 381; Loud 1948, pl. 267 [4]; “The Oriental Institute Integrated Database” 2015

This small sculptural fragment preserves most of the base and feet of an anthropomorphic statuette. The two feet are placed slightly off-center on the rectangular base, with the toes running up to the base’s front edge; there is no evidence that the base was ever inscribed. The parallel placement of the feet, together with the location of the break near the back of the feet, points towards the statuette having once depicted a seated individual, although another pose cannot be ruled out. Despite its small scale, the piece is well made, with the toenails carefully indicated on each toe with incised lines. No iconographic markers that can help narrow the date of the statuette, or even to conclusively demonstrate its Egyptian origin, are preserved. However, the high quality of

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<sup>92</sup> Compare, for example, the late 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Ankhenmer (Bourriau 1988, 69–70). It should be noted, however, that on the piece presently under discussion no indication of the navel or the nipples has been made.

<sup>93</sup> Loud 1948, pl. 267.

<sup>94</sup> Field number M 6065.

carving together with the type of stone used points towards an Egyptian attribution for the piece. As to the date, the piece has traditionally been grouped with the other Egyptian statuary excavated by Loud at Megiddo, and thus dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Its discovery in Stratum VII B makes a date anywhere up through the Ramesside Period possible, though.

### 33. Royal Statue Fragment (pls. 62-63)



Material: Basalt(?)<sup>95</sup>

Dimensions: L: 18 cm<sup>96</sup>

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Area H, Square Z/41-42, Locus 65 (backfill)

Current Location: IAA Beth Shemesh Storeroom (2001-2649)<sup>97</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Sass 2000, 396–97

This sculptural fragment, made of a dark stone identified by the excavators as basalt, was discovered in 1994. A hieroglyphic inscription present on one face, which almost certainly once formed part of the statue's back-pillar, indicates its Egyptian origin. Almost the entire width of one column of text is preserved. It consists of the bottom of a *serekh* followed by a vulture beside a second, more fragmentary animal hieroglyph, which must in this context be the rearing cobra.<sup>98</sup> Thus the fragment preserves a small section of a royal titulary, indicating that the statue once portrayed a king. Based solely on the published photographs, it is difficult to ascertain which type of statue the fragment originated from. Two incised lines on the figure itself could represent a wide sash-like belt, but without further examination it is impossible to comment further on the statue's iconography, pose, or even date.

<sup>95</sup> (Sass 2000, 396)

<sup>96</sup> The longest measurement of the irregularly shaped object is 18 cm (Sass, personal communication).

<sup>97</sup> Field number 94/H/65/AR1.

<sup>98</sup> The signs can be read together as *nbtj* (Gardiner G16).



### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Of the six stone statuary fragments excavated at Megiddo, four are associated with the structure designated Temple 2048. In his communication with Wilson regarding the discovery of the statues, Loud described their find contexts as follows: the “fragments...were found obviously out of place in and about the Stratum VII B phase of the eastern temple...Three of these pieces...were incorporated into the rubble of which the temple platform was built. The fourth had reached an equally low status in the rubbish supporting the pavement just outside the temple door.”<sup>99</sup> The information provided in the field season’s final publication is even more cursory in nature.<sup>100</sup> Examination of the field notes presents a slightly more complete picture of their find contexts.

The first of the pieces to be found was the upper part of a statuette representing a male official (Cat. 30). The significance of the discovery of a clearly Egyptian piece is evidenced by its mention in Gordon Loud’s field diary for December 15, 1935, where one of the two sentences used to describe work on the eastern part of the tell for that day is dedicated to the figurine which he describes as “definitely Egyptian” and coming “from the floor near the stairs.”<sup>101</sup> Several days later, on December 23, 1935, Loud notes the discovery of “a fine Egyptian head ... from the floor just to the right of the steps - the

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<sup>99</sup> J. A. Wilson 1941, 226. The temple phase with which the statues are associated is sometimes misreported. For instance, Higginbotham states that “six Twelfth Dynasty grano-diorite statues were incorporated into the architecture of the Level VIIA temple,” mistaking not only the temple phase but also the number of statues (2000, 113).

<sup>100</sup> The information is presented in a tabular form as captions accompanying the published plates. The location of the Djehutyhotep statue (Cat. 28) is given as “2048, in platform wall, Stratum VII, probably attributable to Stratum XV” (Loud 1948, pl. 265). The locations of the female statue (Cat. 29) and male statuette (Cat. 30) are likewise given as “2048, in platform wall, Stratum VII,” with the additional information that they were “found with statuette of Thuthotep...and probably of same date” (Loud 1948, pl. 266). The final piece, the male torso, is reported as having come from “N=2048, Stratum VII...Comparable with group found in temple platform” (Loud 1948, pl. 267).

<sup>101</sup> Loud 1935. The fragment was registered on December 17, 1935 along with 19 other finds from locus 2048, only one of which, a crescent-shaped bronze pendant (OIM A 18319; Loud 1948, pl. 214 [85]), was said to also come from the area near the steps (“Megiddo Field Register of Objects” 1935, 14).

same location from which came the smaller one some days ago.”<sup>102</sup> Still later, on January 5, 1936, Loud mentions “A portion (torso) of a third Egyptian stone figure from [Stratum] V debris directly in front of the temple entrance.”<sup>103</sup> This piece, Cat. 31, was originally assigned to Stratum V, locus 2065 in the field register, but this was later amended to Stratum VII, locus N=2048, potentially in part because of the fragment’s connection with the other statuary excavated inside the temple.<sup>104</sup> The last of the temple statue fragments to be unearthed (Cat. 28) was found on April 6, 1936 during the clearance of the temple. As Loud recounts, “in removing the debris we are forced to remove the later platform at the back, and fortunate that we do so, for used as a building stone, in this poor structure we come upon the lower half of a seated Egyptian figure in basalt... This comes from the same location as the two other basalt Egyptian statue fragments, at the corner beside the stairway.”<sup>105</sup>

Temple 2048 is located in Area BB, which is on the eastern end of the tell, facing the Jordan Valley.<sup>106</sup> During its excavation, Loud and his team distinguished three phases for the structure: the early phase, which he dated to Stratum VIII, the middle phase, which he dated to Stratum VIIB, and the late phase, which he dated to stratum VIIA.<sup>107</sup> In

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<sup>102</sup> Loud 1935. Despite this notation, the find was registered the previous day on December 22, indicating that that day, which Loud describes in his diary as “so dull as not to warrant an entry,” was likely the actual date of discovery (“Megiddo Field Register of Objects” 1935, 16; Loud 1935).

<sup>103</sup> Loud 1935.

<sup>104</sup> “Megiddo Field Register of Objects” 1935; Loud 1948, pl. 267. Rowe also gives the stratigraphic position of this object as Stratum V (1936, xlvii n.iii). According to Loud, “When a find-spot is designated as = a locus number it is to be interpreted as being reasonably near that locus and in the same stratum, but objects therefrom are not associated with the objects from the locus itself” (1948, 4). The “N” indicates that the object was found north of that stratum.

<sup>105</sup> Loud 1935.

<sup>106</sup> For a brief overview of the excavation of Area BB and its location on the tell, see Loud 1948, 57–59, fig. 377. The area was begun as a 6-meter-wide sounding trench running northwest-southeast. Once the corner of Temple 2048 was encountered, the excavated area was expanded and “cleared to bedrock with certain exceptions where buildings seemed worthy of preservation” (Loud 1948, 57–59).

<sup>107</sup> Loud 1948, 103. The current excavators of the site date Strata VIII and VIIB to the Late Bronze II and Stratum VIIA(?) to the Late Bronze III (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Cline 2013b, 17). In her reexamination

its earliest phase, the temple is described as “a rectangular structure (21.50 x 10.50 m.) containing a single room (11.50 x 9.60 m.) with a niche ... opposite the doorway. The façade is slightly asymmetrical, the protruding wings at either side being of different widths.”<sup>108</sup> The Stratum VIIB phase of the temple follows the same basic plan, with one major exception: the addition of a plastered platform against the back wall, which replaces the niche.<sup>109</sup> During the temple’s final phase, this platform was enlarged, a niche is added above it, and a set of “six narrow steps leading to a basalt landing level with the top of the platform” are added to the east of it.<sup>110</sup> The statues’ deposition is associated with the intermediary phase of the temple (that is, stratum VIIB), although it is generally presumed that the statues were present in the preceding phase owing to their assumed cultic function.

Although seemingly straightforward as presented by Loud, the stratigraphic developments of Temple 2048, and indeed of the cultic development of Area BB in general, have remained problematic.<sup>111</sup> A detailed analysis and summary of the debate surrounding the dating of the Megiddo temples is outside the scope of the present study.<sup>112</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the earlier Temple 4040 existed in the same general area of the site, raising the possibility that the Middle Kingdom objects were displayed in a roughly contemporary cult place, being set up in successive temples

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of the University of Chicago’s data, Gonen similarly dated Strata VIIA-VIIB to the Late Bronze III (with Stratum VII B dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE), and Stratum VII to the Late Bronze II (1987, 96).

<sup>108</sup> Loud 1948, 102.

<sup>109</sup> Loud 1948, 104–5.

<sup>110</sup> Loud 1948, 105.

<sup>111</sup> As Dunayevsky and Kempinski put it in the opening sentence to their article on the Megiddo temples, “Since it was uncovered, the series of temples in area (section) B-B at Megiddo has been a challenge to anyone involved in the archaeology of Palestine” (1973, 161).

<sup>112</sup> For a brief overview of the strata with Middle Bronze remains at Megiddo, see Cohen 2002, 87. More detailed reevaluations of the Megiddo stratigraphy can be found in many studies, including Kenyon 1958; Kenyon 1969; Gerstenblith 1983; Gonen 1987, as well as Epstein 1965; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973, which treat the temples exclusively.

through time before ultimately being deposited in Temple 2048.<sup>113</sup> The incorporation of the fragments into the temple structure, despite the fact that they were, for the most part, too small to be structurally significant as building materials, indicates that their importance to the building lay in the very fact that they were statues.<sup>114</sup>

The two remaining fragments come from even less archaeologically secure contexts than those associated with Temple 2048. The statuette base with feet (Cat. 32) was actually the first of all the statuary fragments to be excavated.<sup>115</sup> It was discovered in square S8, locus E=1831 on the southern portion of the tell in the area designated CC.<sup>116</sup> The architecture in this area was interpreted as domestic in nature, but little information was published about the archaeological results.<sup>117</sup> The locus in which the statuette fragment was discovered was assigned to Stratum VIIB, making its date of deposition roughly contemporary with those for the fragments associated with the temple.

The other fragment (Cat. 33), is the only statuary fragment discussed here discovered as part of the renewed excavations at the site. The piece was found in 1994 during the excavation of Area H, which was itself a restudy of the University of Chicago's Area D excavations.<sup>118</sup> The findspot for the piece is given as Square Z/41-42, Locus 65. According to the excavators, "The stratigraphic situation in Squares Y/41-42

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<sup>113</sup> For the view that the Egyptian statues were brought to Megiddo during the Middle Kingdom and displayed in religious structures from the Middle Bronze through the Late Bronze, see Kempinski 1989, 55; Ussishkin 1995, 256.

<sup>114</sup> Indeed, Kempinski describes the statues' findspots as a *favissa*, indicating his view that the statues were cultically significant within the preceding religious structures (1989, 55). It is worth noting that sculptural fragments produced in a local style were also found in this context, further supporting the ritual significance the statues must have once held (Williams and Logan 1989).

<sup>115</sup> According to the object card currently held by the Oriental Institute Museum, the piece was excavated on June 24, 1934.

<sup>116</sup> Loud 1948, pl. 267. The square number can be found in the 1934 Field Register of Objects, currently held by the archives of the Oriental Institute Museum. For other finds associated with this locus, see Loud 1948, 156.

<sup>117</sup> For a cursory description of Area CC with plan, see Loud 1948, 105–13, Fig. 409.

<sup>118</sup> Joffe, Cline, and Lipschitz 2000, 140. For a plan with the position of Area D on the tell, see Lamon and Shipton 1939, xxii.

and Z/42 was especially fragmentary. These squares contained elements of the southwestern corner of Palace 1052, excavated and subsequently refilled by the University of Chicago Expedition.”<sup>119</sup> Because this locus consisted of backfill, it was categorized as unstratified.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, despite having been discovered during the more scientific modern excavations at the site, the piece is of little use in stratigraphic discussions, and perhaps even less so than the material excavated previously, which for the most part was assigned firm findspots.

### *Summary*

Decades of excavation at Megiddo have produced six fragmentary works of Egyptian sculpture. Those that can be dated were manufactured during the Middle Kingdom, and represent a range during that period with exemplars from the reign of Amenemhat II through as late as the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Four of these statues were excavated in association with Temple 2048, a religious structure dated to the Late Bronze Age. The discrepancy in the date of the statues with that of their manufacture has resulted in two competing theories surrounding the statues’ arrival in the Levant: either they arrived at a relatively contemporary date and were set up in a series of successive religious structures; or they were looted in Egypt much later by the Hyksos and sent eastward. The remaining two fragments come from less secure contexts, with one being associated with what appears to be a domestic environment, and the other found in modern fill possibly

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<sup>119</sup> Joffe, Cline, and Lipschitz 2000, 157.

<sup>120</sup> Gadot and Finkelstein 2000, 332. Palace 1052 (designated Building 1052 by the previous excavators) was discovered in Stratum III, which is equivalent to Level H-1 in the current excavations. This level is currently dated to Iron Age IIB (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Cline 2013b, 17). Of course, the date of the structure that the fragment comes from has no bearing on the original date of deposition for the statuette, as it is unknown where within the University of Chicago’s excavations the fill was obtained.

originating from the excavation of a palace structure. It is noteworthy that this corpus of statues, though fragmentary, depict a wide spectrum of Egyptian society, from the comparatively low-ranking official depicted in the one of the anepigraphic fragments (Cat. 30), to a nomarch from the highest echelons of the Egyptian elite (Cat. 28), and even a king (Cat. 33).

### 2.1.7.3 – Jo‘ara

#### *The Site*

Jo‘ara,<sup>1</sup> also known as Giv‘at Noah, is located some 7 km northwest of Megiddo.<sup>2</sup> Although the site, which measures approximately 2 ha,<sup>3</sup> has not been formally excavated, a survey conducted by Avner Raban indicated that it was inhabited from the Chalcolithic through the Ottoman periods, with gaps in occupation during the MB I and IA I.<sup>4</sup> According to Giveon, Jo‘ara occupied a commanding view over one of the two primary roads leading from the Plain of Manasseh into the surrounding valleys, and may have been part of a network of Middle Kingdom settlements in the region.<sup>5</sup> With the exception of a single stone statuary fragment, no Egyptian or Egyptianizing finds have yet been associated with the site.

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<sup>1</sup> Also spelled Ji‘ara or Ju‘ara.

<sup>2</sup> Giveon 1978, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Raban 1999, 71\*. The area had previously been given as 0.2 ha (2 dunams) rather than 2 ha (20 dunams) (Broshi and Gophna 1986, 80; Cohen 2002, 96).

<sup>4</sup> Raban 1999, 114–20, NaN-7. Previous survey had been carried out by the Palestine Exploration Fund in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and by R.W. Hamilton in 1929 (Raban 1999, 71\*).

<sup>5</sup> Giveon 1978, 30.

**34. Upper Portion of Male Statue** (pl. 64)



Material: Black stone (Giveon)<sup>6</sup>

Dimensions: H: 13 cm; W: 8.5 cm; D: 6 cm<sup>7</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom<sup>8</sup>

Archaeological Context: Unstratified

Current Location: Museum of Ayn Hashofet

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Giveon 1963; Leclant 1966, 166; Weinstein 1974, 55; Giveon 1978; Raban 1999, 71\*; Cohen 2002, 96; Wastlhuber 2011, 45–46

This fragment preserves the upper part of a male statue from the waist up. The man depicted has a long but rounded face with a high forehead. According to Giveon, who produced the main study on the statue fragment, “the eyebrows are indicated as a protruding ledge above the eyes [and] the pupil is shown as a globular projection.”<sup>9</sup> Other facial features have been obstructed by damage to the face. The man wears a hairstyle that is shoulder-length on the sides and back, extending down obliquely in the front to form a point on either side of his chest. Vertical striations run down the length of the hairstyle, meeting at the middle of the head.<sup>10</sup> The wig reveals the man’s ears, which are slightly oversized in comparison with the rest of the figure. This type of hairstyle, which is variously interpreted as a wig or as a kerchief,<sup>11</sup> is popular during the Middle

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<sup>6</sup> Giveon 1978, 28. Raban gives the statue’s material as basalt (1999, 71\*). This is unlikely given the statue’s Middle Kingdom date and the relatively rare use of that stone for statuary during that period. Granodiorite is a more probable identification, but cannot be confirmed without further examination of the statue.

<sup>7</sup> Giveon 1978, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Giveon dates the statuette to the reign of Senwosret III, based largely on the fact that the Khusobek inscription, which dates to that reign, combined with the Execration Texts suggest an increased Egyptian interest in the region during that time (1978, 29–30)

<sup>9</sup> Giveon 1978, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Giveon 1978, 28.

<sup>11</sup> According to Vandier, “il s’agit, peut-être, d’une étoffe, recouvrant la perruque, car, dans un exemple, cette perruque, ou cette pseudo-perruque, est ornée de bandes parallèles assez larges, et alternativement sombres et claires, qui ne peuvent s’expliquer que s’il s’agit d’une étoffe” (1958, 252). In this case, the headcovering could be a private version of the *nemes* headcloth (Bourriau 1988, 57).



Kingdom, narrowing the statue's date to that period.<sup>12</sup> The man's torso, though worn, is very rounded, with broad shoulders and a narrow waist. No depiction of clothing is preserved on the figure, indicating that the man was represented bare-chested and clad in a kilt of an as-yet unidentified type.

According to Giveon's examination of the statue, "a column supports it on the back, its upper end reaching as high as the shoulders. At this spot the column is 1.5 cm. wide; in the lowest place, close to the break, it is 2.5 cm wide. No remains of an inscription were found on the column or on any other part of the statuette."<sup>13</sup> This description of the flaring back pillar points towards the statue having once depicted a seated individual, as standing figures usually have back-pillars that are more or less consistent in width, and kneeling or scribal figures are not usually supported by a back-pillar.<sup>14</sup> Of particular interest in this regard is WAM 22.60, a statuette of a seated male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt and a hairstyle similar to that seen on Cat. 34 that also has an uninscribed, flaring back support.

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<sup>12</sup> Compare, for instance: a late 12<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty limestone statue of a seated official (Brooklyn Museum 41.83; Fazzini et al. 1989, (no. 23)); the upper part of a 12<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty statue made of greywacke or basalt (UCL 8711; Page 1976, 44 (no. 47)); a Middle Kingdom granodiorite statue of a seated official (WAM 22.60; Steindorff 1976, 24, pl. VI (no. 33)); a seated granite statue of the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cairo CG 406; Borchardt 1925, II:18–19, pl. 66; Aziz 2003); a standing black stone statue from Abydos (Cairo CG 462; Borchardt 1925, II:54, pl. 77).

<sup>13</sup> Giveon 1978, 28. No photograph of the statue's back has yet been published, and the work was not examined in person by the present author.

<sup>14</sup> The identification of the figure once having been seated rather than in another pose also accords well with the location of break, as seated statues often fracture just above the block of the seat's base, the statue's weakest point.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Cat. 34 was found “in 1942, while digging the foundations for a building at the summit of [Jo‘ara] ... at a depth of about 1 m.”<sup>15</sup> Because the statue was not formally excavated, no comments can be put forth about its archaeological context. However, in describing the find Giveon does note that “two objects ... from another phase of the Middle Bronze Age were discovered at a distance of a few dozen meters from the place where the statuette was found,” suggesting that it is at least possible that the statue was associated with a Middle Bronze occupation of the site.<sup>16</sup>

### *Summary*

A single, fragmentary work of Middle Kingdom Egyptian statuary was discovered by chance in the Jezreel Valley at the site of Jo‘ara. Although formal excavation of the site has not yet been carried out, preliminary survey data suggests that it was occupied at a time contemporary with the statue’s date of manufacture. The statue portrays a now unidentified private male, probably in a seated pose. No archaeological data pertaining to the statue’s discovery was recorded, so the type or date of its context cannot be determined, with anytime from the MB II through modern times being possibilities for its arrival and subsequent deposition at the site.

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<sup>15</sup> Giveon 1978, 28. According to Giveon, “It is not known if the object was found in conjunction with an ancient building, a find of potsherds, or other remains” (*Ibid.*). Alternatively, Raban states that the statue was found “in the early 1960s, in the course of development works” (1999, 71\*).

<sup>16</sup> In contrast, Cohen states that “there is no other information regarding MB IIA occupation at this site” (2002, 96).

### *2.1.8 – Galilee*

#### 2.1.8.1 – Mizpe Yammim

##### *The Site*

Mount Mizpe Yammim (Arabic Jebel el-Arbain) is a 0.25 ha site located on the border between the Upper and Lower Galilee in northern Israel.<sup>1</sup> First noted in the 1960s, the site was formally excavated over the course of two seasons in 1988 and 1989 by Rafael Frankel on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology at Haifa University.<sup>2</sup> The site, at a strategic high-point overlooking what was likely the road that crossed the border between Upper and Lower Galilee in antiquity, is thought to have served as a “fortified border spot with a protective shrine demarcating that portion of Galilee that belonged to Tyre.”<sup>3</sup> Regular use of the site seems to date almost exclusively to the Persian period, with sporadic evidence for later visitors.<sup>4</sup> Egyptian finds include a fragmentary slate palette,<sup>5</sup> a copper alloy situla with a secondary Phoenician votive inscription to Astarte,<sup>6</sup> a copper alloy figurine of the Apis bull,<sup>7</sup> and a copper alloy Osiris figurine.<sup>8</sup> In addition, a damaged stone statuette of the divine triad of Abydos was discovered.

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<sup>1</sup> Frankel 1993, 1061.

<sup>2</sup> The site was first reported by Yoav Sagi, and was later the focus of a brief 1965 study by A. Druks and N. Tfilinski (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 25n2). Excavation results can be found in Frankel 1989; Frankel 1997; Berlin and Frankel 2012. A hoard of bronzes, discovered by a team led by Y. Tepper during a 1986 survey of the region, was also found at the site (Frankel and Ventura 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 61.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Berlin and Frankel 2012, 59 ff. Ceramic remains dating to the Iron Age II were recovered, but are not associated with any architectural remains (Frankel 1993, 1062). Later finds include Hellenistic pottery, a Seleucid Tyrian coin, a Byzantine coin and a handful of Mameluke sherds (Frankel 1993, 1062–63; Berlin and Frankel 2012, 68).

<sup>5</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 51–52.

<sup>6</sup> Frankel and Ventura 1998, 40–49.

<sup>7</sup> Frankel and Ventura 1998, 49–51.

<sup>8</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 43–44, fig. 28.

**35. Statuette of the Abydene Triad (pl. 65)**



Material: Greywacke

Dimensions: H: 13.5 cm<sup>9</sup>

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period or later

Archaeological Context: Beside altar in Phoenician shrine

Current Location: Archaeological Storeroom, Kibbutz Bet Haemek

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Frankel 1989, 101, fig. 88; Frankel 1993, 1063; Frankel 1997, 51; Wolff 1998, 150; Berlin and Frankel 2012, 44–45, fig. 29

Among the Egyptian finds from Mizpe Yammim is this badly abraded statuette depicting the Abydene triad. The statuette, made of a dark stone identified by the excavators as schist, portrays Osiris flanked by Isis and Horus. The deities are arranged on a thick base against a tall back-slab. The mummiform Osiris stands with his arms bent across his chest, holding the crook and the flail. His neck is adorned with a broad-collar, and he wears the traditional beard and *atef*-crown. His wife Isis stands to his left with her right arm bent up to rest on the back of her husband's shoulder.<sup>10</sup> Her other arm hangs pendant at her side. The goddess wears a long, tight-fitting dress and a heavy wig. Her head is surmounted by a Hathoric crown made up of a modius beneath the sun-disk and cow's horns. To Osiris' right stands his falcon-headed son Horus. The most badly damaged of the three figures, Horus wears the Double Crown, a tripartite wig, and a short kilt.<sup>11</sup> His arms are positioned to mirror those of his mother, with his right arm down at his side and his left arm bent, allowing his hand to rest on the back of Osiris' shoulder.

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<sup>9</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 44. Alternatively, Frankel gives the dimensions for the statuette as 15 x 9 cm (1989, 102).

<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that, according to the published description of the statuette, Isis' right arm is broken at the elbow (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 44).

<sup>11</sup> Berlin and Frankel state that "it is possible to make out the shallow grooves delineating his short kilt" (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 45).

Stand-alone sculptures of the Abydene triad are common in bronze, but relatively rare in stone.<sup>12</sup> Other examples include a 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty granite statue from Tell el-Basta<sup>13</sup> and a Late Period work in limestone discovered in the Karnak Cachette.<sup>14</sup> With the surface of the Mizpe Yammim statuette, including the facial features, so destroyed it is difficult to date the sculpture precisely, and a date anywhere from the Third Intermediate Period through Late Period is possible.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The site of Mizpe Yammim is comprised of two sections: the summit area and the lower terrace. On the lower terrace, a rectangular structure with two stone platforms was unearthed.<sup>16</sup> It was in this structure, which has been identified by the excavators as a temple with altars designed to hold votive offerings, that Cat. 35 was discovered broken in two pieces near one of the altars.<sup>17</sup> The preponderance of finds from Mizpe Yammim date to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, indicating that “the sanctuary was most regularly visited and maintained during the time that the region was under Achaemenid Persian rule.”<sup>18</sup> It is likely during this period that the triad statuette was brought to the site as a

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<sup>12</sup> For a discussion of bronze triads with Osiris, see Roeder 1956, 490–92, §664, pl. 66. The Abydene triad is sometimes incorporated into larger stone sculptural works, such as block statues (e.g., Florence 1795; H. Brandl 2008, 75–76, pl. 34) and naophorous statues (e.g., British Museum EA1377; Bierbrier 1982, pls. 49–51).

<sup>13</sup> Cairo CG 39217 (Daressy 1906, 302–3, pl. LVII).

<sup>14</sup> Ismailia Museum; Former Cairo CG 37009 (H. Brandl 2006, 55). It is also worth noting that Osiris sometimes appears in triad statue groups with other gods, such as in a black granite statue of Osiris, Isis and Nephthys dated to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cairo CG 39220; Daressy 1906, 304–5, pl. LVIII).

<sup>15</sup> Aliquot assigns the statuette to the Hellenistic period, but such a date is unlikely given that most of the offerings found in the Mizpe Yammim shrine date to the late sixth through mid fourth centuries BCE (Aliquot 2004, 208; Berlin and Frankel 2012, 59).

<sup>16</sup> For further description of this structure, see Berlin and Frankel 2012, 31–33.

<sup>17</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 44.

<sup>18</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 36.

votive gift to be dedicated to an as-yet unidentified deity in the shrine.<sup>19</sup> With the rise of Ptolemaic rule in the region, the shrine fell out of use. At some later date, however, “an episode of deliberate and systematic damage” seems to have occurred at Mizpe Yammim, with the result that the Egyptian triad statuette, together with other votive offerings, was broken.<sup>20</sup>

### *Summary*

Excavations at the site of Mizpe Yammim in the Galilee produced a number of Egyptian finds, including a schist statuette depicting Osiris, Isis and Horus. The site, which was not a domestic settlement but rather served as a fortified border shrine, was likely set up by Phoenicians with ties to Tyre during the period when the Persians ruled the Upper Galilee. It was during this time that the statuette, which was probably brought to the site via an intermediary Phoenician site such as Tyre, was dedicated to an unknown deity. At a later date, apparently long after the shrine had gone out of use, the statuette, along with other offerings still visible within the shrine, was seemingly deliberately broken.

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<sup>19</sup> It is unclear to whom this shrine, which based on the finds was almost certainly Phoenician, was dedicated. Astarte has been put forth as a candidate given the dedicatory inscription to her on the situla found here (e.g., Frankel 1993, 1063; Aliquot 2004, 208). For further discussion of the nature of Mizpe Yammim’s cult, see Berlin and Frankel 2012, 63–64.

<sup>20</sup> Berlin and Frankel 2012, 69. The excavators initially attributed this destruction to the Hasmoneans, but other perpetrators are also possible (Frankel and Ventura 1998, 39; Berlin and Frankel 2012, 69).

### 2.1.8.2 – Hazor

#### *The Site*

The site of Hazor, also known as Tell el-Qedah and Tell Waqqas, lies in the Upper Galilee.<sup>1</sup> Among the largest tells in the southern Levant, the site covers more than 80 ha, rising 40 meters above the surrounding plain.<sup>2</sup> It is centered at a strategic juncture of the road between Sidon and Beth Shean with that between Damascus and Megiddo.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological remains have been found at the site dating from the EB II/III through the Hellenistic period, with the most concentrated periods of occupation occurring from the MB IIB through the Iron Age IIC.<sup>4</sup> John Garstang conducted preliminary work consisting mostly of soundings at the site in 1928.<sup>5</sup> Excavations were renewed by Yigael Yadin, who worked five seasons at the site, from 1955-1958 and in 1968.<sup>6</sup> Since 1990, excavations have been carried out under the direction of Amnon Ben-Tor.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yadin and Ben-Tor 1993, 594.

<sup>2</sup> Ben-Tor calculates the area of the site at 800 dunams (200 acres), a number which is larger than Yadin's earlier calculation of 740 dunams (A. Ben-Tor 2013c, 66; Yadin et al. 1958, 2).

<sup>3</sup> Garstang 1931, 183. For further discussion of Hazor's strategic location with references, see Bienkowski 1987, 58–59.

<sup>4</sup> Zuckerman 2013, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Garstang only published a brief summary of his results (1931, 381–83). Further information about his work at the site was assembled by Yadin based on the report Garstang submitted to the then Department of Antiquities (Yadin 1972, 19–22).

<sup>6</sup> Yadin et al. 1958; Yadin et al. 1960; Yadin et al. 1961; Yadin et al. 1989; A. Ben-Tor et al. 1997. The James A. de Rothschild Expedition from 1955–8 was conducted on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem with support from the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, the Anglo-Israel Exploration Society, and the Government of Israel. The 1968 season was carried out on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Israel Exploration Society, with support from the Israel Ministry of Labour.

<sup>7</sup> A. Ben-Tor, Ben-Ami, and Sandhaus 2012. The Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin are conducted under the auspices of the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Biblical Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society. Until 2000, the Complutense University at Madrid was also a partner. Sharon Zuckerman served as the expedition's co-director from 2006–2014. The current co-director is Shlomit Bechar.

The first known Egyptian reference to the site of Hazor appears in the Middle Kingdom Execration Texts, where the site is called *Hdwi3i*.<sup>8</sup> It is frequently mentioned in New Kingdom sources under the name *Hdr*.<sup>9</sup> Among these texts are the topographical lists of Thutmose III,<sup>10</sup> Amenhotep II<sup>11</sup> and Seti I,<sup>12</sup> a ration list dating to the reign of Amenhotep II,<sup>13</sup> and a discussion of Levantine geography in pAnastasi I.<sup>14</sup> Hazor also appears four times in the Amarna Letters.<sup>15</sup>

Numerous Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds have been found at the site, including scarab seals and sealings,<sup>16</sup> stone vessels,<sup>17</sup> and ceramics.<sup>18</sup> Among the more notable Egyptian objects from the site is a sandstone fragment preserving three columns of a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula.<sup>19</sup> The site was also the source of a large number of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects, particularly in bone and ivory, which include box inlays with Hathoric imagery,<sup>20</sup> an ivory stopper in the shape of Hathor's head,<sup>21</sup> and the statue head

<sup>8</sup> Posener 1940, 73 no. E15. For the argument that Hazor's appearance on the Middle Kingdom execration texts is actually copied from earlier Old Kingdom lists, see A. Ben-Tor 2006a.

<sup>9</sup> For a list of Egyptian references to Hazor, see Aḥituv 1984, 116–17.

<sup>10</sup> *Urk.* IV: 782: 2 # 32; Simons 1937, 111 #32; 123 #27; *Urk.* IV: 760: 5. For further discussion and references, see Aḥituv 1984, 12–13, 116–17.

<sup>11</sup> W. M. Müller 1906, 1:pl. 54; Simons 1937, 129 #18.

<sup>12</sup> *KRI* I: 29 # 69A and 32 # 64A. A fragmentary reference in a topographical list of Ramesses III is also thought to refer to Hazor (W. M. Müller 1906, 1:pl. 56; Simons 1937, 177 #b5).

<sup>13</sup> pHermitage 1116A vs. For further references, see Morris 2005, 141–42.

<sup>14</sup> pAnastasi I: 21,7 (Gardiner 1911, 23\*; 33; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 175; 179 n.g).

<sup>15</sup> EA 227 and EA 228 are written by the ruler of Hazor, while EA 148 and EA 364 simply refer to him (Moran 1992, 288–90, 235, 362). It has often been noted that the ruler of Hazor refers to himself as a king even when addressing the king of Egypt, perhaps indicating the special role of Hazor within the Egyptian sphere of influence. For further discussion, see Bienkowski 1987, 55–58.

<sup>16</sup> Keel 2013, 582–637.

<sup>17</sup> Sparks 2007, 244–46 with further references.

<sup>18</sup> Charbit Nataf 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXVI; Yadin 1972, 126n1; Goldwasser 1989, 344–45. This fragment (field number B 4989) has been identified as coming from a stela likely dating to the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty based on the invocation of [Ptah]-Sokar-Osiris. The name and titles of the owner are not preserved.

<sup>20</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2013a, 32.

<sup>21</sup> Yadin et al. 1961, pls. CCXL, CCCXXIII; Yadin et al. 1989, 156–57. Compare a similar piece in the collections of the Munich Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst (ÄS 4858; Dietrich Wildung 1984b, 94 #83; 241).



of a king.<sup>22</sup> To date at least nineteen stone sculptural fragments have been identified by the excavators as Egyptian in origin, a number which far exceeds that found at any other site in the southern Levant.<sup>23</sup> In addition Hazor was home to numerous pieces of sculpture made in a more local, Syrian style including lion orthostats<sup>24</sup> and basalt figures of seated males.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **36. Head of a Royal Statue (pl. 66)**



Material: Tonalite/quartz diorite<sup>26</sup>

Dimensions: H: 12 cm; W: 8 cm; D: 11 cm<sup>27</sup>

Date of statue: Late Old Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (throne room)<sup>28</sup>

Current Location: The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IAA 1997-3295)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6; Wastlhuber 2011, 49–50; “Head of an Egyptian King, Originally Inlaid, Part of a Figurine Imported from Egypt” 2014

Among the most striking fragments excavated at the site of Hazor is this head of an Egyptian king.<sup>29</sup> The less than life-sized statue is broken at the neck, with the break running diagonally from the nape of the neck to the bottom of the throat. The statue’s nose is missing, with fine cracks emanating out from the area the nose once occupied across the rest of the face. The rest of the head is in a very good state of preservation.

<sup>22</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6, 8; A. Ben-Tor 2013a, 35.

<sup>23</sup> Many of these fragments will be published in *Hazor VII*. I am grateful to Professor Amnon Ben-Tor for sharing information about these pieces with me and allowing me to examine them.

<sup>24</sup> Three lion orthostats and one lioness orthostat, all made of basalt, have been discovered at the site. See A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 4–5 for discussion with further references.

<sup>25</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6–8, with further references. These statues have often been described as “Egyptianizing.”

<sup>26</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>27</sup> “Head of an Egyptian King, Originally Inlaid, Part of a Figurine Imported from Egypt” 2014.

<sup>28</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6.

<sup>29</sup> Hazor field number 15364. According to the museum label, this statue head was originally inlaid. There is no indication of this remaining on the statue, however, and it is unlikely that any inlays were ever incorporated into the statue.

The only remaining mark of the figure's royalty is a uraeus affixed to his brow.<sup>30</sup> The serpent's head, which is now missing, once projected from the front of the statue, while its body, carved in high relief, snakes back along the top of the king's head in twelve tight turns. The intricately carved serpent's hood lies flat against the monarch's hair and is divided vertically into three sections that are bisected by the serpent's spine, which is thin and decorated along its length with a series of horizontally incised lines. The hood tapers towards its base, attaching to the statue just above the king's hairline.<sup>31</sup>

Beneath the uraeus the king wears a short hairstyle that follows the lines of his natural hairline, and may in fact be his natural hair.<sup>32</sup> The hairstyle is made up of rows of mound-shaped curls that radiate out in concentric rings from the top of his head. His sideburns, which have a rounded tabular shape, are also covered in curls. This close-fitting hairstyle exposes the ears, which are positioned vertically, flat against the head. The ears are rendered naturalistically with fleshy lobes, but are disproportionately small.

The king's face has a youthful appearance with full fleshy cheeks. His almond shaped eyes have been set obliquely into his face, giving the impression that he is looking down at the viewer. Both the upper and lower lids are rounded, and the eyeballs themselves are rendered plastically, giving them a bulging convex appearance. Cosmetic lines have been rendered in relatively high relief on the king's face. The thick eyebrows extend almost to the edge of the hairline. They curve slightly to follow the contours of the upper lids, angling down near the bridge of the nose. Flaring cosmetic lines run parallel to the eyebrows, extending from the outer canthus of each eye and terminating in line

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<sup>30</sup> There is no indication that the figure once wore a false beard.

<sup>31</sup> There is no band or other element indicating how the uraeus is affixed to the head, as with Berlin 14396, for example, where the uraeus is affixed to a headband (Finneiser 1998).

<sup>32</sup> When viewed from the front this close-fitting hairstyle gives his head a mushroom-like shape.

with the eyebrows. These cosmetic lines follow the line of the upper lids, giving them a heavy appearance. What little remains of the nose indicates that it had a thin bridge with emphasized alae. The mouth is made up of a thin, relatively straight upper lip and a pronounced, somewhat drooping lower lip that curve up at the edges, producing a slight but pleasant smile.

An additional feature of note is a protrusion at the back of the head. This extension of the stone from which the statue is carved is angled up slightly, but does not seem to run down the entirety of the back of the head, indicating that it is likely not part of a back-pillar.<sup>33</sup> The section must have connected the image of the king to another sculptural element. Although the form that this sculptural element once took remains a mystery, it is tempting to see it as an image of a Horus falcon embracing the king's head in its wings.<sup>34</sup>

The museum labels for this statue date it to the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE, e.g. the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.<sup>35</sup> However, stylistic features of the head, combined with the fact that fragments of Old Kingdom sculpture have since been found at the site, point towards an earlier date for the statue. Interestingly, one of the closest stylistic parallels to the head is a statue of Sahure, dedicated by Senwosret I, discovered in the Karnak Cachette.<sup>36</sup> As with the Hazor piece, this statue shows the king with a close-fitting curled wig that exposes the ears, with the uraeus at his brow, snaking back across the top of his

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<sup>33</sup> The excavators identify this as part of the back pillar, however (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6). Further examination of the head is needed to comment on this feature conclusively.

<sup>34</sup> Compare a statue of Neferefre from Abusir (Cairo JE 98171; Verner 1985, 272–73, pls. XLV–XLVIII).

<sup>35</sup> “Head of an Egyptian King, Originally Inlaid, Part of a Figurine Imported from Egypt” 2014. Wastlhuber also places the statue in the Middle Kingdom (more specifically the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), likely assuming that it dated to the same period as other statuary previously excavated at the site (2011, 49–50).

<sup>36</sup> Cairo CG 42004/ JE 37131 (Legrain 1906, I:3–4, pl. II; Gilli 2009, 99–100). Debate remains as to whether this statue should be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or the 12<sup>th</sup>. Compare also a statue of Senwosret I in Leipzig (Leipzig 2006; Krauspe 1997, 41–42, pls. 30:2–31:2).

head. The statue lacks the elegance exhibited by the Hazor example, however. As has been noted previously for the Sahure statue, the hairstyle of the king has close parallels to private sculpture of the Old Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> Other parallels of the royal variety representing a king with a close-cropped hairstyle include the well-known Egyptian alabaster head of Menkaure,<sup>38</sup> a fragmentary head of an unidentified 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king,<sup>39</sup> and two examples depicting Neferefre.<sup>40</sup> Based on these comparisons, it therefore seems that the statue head dates to the late Old Kingdom, possibly the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

### 37. Paws and Base of a Sphinx Inscribed for Menkaure

Material: Gneiss<sup>41</sup>

Dimensions: W: 45 cm; D: 35 cm<sup>42</sup>

Date of statue: Old Kingdom, 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Menkaure

Archaeological Context: Area M, Palace

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 78117)

Manner of examination: Unpublished photographs

Bibliography: D. Ben-Tor 2013

This statue fragment preserves the front legs of a recumbent lion, and almost certainly once belonged to a sphinx. A vertical column of text has been inscribed between the sphinx's legs. Written from left to right it reads:

[...] (*Mn-k3w-R*) | *mry b3w Twnw di ʕnh dt*

[...] Menkaure, beloved of the souls of Heliopolis, given life forever.

<sup>37</sup> Compare, for example, a diorite statue of a seated man dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty currently in the Louvre (N 41; Ziegler 1997, 174–76).

<sup>38</sup> Boston, MFA 09.203 (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* 1999, 274–76).

<sup>39</sup> Petrie Museum UC 14282 (*Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* 1999, 316–17).

<sup>40</sup> Verner 1985. In these examples the *uraeus* (now missing) was once affixed to the front of the king's brow, although it does not wind back across the top of his head in the Hazor example. Of particular interest is a statue depicting the king protected by a falcon in the same manner as has been proposed for the reconstruction of the Hazor piece (Verner 1985, 272–73, pls. XLV–XLVIII). See also the head of a (likely) non-royal youth with a similar hairstyle (*Ibid.* 280, pl. LVIII).

<sup>41</sup> D. Ben-Tor 2013.

<sup>42</sup> D. Ben-Tor 2013.

Despite its short length, the inscription provides a great deal of information about the statue. Particularly surprising is the fact that the inscription identifies Menkaure, a king of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as the ruler portrayed by the sphinx, making this one of the earliest sphinxes preserved from Egypt and the only sphinx associated with that king known to date.<sup>43</sup> This early date for the statue is also supported by stylistic features, including the lack of a ribbon-like subcutaneous vein on the front paws and the more naturalistic representation of the carpal pad.<sup>44</sup>

Also of interest is the mention of the Souls of Heliopolis in the inscription, a feature that has been taken as evidence that the statue was originally designed to reside at that site.<sup>45</sup> In fact, the Souls of Heliopolis are frequently referenced on sphinxes, including one of Pepi I,<sup>46</sup> one inscribed for Merenre I,<sup>47</sup> and one of Senwosret II.<sup>48</sup> Of these none were excavated at that site, however.

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<sup>43</sup> The early date of the statue is particularly interesting given the fact that Hazor was not yet occupied during the Egyptian Old Kingdom.

<sup>44</sup> Cherpion 1991, 34–36.

<sup>45</sup> D. Ben-Tor 2013. For further discussion of the connections of sphinxes with Heliopolis including additional references, see Fay 1996b, 56–57.

<sup>46</sup> CG 541. See Romano 1998, 244n33 for further references.

<sup>47</sup> Moscow, Pushkin Museum 4951 (Fay 1996b, 64; Fay 1995, pl. 6a). An additional sphinx inscribed for Merenre I also mentions Heliopolis (Edinburgh, NMS 1984.405 [Aldred 1988]).

<sup>48</sup> JE 37796. For a discussion of the sphinx's inscription, see Sourouzzian 1996, 751. A gneiss sphinx inscribed for Amenemhat IV from Beirut also mentions Heliopolis. See: Cat. 61.

### 38. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (pls. 67-68)



Material: Diorite(?)<sup>49</sup>

Dimensions: H: 16 cm; L: 30 cm; W: 12 cm<sup>50</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III

Archaeological Context: Area A, in an Iron Age wall

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 14774)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999, 35–36; A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6–7; Wastlhuber 2011, 47<sup>51</sup>

This fragment preserves the torso and part of the base of a sphinx inscribed for Amenemhat III. Both of the sphinx's fore paws are missing, as are its proper left hind leg and its head. An inscription that reads from right to left has been incised in a single column on the sphinx's chest. It reads:

*ntr nfr (N mʔ[ʕt] Rʕ)|*  
The Good God (Nima[at]re)|

Additional sphinxes with similarly placed inscriptions containing the prenomen of Amenemhat III include two examples from Syria.<sup>52</sup>

As with other royal sphinxes, the Amenemhat III sphinx from Hazor wears the *nemes* headdress and a broad collar. Part of the proper left lappet of the sphinx's *nemes* headdress remains, whereas all of the right lappet is now missing. The horizontally pleated lappet is rendered in very high relief on the sphinx's chest. Its horizontal pleats contrast with the vertical lines representing the front of the lion's mane that run under it. Traces of the *nemes*' ponytail, which would have been rendered plastically based on comparisons, remain on the sphinx's back. The sphinx wears a broad collar consisting of

<sup>49</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>50</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>51</sup> Note that images 3a-b of Ben-Tor 2006b are flipped in the publication.

<sup>52</sup> The examples from Syria were found at Neirab (Cat. 140) and Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Cat. 118). A third piece, in the collection of the Dr. Lewis Duroff Family, also provides a close parallel. See Fay 1996, 66.

four strands, with the remains of seven drop-shaped beads hanging from the second lowest strand. The collar is incised into the surface of the sphinx's chest, running under the *nemes* lappets, which extend below the lowest strand of the necklace. No space has been left for the addition of a false beard.

The sphinx's mane is rendered on both the front and the back of the animal. On its chest, the mane takes the form of incised vertical lines running from the sphinx's shoulder down to the section where the statue has been broken.<sup>53</sup> These lines, which are approximately evenly spaced, run underneath the *nemes* lappet on the proper left side of the statue, a feature which would have been mirrored on the opposite side which is now damaged. On the figure's back, the mane's swag divides into two lunate-shaped sections, framing the ponytail from the *nemes* headdress. As with the front portion of the mane, the two sections on the back are decorated with incised striations.

Only the proper right hind leg of the sphinx is preserved. The leonine tail wraps around the exterior of the leg, coming to rest on the figure's back. The animal's claws have been incised on the paw, taking the form of elongated drops.

The damage to the sphinx, namely the removal of its head and fore paws, closely mirrors the current state of many other sphinxes, including the Amenemhat III sphinx from Neirab and that currently in the Dr. Lewis Dubroff family collection. While such damage could have happened by chance, given the fact that the neck and elbows are naturally the weakest part of a sphinx statue, it has been suggested by the excavators of Hazor that this sphinx was the focus of deliberate mutilation.<sup>54</sup> It is more likely, given

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<sup>53</sup> This section of the mane would have stopped where the legs projected from the animal's torso.

<sup>54</sup> Ben-Tor 2006, 6. According to Ben-Tor, there is also evidence of intentional damage to the cartouche on the sphinx's chest.

similar treatment of other sphinxes both in the Levant and Egypt itself, that the sphinx was cut down in such a manner to facilitate its reuse as a building block.<sup>55</sup>

### **39. Fragment of a Statue Head with Sidelock**

Material: Limestone<sup>56</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom or later

Archaeological Context: Area M, Palace

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Unpublished photographs<sup>57</sup>

Bibliography: Unpublished

This fragment, which has been reassembled from two pieces, retains the front and proper right side of a male head, preserving part of the wig and the top of the right ear.

The figure wears an elaborate wig consisting of long, echeloned plaits that have each been incised with diagonal lines indicating the individual strands of hair. A wide braid, also incised to indicate the individual locks, hangs over this wig on the proper right side, running behind the ear. In front of the ear, the man's natural hair is shown in the form of a sideburn, which has also been incised with lines to indicate the hairs.

Although the intricate detail in the carving on the statue point towards an Egyptian origin for the piece, it is difficult to place it firmly within the Egyptian artistic canon. One option that springs immediately to mind is that the statue represents a priest, such as a Iunmutf priest or the High Priest of Ptah who traditionally wear a short, echeloned wig with a braided sidelock hanging over it on the right side.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to

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<sup>55</sup> For a mention of this phenomenon with further citations see (Freed and Josephson 2009, 4, especially n.10).

<sup>56</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>57</sup> Photographs of this object were kindly shared with me for the purposes of this study by Amnon Ben-Tor.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example: a limestone statuette dated to the reign of Amenhotep III likely representing Prince Thutmose (British Museum EA21979; Kozloff and Bryan 1992, 253–54)); a quartzite block statue of the High Priest of Ptah Ptahmose, also dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (Florence Museo Egizio 1790); a granite block statue of a prince dated to the reign of Ramesses II (Cairo JE 37188); a quartzite naophorous statue of Prince Khaemwaset (Cairo CG 42147). This interpretation is particularly intriguing given the



other wigs of this type, however, which usually include a bowl-shaped wig that envelops the ears, the plaits of hair in the Hazor example are tiered on the side of the head, revealing the figure's ear.

Another possibility is that the braid on the side of the head is the so-called “sidelock of youth” and that the individual represented is a child. Indeed, statues of children with a braid running down the right side of the head are well known from Egypt, with some carefully rendering the sideburns, as in the Hazor fragment.<sup>59</sup> However, the children are usually shown wearing short-cropped hair or shaved heads, not a larger echeloned wig as in this piece. A third possibility is that the hairstyle is meant to denote the wearer as a foreigner, likely a Libyan. Indeed, the closest parallels to the piece can be found in images of the enemies of Egypt, who wear wigs that reveal the right ear with the braided sidelock hanging down that side behind the ear.<sup>60</sup>

#### **40. Fragment of a high official's statue (pl. 69)**



Material: Limestone<sup>61</sup>

Dimensions: H: 8.7 cm; W: 10.6 cm; D: 6 cm<sup>62</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, late 18<sup>th</sup> - early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Area M, Podium Building

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 70875)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Allen 2001; Kitchen 2003; A. Ben-Tor 2013a, 31, 35

This small limestone sculpture fragment, tentatively identified here as a work of statuary, preserves a worked, inscribed surface. Much attention has been given to this

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discovery at the site of a limestone statue fragment inscribed for a high official, possibly a High Priest of Memphis (see Cat. 40 below).

<sup>59</sup> See for instance the statue of Nikare (Brooklyn 49.215; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* 1999, 370–71)).

<sup>60</sup> Compare Louvre E 16353 and E 16354, heads dated to the reign of Ramesses II that come from Deir el-Medina (“Têtes d’ennemis de l’Égypte” 2014).

<sup>61</sup> Allen 2001, 13. The stone is now blackened, likely from burning.

<sup>62</sup> Allen 2001, 13.

piece due to the content of the inscription, but little headway has been made in identifying the form that the sculpture once took.

The worked surface of the fragment consists of a single column of hieroglyphs written from left to right that is bounded on either side by a thin incised line. To the right of the text, a section of flat raised relief rises, starting parallel to the text but curving away slightly as it nears the top of the fragment. The thinness of this relief combined with the directionality of the text has made it difficult to place the fragment within the Egyptian canon. As Allen, who was the first to publish the fragment noted, “at 1.2 cm above the surface of the inscription, this detail is probably too high to have been part of a scene in raised relief. With its level surface, however, it seems too flat for a figure in the round and, since the hieroglyphs are oriented away from it, it does not appear to have been part of a figure depicting the individual who bore the titulary.”<sup>63</sup> He therefore proposes that the fragment might be best understood as having come from an offering table with the requisite offerings depicted in high relief.<sup>64</sup> In his treatment of the fragment, Kitchen interprets it instead as a work of statuary, although he does not elaborate on his motivations for doing so.<sup>65</sup>

Indeed, at first glance the direction of the inscription poses problems in understanding what form the statue once took; if it can be assumed that the raised relief section of the fragment is part of the named official’s body, the inscription reads into rather than away from the figure’s body as would be expected if it were, say, the

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<sup>63</sup> Allen 2001, 14.

<sup>64</sup> For comparisons, see Allen 2001, 14n4. As Allen notes, however, the appearance of an Egyptian offering table in the Levant is unprecedented, and the direction of the inscription is the reverse of what one would expect to find on a standard offering table of this type.

<sup>65</sup> Kitchen 2003, 20; Kitchen 2006, 33–34.

inscription on the side of a back-pillar.<sup>66</sup> However, if the inscription instead adorns the proper left side of an object being offered, such as a naos or sistrum, the text would be correctly oriented to the figure most probably kneeling behind it. In this case the raised relief section would most likely represent part of the man's body, possibly part of his abdomen or chest<sup>67</sup>; or his knee.<sup>68</sup>

The inscription itself, written in a single column of neatly incised hieroglyphs, contains some of the titles of the depicted individual, reading [...] *sm hrp šndwt wr* [...]. While Allen restores the text as presenting the titulary of the High Priest of Memphis,<sup>69</sup> Kitchen is more cautious, noting that the preserved titles can also apply to other officials who are not *wr hrp hmwt* but *wr* something else.<sup>70</sup> In any case, it is clear that a very high official, quite possibly a vizier, is being named, a fact that comports well with the skilled level of carving. As to the date of the fragment, if it did indeed come from a naophorous or similar statue, one would expect a date in the New Kingdom or later, a range which can be narrowed to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties based on the style of the hieroglyphs.<sup>71</sup> If the restoration of the titles of the High Priest of Memphis is correct, this date range can be further narrowed to the early part of Ramesses II's reign at the latest.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Compare, for instance, the inscription on the back pillar of a statue of Khaemwaset (Wien ÄS 5768; Seipel 1992, 464–67, with detail on p. 53).

<sup>67</sup> Compare a sistrophorous statue of Khaemwaset with an inscription running towards the prince's chest (Brooklyn Museum 74.97; Fazzini et al. 1989, 37, 39).

<sup>68</sup> Compare a naophorous of Khaemwaset (Cairo JE 36720; M. M. Fisher 2001, I: 273).

<sup>69</sup> [*iry-p<sup>c</sup>t h3ty*]-*sm hrp šndwt nb wr [hrp hmwt]* (“[hereditary prince and] noble, *sem*-priest, director of every kilt, chief [director of craft]” (Allen 2001, 13).

<sup>70</sup> He concludes that the best candidate in this case is the vizier Prahoteptep, who held the titles of “director of kilts” and “High Priest of Re-Atum (*wr m33w n R<sup>c</sup>-Itm*)” who served under Ramesses II (Kitchen 2003, 22–23).

<sup>71</sup> Allen 2001, 14.

<sup>72</sup> During the tenure of the High Priest of Memphis Pahemnter (reign of Ramesses II) the title of *sem*-priest changes from preceding that of *wr hrp hmwt*, as it does on Cat. 40, to following it (Maystre 1992, 84–86, 144).

#### 41. Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure (pl. 70)



Material: Greywacke<sup>73</sup>

Dimensions: H:  $\approx$  17 cm; W:  $\approx$  9 cm; D:  $\approx$  8 cm<sup>74</sup>

Date of statue: Old Kingdom (?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Locus 274<sup>75</sup>

Current Location: Hazor (field no. A 6201/1)

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII; Yadin 1972, 126 n.1; A.

Ben-Tor 2006b, 5; Wastlhuber 2011, 47–48

This fragment of an Egyptian statue was among the first Egyptian pieces excavated at Hazor. The fragment preserves part of a standing male statue from just below the navel to the level of the knee. The man depicted wears a pleated *shendyt*-kilt with the left panel crossing over the right. On the uppermost panel, the fabric's pleats fan out from the skirt's waistband, indicating the pull of the fabric. A thick belt surmounts the kilt. The belt is divided into three sections, producing a wide central panel, but is otherwise unadorned. The work is usually identified as a royal statue, but too little remains to be certain, as commoners also frequently wore the *shendyt*-kilt. Of particular note is the fact that the proper left arm of the statue, which once rested at the man's side, has been carefully chiseled off. Ben-Tor takes this, along with similar treatment of other statues from the site, as evidence of deliberate mutilation. Because the *shendyt*-kilt is so ubiquitous on male statues throughout pharaonic history and so little of this statue is preserved, it is difficult to assign a firm date to the fragment. Yadin dated the statue to the New Kingdom based on style, but Ben-Tor has recently argued for a date in the Middle Kingdom based on the presence of additional Middle Kingdom statuary at the site.<sup>76</sup> However, the style of the belt, which is heavily reminiscent of those found on numerous

<sup>73</sup> A. Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>74</sup> Measurements based on scaled photo provided in Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII.

<sup>75</sup> Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII; Yadin et al. 1989, 31.

<sup>76</sup> Yadin 1972, 126 n.1; A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 5. Wastlhuber also dates the piece to the Middle Kingdom, placing it in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (2011, 48).

statues of Menkaure, raises the question of whether the statue might be older, an option that is not outside the realm of possibility given the other Old Kingdom statue fragments recently discovered at the site.<sup>77</sup> If an Old Kingdom date is correct, the type of garment worn by the figure adds credence to the suggestion that it once depicted a royal figure.

#### 42. Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure (pl. 71)



Material: Black Stone

Dimensions: H: 13.9 cm; W: 8.6 cm; D: 6.4 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom (?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Eastern Courtyard of Building 7050

Current Location: The Hebrew University, Jerusalem (field no. 14760)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1996a, 28–29; A. Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1996b, 17; A. Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999, 35, 38; A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 5–6; Wastlhuber 2011, 49

Of the three fragmentary *shendyt*-kilt clad figures excavated at Hazor, Cat. 42 is the best preserved, with almost the entire width of the statue, which is broken at the waist and the knee, remaining. When viewed from the side, it is clear that the figure is in a striding position. He wears a tripartite *shendyt*-kilt that, unlike the other kilts from Hazor, has rigidly straight pleats not only on the horizontally pleated central panel, but also on the vertically pleated side sections. The kilt is held up with a belt with *Bandmuster* decoration, with the vertical decorative lines divided into groups of three or four.<sup>78</sup> The figure's belly is carefully modeled, especially in the area around the large navel,

<sup>77</sup> For statues of Menkaure wearing this style of belt, see: a dyad of Menkaure (Boston, MFA 11.1738) or numerous triads of the king (Boston, MFA 11.3147; Cairo, JE 40679; Cairo, JE 46499; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* 1999, 269–74; Evers 1929, II: 37 #245). Stylistically the fragment would also fit with examples from the Late Period, but the archaeological context of the Hazor fragment precludes such an attribution.

<sup>78</sup> This style of belt became popular during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, but continued in use in later periods as well (Evers 1929, II: 34–35). For Middle Kingdom examples, compare a statue of Senwosret III (Louvre E 12961; Delange 1987, 27–28); a seated statue of Senwosret III (Habachi 1985b, pls. 195–96); a seated statue of Sekhemkare-Amenemhat V (Habachi 1985b, pls. 199–200). For examples dating to the New Kingdom, see two of Amenhotep II from Karnak (CG 42074; 42075; Legrain 1906, I:43–44, pls. XLIV–XLV).

indicating a high level of craftsmanship. As with other statues from the site, the arms of the figure, which once ended in fistful hands, have been carefully chiseled off. There is also damage to the back of the statue, where a back pillar was seemingly removed. The statue is dated by the excavator to the Middle Kingdom, a date which is supported not only by the style of kilt and belt, but also by the squared shape of the figure's kneecaps.<sup>79</sup> Without additional fragments of the statue, however, Ben-Tor's supposition that the statue depicted a king cannot be proven given the use of this garment by royals and commoners alike.

#### **43. Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure**

Material: Black Stone<sup>80</sup>

Dimensions: H: 15.2 cm; W: 4.2 cm; D: 6.7 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (throne room)

Current Location: The Hebrew University, Jerusalem (field no. 17844)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6; Wastlhuber 2011, 49

Like Cat. 41 and Cat. 42, Cat. 43 is a fragmentary statue of a male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt. The work is made of a fine-grained grayish-black stone tentatively identified by the excavators as basalt.<sup>81</sup> The fragment, which is made on a slightly larger scale than Cat. 42, preserves the proper right leg of a standing figure. The fragment is broken just above the level of the belt at the top and below the knee at the bottom. As with the other fragments, the figure's arm, which was once hanging down at his side, has been carefully removed.

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<sup>79</sup> Ben-Tor 2006b, 5. Wastlhuber places the statue in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (2011, 49).

<sup>80</sup> The excavator's cautiously identify the material as basalt (A. Ben-Tor, personal communication). Careful inspection suggests that it is a finer-grained stone, such as granodiorite, or perhaps even greywacke, however.

<sup>81</sup> A. Ben-Tor, personal communication.

Only the two exterior panels of the *shendyt*-kilt remain, with the left side wrapping over the left.<sup>82</sup> Careful attention has been paid to rendering the pleats of the garment, which curve to indicate the contours of the figure's body, a feature that is particularly noticeable around the buttocks. The pleats on the left panel of the kilt are incised at a diagonal in a style similar to that seen in Cat. 41. The belt more closely resembles that seen on Cat. 42, however, being decorated with two parallel horizontal lines running the length of the preserved belt with interior vertically incised lines in groups.<sup>83</sup> Like the similar pieces from Hazor, the excavator dates the statue to the Middle Kingdom, a date which is plausible but not certain.<sup>84</sup>

#### **44. Lower Portion of a Seated Male Statue**

Material: Granite

Dimensions: H: 14 cm; W: 7.5 cm; D: 10.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, in an Iron Age wall

Current Location: Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 91047)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor and Zuckerman 2007, 213

During the 2007 season of excavations at Hazor, the lower part of a seated male statue was discovered. In its present state the fragment is roughly cube-shaped, preserving the figure's lap and legs, as well as the base of his seat.<sup>85</sup> The torso and head of the man, as well as the front of the statue's base, which would have preserved the figure's feet, are now missing.<sup>86</sup> The figure, who can be identified as male based on his clothing, wears a *shendyt*-kilt with vertically incised pleats running down the side panels

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<sup>82</sup> The central panel is now missing.

<sup>83</sup> The preserved vertical strokes are divided into two groups. The first, which runs into the break, retains three incised lines, while the second preserves four lines. This so-called *Bandmuster* decoration is well-attested on belts of a variety of periods, including the Middle Kingdom (Evers 1929, II: 34).

<sup>84</sup> Ben-Tor 2006b, 5. Wasthuber places the statue more specifically in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (2011, 49).

<sup>85</sup> The statue may have been reduced to this shape to facilitate its reuse as a building stone, as it was found in a wall.

<sup>86</sup> There is also a section of stone removed from the bottom of the statue on the proper left side.

along his thighs and horizontally incised pleats on the panel that hangs down between his legs. The man's proper right hand is clenched in a fist that is placed palm-side down on his lap. His other hand is mostly missing, but appears to have been placed open upon his lap. The man sits on a block-shaped seat with a footrest projecting from the front. The sides of this seat widen slightly as they descend, giving them a trapezoidal shape. While the front and back of the seat remain undecorated, the right and left sides are each adorned with a figure and inscription incised very shallowly into the stone's surface.<sup>87</sup>

Of the inscriptions on the statue, those on the proper right side of the seat are the better preserved. Here the surface is divided into two sections: the depiction of a standing female figure surrounded by identifying text and a *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula. This formula borders the frontmost section of the proper right face of the seat, taking the shape of an L when it turns at a ninety-degree angle to run along the statue's base beneath the figure's feet.<sup>88</sup> The text is bordered on either side by an incised register line and, for most of its length, is arranged in a single column that reads from right to left.<sup>89</sup> It reads:

*ḥtp di nsw Skr nb šnwt<sup>90</sup> prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt [k3w] 3pdw [...]*

A gift the king gives to Sokar, lord of *shenut*, consisting of invocation offerings of bread, beer, [meat] and fowl ...

To the left of the text panel, a standing woman is shown in profile, facing towards the front of the statue. She wears a long tripartite wig, the rear section of which comes to approximately the level of her elbow, and a tight, calf-length dress. Her right arm hangs

<sup>87</sup> This decoration is barely visible to the naked eye.

<sup>88</sup> Most of the text under the figure's feet is now lost. For a similar arrangement of formulaic texts on a seated statue, see the statue of Heqaib made by his son Sehetepib (Habachi 1985b, pls. 124-25) or the statue of Hapi (Habachi 1985b, pls. 19-20).

<sup>89</sup> The orientation of the script remains the same even after the text makes a ninety-degree turn to run along the statue's result, with the result that this section is written in retrograde.

<sup>90</sup> The meaning of this epithet is unclear. The determinatives that follow the word, which are small but unidentifiable, do not match with either of the two main meanings of *šnwt*, namely courtiers (*Wb.* IV: 511-12) or granary (*Wb.* IV: 510). It should be noted, however, that a form of Sokar known as *Skr-m-Šnwt* is attested from the New Kingdom on (Leitz 2002f, 674).



down at her side, while her left arm is extended in front of her, grasping a long-stemmed lotus blossom that she holds to her nose. The surface of the bottom and upper left corners of the panel are damaged, with the result that some of the text and the woman's feet are now missing. In front of the woman near the bottom of the statue, the phrase *mst n* "born of" is written in a single column. As there is not enough space to provide the name of her parent beneath the text, it is likely that the text made a ninety-degree turn towards the left, mirroring the arrangement of the *hṭp-di-nsw* inscription that it is inscribed beside. A line of text has also been incised horizontally above the figure of the woman. This text, which is badly damaged, consists of three signs: a tall sign, a *t* and an *n*. While the inscription is too faint to be certain, it is possible that this is the writing of the word *snt* "sister," providing the relationship of the woman to the statue's owner. A final section of text, written in a column running behind the woman's back that reads from right to left, is difficult to decipher. Only the end of this inscription remains legible; it consists of a seated person determinative (likely a woman) followed by the word *m3ʿt* and a tall vertical stroke that could be the top of a *hrw* sign (Gardiner P8). It therefore seems that this section of text, which is likely a continuation of the text inscribed above her head, provided the woman's name followed by the phrase *m3ʿt-hrw* "true of voice."

The arrangement of the text and decoration on the proper left side of the statue's seat mirrors that on the right side. However, less of the decoration on this side is preserved, as a section of stone along the bottom of the statue has been removed on this face, almost certainly removing part of the inscription with it. As on the right side of the seat, the front part is taken up with an offering formula incised into the seat's surface with column lines bounding it on either side. The text reads:

*ḥtp di nsw dt*<sup>91</sup> *Wsir nb Ddw...*

A gift the king gives, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, gives [...]

Of particular interest is the fact that, while the beginning of the text is written from left to right, the epithet of the god is written from right to left. The motivations for this change of direction are unclear, although it is possible that this was done to avoid writing the rest of the inscription in retrograde, as occurred on the opposite side of the seat.

Behind the register line demarcating the offering text, the figure of a man has been rendered in shallow sunk relief. The man, who is shown in profile, stands with his left arm down at his side and his right arm extended as if holding a staff, although no indication of what is meant to be in his hand is given. He wears an above-knee-length kilt that projects out to form a triangular shape and a chin-length hairstyle. Three inscribed columns surround the figure. In front of him, above his extended right arm, a column of text written from right to left reads *ḥr Pth-Skr* “before Ptah-Sokar.” As there is no space above this surface to write the beginning of the inscription, which should include the word *im3hy* “revered” before it, it is possible that this text continues the inscription to its left. Additional signs are written above the man’s head, but are now illegible. Behind the man, from about the level of his waist, *ms n* is written followed by part of a name, providing information about his parentage.<sup>92</sup>

Without the upper part of the statue, it is difficult to date the work stylistically. However, the style of rendering the owner’s family members on the sides of the seat

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<sup>91</sup> Note the presence of the very *rdi* twice on this side, while it appears only once on the opposite side.

<sup>92</sup> The name includes a tall *ḥ* (Gardiner V28) and two smaller signs, possibly a *p* and a *t*. The direction of the text is unknown, leaving either *ḥpt* or something with the name of *Pth* in it as possibilities.

combined with the manner in which the texts are arranged point towards a Middle Kingdom date for the statue.<sup>93</sup>

#### **45. Back of a Statue's Striated Wig**

Material: Black stone<sup>94</sup>

Dimensions: H: 4.05 cm; W: 3.72 cm; D: 1.05 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (entrance)

Current Location: The Hebrew University, Jerusalem (field no. 15227)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

This small fragment, made of a black stone, preserves the back of a striated wig. The striations have been incised into the stone with the innermost section of the wig taking the shape of an elongated chevron, indicating the location of the wig's center.<sup>95</sup> Additional sections of hair emanate out from this central portion, only nine of which are preserved. The form that the statuette once took cannot be determined from what remains, beyond fact that it comes from either an anthropomorphic figure.

#### **46. Leg of a Male Striding Statue**

Material: Greenish stone<sup>96</sup>

Dimensions: H: 11.6 cm; W: 2.9 cm; D: 6.9 cm

Date of statue: Undetermined

Archaeological Context: Area M, Podium Building

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 39492)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: A. Ben-Tor 1998, 278; A. Ben-Tor and Rubiato 1999, 36

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<sup>93</sup> For the depiction of family members, compare the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Nebit (Louvre E 14330; Delange 1987, 72–75).

<sup>94</sup> The excavators have identified the stone as obsidian (Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication). No conchoidal fractures are visible, though, so another black stone is also a possibility.

<sup>95</sup> This is a common way of representing striated wigs on statues of both males and females. For numerous Middle Kingdom examples, see Delange 1987.

<sup>96</sup> The stone has been tentatively identified as dolomite or marble in the Hazor excavation records (Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication). The stone is mint green in color with large, rectangular inclusions. Further examination of the object in the future may help determine whether the statue is made of dolomitic marble or a type of dolomitic limestone sometimes found in Egypt (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 40).

This fragment preserves the lower leg of an anthropomorphic figure, from the bottom of the knee down to the top of the ankle. The front and sides of the leg are carved in-the-round, while the back of the leg is adhered to a panel of stone that once connected it to the statuette's backrest, if it once took the form of a standing statuette, or the front of the figure's seat, if it belonged to a seated statuette.<sup>97</sup> The work exhibits a high level of craftsmanship; careful attention has been paid to the proportions of the calf and the contours of the ankle. However, no clear iconographic markers remain, making it impossible to comment on the statue's date of manufacture, whom it represented, or even to confirm that it is in fact Egyptian.<sup>98</sup>

#### **47. Feet and Base of a Seated Statue**

Material: Quartz Syenite<sup>99</sup>

Dimensions: H: 8.3. cm; W: 14 cm; D: 13.5 cm<sup>100</sup>

Date of statue: Undetermined

Archaeological Context: Area A, in an Iron Age wall

Current Location: Unknown (field no. 91031)

Manner of examination: Unpublished photographs

Bibliography: Unpublished

This fragment preserves the feet and part of the base of a statue of a human figure. The feet, which are broken off from the leg at the ankle, are positioned next to each other, angling out slightly from the ankles. This configuration of the feet indicates that they likely once belonged to a seated figure. Although damaged, details of the carving, such as the rendering of toenails on each toe, suggest that the statue once exhibited a fair amount of detail. The fragment is cracked down the middle between the feet, in addition to

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<sup>97</sup> The former arrangement is more likely.

<sup>98</sup> Ben-Tor's assumption that the fragment once belonged to a royal statue is possible but not certain.

<sup>99</sup> A. Ben Tor, personal communication. If the fragment is in fact Egyptian, the stone could be more properly identified as granodiorite, although it is impossible to be sure without further examination of the piece (Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, 37).

<sup>100</sup> A. Ben Tor, personal communication.

having large areas of loss at the back of the base as well as some to the proper left side of the base. Too little remains of the statuette to comment on its original date or whether it should be definitively identified as Egyptian as opposed to Egyptianizing.

#### 48. Right Foot of a Statue (pl. 72)



Material: Greywacke<sup>101</sup>

Dimensions: W:  $\approx$  5 cm; D:  $\approx$  7.1 cm<sup>102</sup>

Date of statue: Undetermined

Archaeological Context: Area A, Locus 240a<sup>103</sup>

Current Location: Hazor (field no. A/4239/1)

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII; Yadin 1972, 126n1; A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 5; Wastlhuber 2011, 48

This fragment preserves only the toes of a slightly less than life-sized figure's right foot, together with a small portion of the statue's base. The toes, which break off at about the point where they would have connected to the foot, are well carved, with a carefully rendered toenail on each digit. It is likely this close attention to detail that led Yadin to identify the fragment as Egyptian in origin.<sup>104</sup> Given the very small percentage of the statue that remains, it is impossible to comment on what form the statue originally took or who it represented.<sup>105</sup> The statue from which the fragment derives was dated stylistically to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty by Yadin, but has more recently been placed in the Middle Kingdom based on the presence of other statues of that date at Hazor.<sup>106</sup> In fact so little of the statue remains that it is impossible to conclusively assign a date to it.

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<sup>101</sup> A. Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>102</sup> Measurements based on scaled photo provided in Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII.

<sup>103</sup> Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII; Yadin et al. 1989, 31; 61.

<sup>104</sup> The fragment was not examined by the author, but if it is in fact made of greywacke as indicated by the excavation records, the material could also point towards an Egyptian origin.

<sup>105</sup> Yadin identifies the statue as representing an "Egyptian monarch," a suggestion which is plausible but not certain (1972, 126n1).

<sup>106</sup> Yadin 1972, 126n1; Wastlhuber 2011, 48. Ben-Tor does not explicitly state his date for the piece, but it is likely that he would also place it in the Middle Kingdom (2006b, 5).

#### **49. Left Hand of a Statue**

Material: Granite/granodiorite<sup>107</sup>

Dimensions: L: 4.16 cm; W: 3.13 cm; D: 3.32 cm

Date of statue: Undetermined

Archaeological Context: Area A, Eastern Courtyard of Building 7050

Current Location: The Hebrew University, Jerusalem (field no. 52176)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

This small sculpture fragment, broken into a pyramidal shape, preserves a person's left hand. The hand, which is rendered in high relief, is open flat, palm down on a smooth, rounded surface, presumably the figure's thigh. The hand is broken at the wrist and has elongated fingers. Based on the small percentage of the statue that is preserved, it is not possible to comment on what form it originally took or what period it dates to. However, the high quality of the carving points towards an Egyptian origin for the piece.

#### **50. Paw of a Lion or Sphinx**

Material: Obsidian

Dimensions: L: 4.3 cm; W: 2.3 cm; H: 2.3 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (throne room) and Eastern Courtyard of Building 7050

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field nos. 17390 and 14166)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

*For discussion see Cat. 52 below.*

#### **51. Paw of a Lion or Sphinx**

Material: Obsidian

Dimensions: L: 3.4 cm; W: 2.6 cm; H: 1.7 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (throne room) and Eastern Courtyard of Building 7050

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 13678)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

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<sup>107</sup> According to excavation records, the stone has been identified as coming from the "Oligoclase-Feldspar group" (A. Ben-Tor, personal communication).

*For discussion see Cat. 52 below.*

## **52. Paw of a Lion or Sphinx**

Material: Obsidian

Dimensions: L: 2 cm; W: 1.8 cm; H: 1.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty(?)

Archaeological Context: Area A, Building 7050 (entrance) and Eastern Courtyard of Building 7050

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field nos. 42069 and 14639)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

Among the many statuary finds from Hazor were several pieces of small-scale obsidian sculpture. Of these pieces, six fragments have been consolidated into three pieces, each depicting part of a leonine paw.<sup>108</sup> Cat. 50, Cat. 51 and Cat. 52 should be taken in concert with each other because each preserves part of a lion's paw made of obsidian, as evidenced by the conchoidal fractures present in the breaks of each piece. The paws are all rendered at the same scale, making it possible that all originated from the same work of art or, at the very least, extremely similar works.

Cat. 51 has been reassembled from two pieces. The fragment preserves a leonine paw with five toes, a feature which indicates that the paw was once attached to the foreleg as opposed to the hind leg of a lion or sphinx.<sup>109</sup> The proper right toe is shorter than the other four, further indicating that this fragment depicts the proper left front paw of the animal. The sculpture has been expertly carved, with the contour of the top of each toe carefully sculpted. On the front of the paw, the claw of each toe has been indicated by an elongated drop shape incised into the stone.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> The pieces were assigned five separate find numbers (A. Ben-Tor, personal communication).

<sup>109</sup> In Egyptian sculpture the front paw is depicted with five toes while the back has four or, starting from the Late Period, only three (Evers 1929, II: 86-7, §§ 586 and 590).

<sup>110</sup> No indication of the cuticle has been made.

Of the three pieces Cat. 52 is the smallest, preserving the front of a paw for the length of the toes only. The fragment, which has also been reassembled from two pieces, preserves part of four toes. The exterior of the proper right side of the fragment retains its smooth, worked surface, while the proper left side of the paw is lost. Part of the front of the paw is also missing, with the claws of only the two rightmost toes preserved.<sup>111</sup> Each toe is of approximately the same length, with no traces of the smaller interior toe, if it comes from a front paw, or the point where the foot comes into contact with the torso, if it once depicted the four-toed back paw. This, combined with the fact that a small part of what was probably the statuette's base juts out from the proper right side of the fragment, indicates that the piece likely depicts part of a proper right paw of the figure.

Like Cat. 52, Cat. 50 preserves four toes of what seems to be the proper right paw of a lion or sphinx. The fragment, which is the largest of the three, preserving not just the paw but also part of the figure's leg, has been reassembled from two pieces. As with Cat. 52, the worked surface of the proper right side of the fragment has been preserved while that on the left side is missing. While the arrangement of the toes on the paw, all of which are approximately the same length, points towards this being a proper right paw, the nature of the damage precludes the determination of whether this was the animal's front or back paw. The incised design of the claws is preserved, at least in part, on three of the toes.

Given the lack of a head or torso fragment for the statuette(s), it is not possible to ascertain whether the fragments once belonged to a figure (or figures) of a lion or a sphinx. However, there is a precedent for a sphinx made out of obsidian: a maned sphinx

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<sup>111</sup> As with the other examples, the claws take the shape of an elongated drop and are depicted without the cuticle.



dated to the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>112</sup> Unfortunately, this piece is also fragmentary, missing all four of its paws and thus making it difficult to compare to the Hazor fragments.<sup>113</sup> Even in Egypt proper obsidian statuary is incredibly rare, in great part due to the difficulty involved in carving the glass-like stone. Preserved examples include numerous statues of kings, a figure of Amun, and even composite statue parts.<sup>114</sup> The majority of obsidian sculpture from Egypt has been dated to the Middle Kingdom, pointing towards a possible date for the Hazor fragment.<sup>115</sup>

### **53. Unidentified Sculptural Fragment**

Material: Obsidian

Dimensions: L: 5.5 cm; W: 2.7 cm; D: 2 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area M, Podium Building

Current Location: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (field no. 71312)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

Given the Egyptianizing character of the other obsidian fragments from Hazor, it is probable that this piece also comes from a piece of Egyptian sculpture. What the fragment represents, however, is more difficult to identify. The piece is made up of two main sections: an elongated cone-shaped section that tapers and eventually flattens out, and a section with incised grooves running parallel to the rounded part of the fragment. One possible interpretation of the fragment is that it preserves part of the arm of a human figure. In this interpretation, the elongated cone-shaped section would be the figure's forearm, which tapers to the wrist and then flares out again, this time flatter, to form part of the figure's hand. The incised grooves would then be the remains of the pleated

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<sup>112</sup> British Museum EA65506 (Fay 1996b, 69 #61, with further bibliography).

<sup>113</sup> It should also be noted that an amulet in the form of a sphinx made of a semi-precious red stone was also excavated at Hazor (A. Ben-Tor 1998, 275 and 277 Fig. 2).

<sup>114</sup> For a list of obsidian statuary from Egypt, see Hardwick 2012, 12–13.

<sup>115</sup> Bourriau 1988, 26.

garment that the figure is wearing.<sup>116</sup> Based on the spacing of the grooves, it is possible that this fragment was once part of the same sculpture as Cat. 54.

#### **54. Unidentified Sculptural Fragment**

Material: Obsidian

Dimensions: L: 3 cm; W: 2.65 cm; D: 0.8 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Area M, Podium Building

Current Location: The Hebrew University, Jerusalem (field no. 71248)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

This small piece of obsidian sculpture has been reassembled from two fragments.

One of the object's surfaces is incised with a series of thirteen parallel grooves. It is unclear how this design should be interpreted, as the fragment is so small that even its correct orientation cannot be determined with certainty. One tenable suggestion is that the grooves are representations of pleated fabric.<sup>117</sup> The opposite side of the fragment is divided into two rounded surfaces, the nature of which is unclear. Although too little of the work to which this fragment once belonged has been preserved to conclusively comment on its origin, the fact that other obsidian fragments from Hazor have an Egyptian or Egyptianizing character makes an Egyptian attribution for the fragment at least plausible.

#### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The site of Hazor has been divided into several areas covering both the upper and lower tell, each indicated by a letter by the excavators. While Yadin's excavations

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<sup>116</sup> Indeed, the excavators have identified the fragment as part of a skirt (Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication).

<sup>117</sup> If this is the case, it could possibly come from a *shendyt*-kilt, like those seen in Cat. 38, Cat. 39, and Cat. 41, or another garment. The piece has been interpreted by the excavators as part of a skirt (Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication).

worked in sixteen different areas of the site,<sup>118</sup> the renewed excavations have focused on only two: Area A and Area M. Both of these areas, which are also the only sections of the site to produce Egyptian sculptural finds, are on the main part of the tell.

### Area A

Of the nineteen statuary fragments included in this study, thirteen come from Area A, Hazor's acropolis that served as the nucleus of the tell. The high percentage of sculptural finds in this area is not surprising given that, in addition to being home to monumental structures, it is also one of the most extensively explored sections of the site.<sup>119</sup> Area A is dominated by a monumental structure variably interpreted as a ceremonial palace or a temple.<sup>120</sup> In either case, it is clear that this area of the site served a cultic function, as evidenced by the presence of large numbers of animal bones and ceramic vessels indicative of feasting and the discovery of numerous pieces of sculpture, including copper alloy figures of a Canaanite deity/king<sup>121</sup> and numerous pieces of Egyptian statuary.

This area of the site had already been important during the Middle Bronze Age when it was home to a palace, the so-called "southern temple," the standing stone

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<sup>118</sup> The areas excavated under Yadin were designated A, AB (sometimes called BA), B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K, L, M N, P and 210. For an overview of which area was worked during which seasons and the locations of the areas within the site, see Yadin 1972, 15 Fig. 3 and 24-26.

<sup>119</sup> Area A, an area initially investigated by Garstang, was excavated during all five of Yadin's seasons at Hazor and continues to be excavated by the renewed excavations at the site. It has "the most complete stratigraphic sequence at Hazor ... [with] remnants of occupation from the Early Bronze Age through the Persian period" (A. Ben-Tor 2008, 1769).

<sup>120</sup> Since its discovery the structure had been known as the "Canaanite Palace of Hazor." More recently, however, Zuckerman has argued for the structure's identification as a temple rather than a palace (Zuckerman 2010). For arguments in support of the building's designation as a palace, see A. Ben-Tor 2013b; Bonfil and Zarzecki-Peleg 2007. The more neutral term "Building 7050," coined from "one of its richest loci in the northwestern room," will therefore be used here, following the conventions of the excavators (Zuckerman 2010, 165).

<sup>121</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2013b, 90.

precinct (interpreted as an open-air location for cultic rituals) and a storehouse.<sup>122</sup> During the Late Bronze Age, an expansion of this area took place, with Building 7050 being constructed on the pre-existing features, which were filled in. This structure consists of three main parts: a courtyard, a porch, and the “nucleus,” the central room of which is sometimes referred to as the “throne room.”<sup>123</sup> The building was in use for a period of some 200 years with few changes to its structure before it was destroyed along with the rest of the site in a major conflagration in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, bringing the Bronze Age occupation at the site to a close.

The fragments of Egyptian statuary discovered by the current expedition to Hazor in Area A come from different parts of Building 7050 and its environs, with many of the fragments apparently related to the final Bronze Age destruction of the structure. Three of the fragments were found in the throne room proper: the royal head (Cat. 36), one of the *shendyt*-kilt fragments (Cat. 43), and a piece of Cat. 50.<sup>124</sup> Two more fragments were found in the entrance to the building: the wig fragment (Cat. 45) and a piece of Cat. 52.<sup>125</sup> An additional five sculptural pieces were found in the courtyard that lies to the east of the throne room. They included one of the other *shendyt*-kilt fragments (Cat. 42), the small hand fragment (Cat. 49), and three obsidian fragments: Cat. 51 and pieces of Cat. 50 and Cat. 52. All of these fragments have been identified as coming either from the destruction layer or fill layers.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2013b, 81–82.

<sup>123</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2013b, 85.

<sup>124</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication. See below for the joining piece of Cat. 50, which was found in the building’s eastern courtyard.

<sup>125</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication. As with Cat. 50, the other part of Cat. 52 was found in the courtyard.

<sup>126</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

Three additional fragments from area A were found incorporated into Iron Age walls. They include the sphinx of Amenemhat (Cat. 38)<sup>127</sup>, the inscribed statue base (Cat. 44), and the feet of another statue (Cat. 47). Both the sphinx and the statue base show clear signs of being worked down to facilitate their reuse as building materials.<sup>128</sup> Given that all of these pieces were already fragmentary when they were incorporated into the Iron Age walls, it is clear that they should be associated with the Late Bronze occupation of the site at the latest.

The final two pieces from Area A were actually the first Egyptian statuary pieces to be discovered at Hazor, having been found during Yadin's work at the site. Both come from outside the area of the Late Bronze Age palace. The first, the fragmentary foot of a statue (Cat. 48), was unearthed in Locus 240a, which was in use during Strata XV-XIII that cover a period which encompasses the entirety of the Late Bronze Age occupation at Hazor.<sup>129</sup> Aharoni, who excavated the area, described it simply as a "paved open space."<sup>130</sup> It is unclear how the final place of deposition for the object relates to where it originally stood, but Ben-Tor has suggested that other fragments from the same area had previously stood in the Late Bronze Age palace that stood nearby.<sup>131</sup>

Not far from where the foot was excavated, Yadin's excavations also discovered the first of the three *shendyt*-kilt wearing fragments thus far unearthed at Hazor (Cat. 41). The fragment comes from locus 274, an area just northeast of the later six-chambered

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<sup>127</sup> This piece was found in a wall above the Late Bronze Age palace's courtyard, "indicating that it most likely originated in the underlying palace courtyard" (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6).

<sup>128</sup> The feet (Cat. 47) were not examined by the present author, therefore possible reworking cannot be commented upon.

<sup>129</sup> (Yadin et al. 1989, 61a). In the publication of the fragment, the location is given as "Locus 240a, LB, unstratified" (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).

<sup>130</sup> The area was covered by a six-chambered gate complex starting during the Iron Age II.

<sup>131</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 5.

gate.<sup>132</sup> The final excavation report lists the function of this locus as “undefined,”<sup>133</sup> although Yadin describes it as fill for the gate elsewhere.<sup>134</sup> The locus is associated with Stratum XII, which dates to the Iron Age I.<sup>135</sup>

### Area M

The six remaining sculptural fragments discovered at Hazor come from Area M, the portion of the site that connects the Lower City with the acropolis (Area A). Of these, four were associated with a monumental structure referred to as the Podium Complex, a building named for the entry room to the complex, which contained a large basalt podium.<sup>136</sup> This complex was constructed on top of an earlier monumental building, likely dating to the end of the Middle Bronze Age or beginning of the Late Bronze Age, which had been covered over by “massive foundation walls and ... fills.”<sup>137</sup> Two of the fragments (Cat. 53 and Cat. 54) were found amidst this fill beneath these foundations.<sup>138</sup> Another fragment (Cat. 46) was also found in fill, but in a disturbed context.<sup>139</sup> The fourth piece, a limestone fragment with a hieroglyphic inscription (Cat. 40), was unearthed in the destruction layer of the Late Bronze building, which has been dated to the thirteenth century BCE.<sup>140</sup> The Podium Complex has been interpreted as a royal portal used as a place to greet “royal emissaries ... and other privileged functionaries who

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<sup>132</sup> Yadin et al. 1989, plan VII.

<sup>133</sup> Yadin et al. 1989, 62. The plates volume describes the findspot as “Locus 274, LB II, unstratified” (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).

<sup>134</sup> Yadin 1972, 126n1.

<sup>135</sup> This stratum follows the complete destruction of Stratum XIII, the last Bronze Age level at the site. According to Aharoni, who excavated the area, “the Stratum XII structures are scanty and makeshift in character” (Yadin et al. 1989, 25). This would seem to indicate that the statue is actually associated with the Late Bronze occupation of the site, an interpretation that has also been put forth by Ben-Tor (2006b, 5).

<sup>136</sup> For a discussion of this structure see Zuckerman 2010, 165–72; Cimadevilla 2013.

<sup>137</sup> Zuckerman 2010, 165–66.

<sup>138</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>139</sup> This locus included Iron Age I pottery (Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication).

<sup>140</sup> Zuckerman 2010, 171. The piece was found amongst “the rubble of a mud-brick wall,” but it is unclear if the fragment had previously been incorporated into the wall or was merely located near it (Allen 2001, 13; Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication).

were received there by the king or his high officials.”<sup>141</sup> If this interpretation is correct, it would not be surprising to find imported works of art such as these Egyptian statuary fragments among its ruins.<sup>142</sup>

The two remaining fragments (Cat. 39 and the Sphinx of Menkaure [Cat. 37]) were found together in a monumental structure immediately to the south of the Podium Complex. This structure, currently identified as a palace dating to the fifteenth-fourteenth centuries BCE, was also destroyed in the major conflagration during the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>143</sup> As with other fragments from this area of the tell, the sphinx and part of the head were found in fill, with one piece of the head having been incorporated into a Late Bronze wall.<sup>144</sup>

### *Summary*

Over the course of several field seasons the excavators of Hazor have unearthed nineteen fragmentary pieces of stone sculpture that they identify as Egyptian in origin. This is by far the largest number of Egyptian statue fragments found at any site in the southern Levant.<sup>145</sup> The statues, when datable, span a wide range of Egyptian periods, from the Old Kingdom through the Ramesside period. Several of the statues are royal, with others representing high officials and still others remaining too fragmentary to identify. The vast majority of the finds come from the Late Bronze Age destruction layer

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<sup>141</sup> Zuckerman 2010, 171.

<sup>142</sup> Indeed, Zuckerman has taken the presence of Cat. 40, as well as a large “stone bowl, bearing an Akkadian cuneiform inscription ... found a few meters from the Egyptian fragment in the same destruction layer,” as evidence of the diplomatic activities taking place in the building (Zuckerman 2010, 171).

<sup>143</sup> A. Ben-Tor and Zuckerman 2012.

<sup>144</sup> Amnon Ben-Tor, personal communication.

<sup>145</sup> Indeed, as has often been remarked, Hazor seems to have more in common with larger Syrian cities of the time. This is perhaps to be at a site that “monopolized trade between the Syro-Mesopotamian and Levantine polities” (Maeir 2000, 39).

at Hazor, which is in keeping with the marked increase in Egyptian and Egyptianizing goods of a variety of types at the site during the Late Bronze Age.<sup>146</sup> Others, likely present in the Levant already in the Late Bronze Age, are found reused as building material in Iron Age contexts. All of the finds hail from Area A or Area M of the site, sections that were dominated by monumental structures, indicating that they were likely once set up in state-run buildings. With the exception of Cat. 40, a Ramesside piece which could not have arrived in Hazor long before it became part of a 13<sup>th</sup>-century destruction layer, however, there is no clear indication of how or when the statues arrived at the site.

#### *Addendum*

##### **144. Asymmetrically-seated Statue Fragment**

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: 40 x 45 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Area M, Palace

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: "Historic Find at Tel-Hazor: A Statue of an Egyptian Official"  
2016

During the summer 2016 field season at Hazor an additional statue fragment was recovered. It preserves the lower portion of a nearly life-sized official's statue. The man is shown seated on the ground in an asymmetrical pose. Both of his feet and portions of his left and right legs are preserved. Hieroglyphic inscriptions are present on the base, and have been reported to indicate that the individual held a priestly office in Memphis, where the statue might have originated. If this is the case, it is possible that Cats. 39 and/or 40 were once part of the same statue, but this cannot be confirmed without further

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<sup>146</sup> Sparks 2007, 245.



examination of the still unpublished work. Preliminary announcements about the statue's discovery indicate that it was found in the same building as Cat. 37 in a second millennium context.

### 2.1.8.3 – Tel Dan

#### *The Site*

Tel Dan, also known as Tell el Qadi (“the judge’s mound”), is a 20 ha site located near the modern Israeli-Lebanese border.<sup>1</sup> Rising 20 meters above the surrounding plain, the site is strategically located at the headwaters of the Dan (a tributary of the Jordan River) as well as at the intersection of the region’s ancient north-south and east-west caravan routes.<sup>2</sup> The site was occupied from the Pottery Neolithic (stratum XVI) through the Iron Age IIC (stratum I).<sup>3</sup> Avraham Biran, working on behalf of the Department of Antiquities and Museums, began excavating the site in 1966.<sup>4</sup> Archaeological work at Tel Dan is ongoing, now under the direction of David Ilan.

The extent of Egyptian involvement at the site is still under study.<sup>5</sup> It is generally accepted that the Egyptians knew the site under its earlier name of Laish, which appears in the Brussels group of Execration Texts as *ḫwsī* and later in Thutmose III’s toponym lists where it is called *Rws*.<sup>6</sup> Despite this, Egyptian finds from the site are relatively

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<sup>1</sup> Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 1; Biran 1993, 323. Tell el Qadi was first identified as the biblical site of Dan in 1838; its name was officially changed to “Tel Dan” in 1955. Inscriptions found through excavation at the site confirmed its identification with the ancient Dan, which is also referred to as Laish or Leshem in the Bible (Jos. 19:47; Judg. 18:29).

<sup>2</sup> Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 1; Biran 1993, 323; Ben-Dov 2011, 377.

<sup>3</sup> Cultic activity continued at the site into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. For a summary of the finds for each period, see Biran 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 1. This early work was part of a salvage excavation during a period when the site was being fortified by the Israeli army in preparation for war with neighboring Lebanon and Syria. Biran’s work at the site would continue for 33 seasons. Since 1974, excavations at the site have been carried out under the auspices of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996, 3). For field reports, see Biran, Ilan, and Greenberg 1996; Biran and Ben-Dov 2002; Ben-Dov 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Tel Dan’s current excavator David Ilan suspects that there is a much larger Egyptian occupation at the site that has yet to be excavated (personal communication).

<sup>6</sup> For an overview of Egyptian references to Tel Dan, see Ahituv 1984, 130. For the execration texts, see Posener 1940, 92 no. E59; for the Thutmose III lists, see *Urk*. IV: 782 #31; Simons 1937, 123 #26.

meager, consisting primarily of fragmentary faience figurines and scarabs.<sup>7</sup> The exceptions to this are two pieces of stone statuary.

### *The Statuary*

#### **55. Statue of the *wab*-priest Nefertem (pl. 73)**



Material: Granite

Dimensions: H: 13 cm; W: 12.4 cm; D: 10 cm<sup>8</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom<sup>9</sup>

Archaeological Context: Area T, in an Iron Age II wall<sup>10</sup>

Current Location: The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (no. IAA 1980-903)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: Biran et al. 1981, 105, pl. 19b; Leclant 1982, 485; Biran 1982, 233, pl. V; Schulman 1990, 240–41; Biran 1994, 160–61; Biran 1996, 44; Ben-Dov 2011, 155, 316; “Fragment of a Statuette of an Egyptian Worshiper” 2014

This statuette represents a man sitting cross-legged on a base that is squared in the front but rounded in the back, with both of his hands placed palm-side down on his lap. It is broken at a diagonal from the top of the figure’s proper right shoulder to the upper part of the left arm, with only the head and uppermost part of the torso missing. The man, identified in the inscription as Nefertem, wears a long, high-waisted kilt that wraps around the lower portion of his body, with the hem of the kilt running across his torso and onto the side of his right leg at a diagonal. The kilt is knotted at the man’s waist, just below his fleshy breasts. A formulaic inscription is incised on the statue, starting on the

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<sup>7</sup> For the faience figurines, see Biran 1994, color figures 29-31. Two bronze figurines of Osiris were also found in Persian levels at the site (Biran 1994, 214; fig. 175; color fig. 39). The scarabs and scaraboids are treated in the following sources: Ilan 1996, 236–42; B. Brandl 2002; Keel 2011a. Study of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing pottery concluded that most pieces were manufactured in Lebanon, not Egypt (M. A. S. Martin and Ben-Dov 2007; Ben-Dov and Martin 2011). Imported stone vessels were also relatively rare (Sparks 2007, 246–47).

<sup>8</sup> “Fragment of a Statuette of an Egyptian Worshiper” 2014.

<sup>9</sup> The Israel Museum provides dates the statue to the Late Canaanite period, a period contemporary with the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (ca. 14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century BCE). See below for further discussion of the statue’s date.

<sup>10</sup> Biran 1996, 44.

top of the man's lap, where it is divided into two columns, and continuing in a horizontal row across the front of his legs and a second horizontal row across the top of the statue's base. Due in part to the hardness of the stone, the inscription is difficult to read in some places. What can be made out of the hieroglyphic text reads from right to left as follows:

*ḥtp di nsw Pth-[Skr]*<sup>11</sup>

A gift the king gives and Ptah-[Sokar]

*di.sn prt-ḥrw t ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw*

that they might give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, oxen and fowl

*n k3 n w<sup>c</sup>b Nfrtm ms.n I[b...]*<sup>12</sup>

to the *ka* of the *wab*-priest Nefertem,<sup>13</sup> born of I[b...]

*ir.n [...]<sup>14</sup>ty m3<sup>c</sup>t-ḥrw*

begotten of [...]<sup>14</sup>ty, justified.

In his numerous mentions of the statuette, Biran dated it to the Late Bronze Age (i.e. the Egyptian New Kingdom) based largely on an unpublished study by Brandl and Ophel.<sup>15</sup> In this study, the authors argued that, although strong stylistic parallels for the piece exist from the Middle Kingdom, the statue should be dated to the New Kingdom. This was based largely on their reading of the patronymic as Seti, a popular name in the

<sup>11</sup> While the Ptah component of the deity's name is clearly legible, the surface where the second element is presented is abraded. The faint presence of two horizontal signs followed by an *r* (Gardiner D21), make a reading of Ptah-Sokar almost certain.

<sup>12</sup> The reading of the mother's name is uncertain. The name is comprised of four signs, the first two of which are clearly a reed-leaf (Gardiner M17) and the man-with-hand-to-mouth (Gardiner A2). The third sign is either a vertical sign, the traces of which would fit with a *b* (Gardiner D58), or a small sign. The final sign is a bird, although which type cannot be determined with certainty. Possibilities for the name include *Ib* (Ranke 1935, I: 19 #14-16), *Ibw* (Ranke 1935, I: 20 #22) or possibly even *Ipw* (Ranke 1935, I: 23 #6) or *Itw* (Ranke 1935, I: 50 #7), although it should be noted that not all of these names are attested as feminine names in the Middle Kingdom with these spellings.

<sup>13</sup> This name is attested already during the Old Kingdom, but is particularly popular during the Middle Kingdom (Ranke 1935, I: 200 #24).

<sup>14</sup> The name is comprised of four tall signs, the last two of which are reed-leaves (Gardiner M17). While the first sign is unidentifiable, the second seems to be a tall *t* (Gardiner U33).

<sup>15</sup> This study was conducted in 1982 and remains unpublished, with no plans to publish it in the future (Ben-Dov 2011, 155n33; B. Brandl, personal communication).

New Kingdom but not in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>16</sup> Closer examination of the statuette, however, reveals that the reading of the name is less than certain.<sup>17</sup> The statuette should therefore be dated to the Middle Kingdom on account of the numerous parallels dating to that period.<sup>18</sup>

#### 56. Fragment of a Seated Statue (pls. 74-77)



Material: Granodiorite<sup>19</sup>

Dimensions: H: 19.8 cm; W: 11 cm; D: 15.3 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: The Skirball Museum of Biblical

Archaeology, Jerusalem (no. 19132)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Leclant 1984, 409; Schulman 1990; Biran 1994, 160–61; Wimmer 1998, 106–7; Arico 2013

This sculptural fragment preserves three worked surfaces, each of which bears a hieroglyphic inscription, indicating the Egyptian origin of the piece. Two of the fragment's surfaces are perpendicular to each other, and likely would have met at a 90° angle if not for the fact that the corner has been sheared off. These sides of the statue, which provide large, flat surfaces for the addition of the texts, contain part of a funerary offering list. A third text is written on a curved surface above the other two inscriptions.

The rarity of an offering list on a three-dimensional piece of Egyptian sculpture

<sup>16</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 322 #8. Examples of this statue type dating to the New Kingdom, such as the famous statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Cairo, CG 42127; Sourouzzian 1991), are rare and clearly archaizing.

<sup>17</sup> Further examination of the statue in person, perhaps using new methodologies such as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), could resolve the reading of the father's name. If the name proves to be Seti, the possibility that the inscription was added at a later date should be at least considered, owing in part to the inferior quality of the inscription when compared with the high level of craftsmanship exhibited in the statue itself.

<sup>18</sup> This conclusion was already reached by Schulman (1990, 240n8). In addition to the other statues of this type from the southern Levant (Cats. 14 and 27), comparandae include: Manchester 6135, a statuette dating to the late 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with a *hṯp-di-nsw* formula inscribed on lap (Bourriau 1988, 56–57); Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5048 (Jaroš-Deckert 1987, 34–38); and two Middle Kingdom statuettes from Abydos with *hṯp-di-nsw* formulae inscribed on the figures' laps (Cairo CG 482 and CG 483, (Borchardt 1925, II:63–4, pl. 80).

<sup>19</sup> The statue is carved from a black stone identified by Schulman as basalt (1990, 236). Close examination of the stone reveals that it is more likely to be a fine-grained granodiorite, however.

combined with uncertainty about the statue's original form have thus far made it difficult to place the statue firmly within the realm of Egyptian statuary.

Schulman, who produced the main study on the fragment, concludes that "when complete, the statue clearly was of the type known as the block statue."<sup>20</sup> This identification is not without problems, however; as Schulman himself notes, the fragment cannot be clearly classified as belonging to either the naturalistic or cubic style of block statue.<sup>21</sup> To solve this quandary, he suggests that the statue originally took the form of a naturalistic block statue, but that it was later "cut down or smoothed down, probably on all four sides ... to form a cubelike object whose vertical surfaces were then inscribed with a new set of texts," producing a figure that more closely resembled the strictly cubic form of block statue.<sup>22</sup> Cutting down the sides of the block statue would have created an extremely deformed example of this type, however, so much so, in fact, that in its present state it is unrecognizable as such.

If, however, one abandons the assumption that the fragment preserves the front and left side of a statue, a new possibility presents itself, namely that the fragment was once part of figure seated on a low-backed seat. When placed upright, as indicated by the orientation of the inscriptions, the fragment resembles the cube-like seat with short rounded back that is frequently seen in statues of seated individuals (pl. 77). In this configuration, the curved surface at the top of the fragment would represent a cushioned chair back rather than the arm of a figure, as interpreted by Schulman. This arrangement also accounts better for the break at the top of the fragment which, viewed in this context, resembles the side of the figure's proper left leg. The smooth, convex surface would in

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<sup>20</sup> Schulman 1990, 236.

<sup>21</sup> For an overview of the structural variants of block statues, see Schulz 1992, I: 20-24, II: 577-90.

<sup>22</sup> Schulman 1990, 239.

this case represent the thigh of the seated figure, who is wearing an un-pleated garment – either a kilt or the long skirt or cloak that were so popular in statuary of the Middle Kingdom. The single column of text present on what is interpreted here as the front of the seat cushion is all that remains of an inscription that would have once identified the portrayed individual, running down the front of the chair cushion and down onto the front of the chair’s base.<sup>23</sup> The artisans further utilized the large, flat surfaces provided by the sides and back of the seat for the inscription of additional texts.<sup>24</sup>

The Tel Dan Fragment has three separate inscriptions: the *im3hy hr* inscription, an inscription running across the top of the seat back that is difficult to interpret, and the offering list which covers two faces of the fragment.<sup>25</sup> The first of the three inscriptions is written on the curved surface of what is interpreted here as the front of the seat’s chair cushion. The inscription, which reads from right to left,<sup>26</sup> identifies the statue’s owner as one who is *im3hy hr*, “revered before,” a deity.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately the inscription breaks off

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<sup>23</sup> This manner of inscribing the front of the seat cushion and seat is first attested during the reign of Senwosret I (Evers 1929, II: 54 no. 379). Compare, for example, the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of the mayor Rehuankh (British Museum EA 1785; Strudwick 2006, 106–7).

<sup>24</sup> Although none of the proper right side of the statue is preserved, it is almost certain that some sort of decoration, likely in the form of text, would have adorned this side of the sculpture as well. The addition of texts to the sides and back of the seats of seated statues is quite common, although the texts usually contain offering formulae or similar texts, not offering lists as found on the Tel Dan fragment.

<sup>25</sup> According to Schulman’s understanding of the fragment, the *im3hy hr* inscription is original to the piece while the offering list was inscribed at a later date. He does not comment on when the third inscription was added to the statue, but seeing as it is at the top of what he considers to be a re-carved surface, he must also assign it to the later date. He argues that this division of the inscriptions into two periods is supported by the style of carving: the hieroglyphs in the *im3hy hr* inscription are “larger, more deeply and more carefully incised and are not filled with white paste” as opposed to the cursive forms of the offering list which are filled with white, and possibly sometimes red, paste to make them stand out from the black stone (Schulman 1990, 237). As a careful examination of the inscriptions will reveal, however, their division into two periods need not be required.

<sup>26</sup> The more common direction for inscriptions on this type of statue in this location is left to right, i.e. from the seated figure towards the outside of the statue. Other examples of this arrangement do exist, however, e.g. the statue of Khakaueseneb or a statue of Heqaib dedicated by Imenyseneb, both from Heqaib’s sanctuary at Elephantine (Habachi 1985b, I: 51, 56, II: pls. 61-67; 81-86).

<sup>27</sup> The identity of the deity in question is somewhat problematic. Traces of a long, flat sign followed by a small sign (possibly a *t*) and then a vertical sign remain. Schulman identified the traces as the remains of the name Amun (1990, 239). However, very little space to the right of the flat sign is missing, making it

before revealing the owner's name and titles, and provides only subtle hints as to the name of the still unidentified deity.<sup>28</sup>

The most problematic inscription on the fragment is found at the top of what is interpreted here as the seat's back. The inscription reads from right to left and, as Schulman notes, is difficult to make sense of even though most of the hieroglyphs are legible.<sup>29</sup> The text would appear to be divided into two horizontal lines, although the spacing of the signs makes it possible, albeit highly unlikely, that the original configuration consisted of very short vertical lines of hieroglyphs.<sup>30</sup> If one considers the text in combination with the offering list that is found below it, one might suppose that these two lines contained something like a *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula as accompanies offering lists on other objects like coffins, although the present traces cannot conclusively confirm this.

The most readily identifiable feature on the fragment, and also the most surprising given its placement on a statue, is an offering list, which is preserved on two of the fragment's inscribed surfaces, with the largest remaining section found on what is interpreted here as the back of the statue's seat. The list is written in the form of a table where each offering is assigned its own grid square, followed by a squatter grid square

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difficult to fit a *yod* (*i*) in front of it, and there are no vertical ticks on the top of the *mn*-sign, despite the fact that those marks are a defining feature of that sign. Although I have reservations about Schulman's identification of the deity as Amun, I cannot propose a better solution. Clearly the name starts with a flat, horizontal sign that is either enclosed or opens towards the right when reading from right to left, like a *t*, but so little remains that the name of this god or goddess will have to remain a mystery for now.

<sup>28</sup> This information would presumably have been provided as the inscription continued down the chair front beside the figure's leg as well as in a similar inscription adorning the right side of the statue's seat.

<sup>29</sup> Schulman 1990, 239.

<sup>30</sup> The first sign that can be made out is a table, perhaps *wḏḥw* "offering table" without the offerings depicted on top. Traces of what may be a *hr*-face can be seen to the right of this. To its left are two superimposed horizontal signs with dots beneath each one – possibly *t3wy*. The second line starts with a long, horizontal sign that I cannot identify. This is followed by *in*: the reed leaf, fish and phonetic complement *n*. There is considerable space after this sign, implying that there was no determinative.



with an image of a kneeling figure presenting the requisite offering.<sup>31</sup> In the upper register the remnants of six offerings can be seen, followed by a second register with offering bearers, and a third register with additional offerings. It is likely that a fourth register, depicting offering bearers just as in the second register, would have followed these offerings, and even possible that a third set of offerings and offering bearers followed that.<sup>32</sup> The list is written in a more cursive style of hieroglyphs than the other inscriptions on the statue, a feature which is no doubt due at least in part to their more diminutive size, necessitating the use of more schematic figures.<sup>33</sup>

The offerings preserved in the first row on the back of the Tel Dan fragment belong to the end of Barta's "Type B" section of the composite "A/B" offering list.<sup>34</sup> This form of the offering list incorporates purification elements from the Opening of the Mouth ritual into the standard "Type A" list of foods and other requirements.<sup>35</sup> The "B" section of the "Type A/B" offering list is made up of up to twenty-nine offerings, the first fifteen of which relate to the Opening of the Mouth ritual with the remainder serving as furnishings for the ensuing feast.<sup>36</sup> Of these twenty-nine offerings, the Tel Dan fragment's first offering register preserves numbers twenty-four through twenty-eight: *3h*-bread,<sup>37</sup> a piece of *shn*-meat,<sup>38</sup> "wine [in] a white *mnw*-stone cup,"<sup>39</sup> "beer [in] a black

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<sup>31</sup> Because the figures are so small, it is difficult to tell whether the offering vessels they present are all the same or take different forms.

<sup>32</sup> Schulman 1990, 237.

<sup>33</sup> It is also possible that the more cursive style was meant to be reminiscent of offering lists found in other media, such as on wooden coffins, which use a similar style.

<sup>34</sup> Barta 1963, 78–82, 181. This was already recognized by Schulman (1990, 237).

<sup>35</sup> *Listentyp B* is never found as a free-standing list, but always in combination with *Listentyp A*, inserting itself between offerings #2 (*sdt sntr* "igniting incense") and #3 (*sti-h3b* [a type of oil]) of *Listentyp A* (Barta 1963, 78). This composite "Type A/B" offering list first appears in private lists during the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and persists through the Late Period, enjoying particular popularity on coffins of the Middle Kingdom (for examples see Barta 1963, 159–63).

<sup>36</sup> Barta 1963, 80.

<sup>37</sup> In Barta's division of the offering list, AH is B/24. He defines it as "eine Brotsorte" (Barta 1963, 79).

*mnw*-stone cup,<sup>40</sup> and “b[eer in] a metal cup.”<sup>41</sup> The second register includes an unidentifiable offering,<sup>42</sup> *wrḥ*-oil,<sup>43</sup> and an offering that should probably be read as *w3dw* ḥr[f].wy, “two bags of green eye-paint.”<sup>44</sup> Additional offerings, now badly damaged, appear on the left face of the statue and include *di kbḥw mh[t]* “giving cool water of the Delta.”<sup>45</sup>

In his treatment of the fragment, Schulman proposes a Middle Kingdom date for the original statue, arguing that it was likely reworked during the later Third Intermediate Period by an Egyptian craftsman at Dan.<sup>46</sup> However, as was demonstrated above, there is no reason to believe that a dramatic reworking of the statue ever took place, at least based upon what little is currently preserved of the statue, as it seems unlikely that the form of the statue was changed. Furthermore, the variants in the style of the inscriptions can be better understood as conscious aesthetic choices than re-inscription. The fact that a seated

<sup>38</sup> In Barta’s division of the offering list this is B/25. Schulman follows Barta’s translation of “ein Fleischstück” (Schulman 1990, 238; Barta 1963, 79). The exact meaning of this word is unclear. *Wb*.III: 470 defines it as one of 14 animal parts used as food, particularly in offering lists; Hannig proposes “suet” or “pancreas” as options (2006, II: 2317).

<sup>39</sup> *irp mnw ḥd ḥnwt*. In Barta’s division of the offering list this is B/26. Barta translates: “Wein in einem Krug aus weißem Stein” (1963, 79); Schulman translates: “wine in a pitcher of white stone” (1990, 238). *Mnw*-stone is quartz (Hannig 2006, I: 1069); *ḥnwt* is a small vessel, either a cup or a pot (Hannig 2006, II: 1693).

<sup>40</sup> *ḥnkt mnw km ḥnwt*. In Barta’s division of the offering list this is B/27.

<sup>41</sup> *ḥ[nkt] bi3 ḥnwt*. The text of the final offering is completely missing, but if it continued to follow the pattern of the Type A/B offering list, one might expect the final offering of the B list, *ḥnkt ḥtm ḥnwt*, “beer in a *ḥtm*-cup,” followed by the resumption of the Type A list. The definition of *ḥtm* is not known. It appears only in this context as a material from which beer vessels are made (Hannig 2006, II: 1814).

<sup>42</sup> Schulman, who admits having difficulty with this section, suggests *psšt ntr nfr* “A mat (?) of the good god” (1990, 238). This seems unlikely, as this offering is not known from other lists, aside from the fact that it is unclear what the function of such an object would be in the middle of a list of oils and cosmetics. At present a better solution remains elusive, however.

<sup>43</sup> *wrḥ*, often translated as an exclamatory “anoint!” but probably to be understood in this and other cases as an actual offering of *wrḥ*-oil, only rarely appears in offering lists of the A or A/B type (Barta 1963, 84, 91).

<sup>44</sup> Schulman reads this offering as *sntr ḥr* “pellets of incense” (1990, 238). It seems more likely based on comparable offering lists, however, such as the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stela of Neferher (Cairo JE 51733; Vernus 1976, 128 ff.; Jéquier 1940, 41, fig. 29), that the item being requested here is eye paint. The lack of an *f* in the word *ḥr* could result from this offering traditionally sharing a register with part of the one that follows it, namely *msdmt* “black eye paint,” which may have once been the next offering in the Dan list.

<sup>45</sup> Schulman reads the preceding offering as *mns3 [šwt]*, “the *mns3*-pitcher [and the *šwt*-feather],” but the traces are inconclusive (1990, 238).

<sup>46</sup> Schulman 1990, 240–42.

statue inscribed with an offering list is, to my knowledge, unparalleled within the Egyptian art corpus further complicates matters.<sup>47</sup> Several features of the fragment point towards a date during the Middle Kingdom, however. For one, private statues of figures seated on low-round-backed chairs first become popular during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and, although this form continues to be used in later periods, it is during the Middle Kingdom that it is the most popular within the realm of private statuary.<sup>48</sup> The offering list may also provide some clues, as the Middle Kingdom is the period during which it is most common to find an offering list with registers of miniature offering bearers depicted.<sup>49</sup> A final point worth contemplating in regards to this statue is the motivation for the unconventional choice of adding an offering list to its surfaces. While any suggestions must of course remain speculative, it is worth considering that this may have been a conscious choice made by an Egyptian living outside of Egypt who desired access to all of the requisite funerary offerings even without access to a proper Egyptian tomb or wooden coffin, where such an inscription might more commonly be found.<sup>50</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The first of the Dan sculptures to be unearthed was the statuette of the *wab*-priest Nefertem (Cat. 55). The work was found during the 1980 season of excavation in Area T,

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<sup>47</sup> Offering lists do occasionally appear on scribal statues, however. Compare, for example, the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Iay, who unrolls a papyrus inscribed with Barta's type C offering list on his lap (Louvre N 870; Delange 1987, 96–99). It is worth noting that, as on the Dan fragment, the style of hieroglyphs used to render the offering list are more cursive than those found elsewhere on the statue.

<sup>48</sup> Evers 1929, II: 50.

<sup>49</sup> The closest comparisons can be found on wooden coffins, which are often inscribed in a more cursive form of script like that found in the offering list inscription on the Dan fragment.

<sup>50</sup> This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

reused as a building stone in a wall dated to the ninth century BCE (Iron Age II).<sup>51</sup> The precise nature of the structure that the statuette was incorporated into is unknown, but its proximity to the spring, which it abuts, suggests that it, and indeed this part of the site in general, may have had a cultic function.<sup>52</sup> Two years later, in May 1982, Cat. 56 was discovered “by chance on the surface of the mound ... in the vicinity of the Dan Springs,” on the northern part of the site.<sup>53</sup> According to Schulman, Biran reported the fragment’s findspot as “the surface of ... a 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Phoenician [i.e. Iron II] level.”<sup>54</sup> However, given that the fragment was a surface find, the date provided for its context has little to no bearing on the actual date of deposition for the statue fragment.<sup>55</sup>

### *Summary*

Although only two ancient Egyptian statuary fragments have been found at Tel Dan to date, they and the discussions surrounding them are integral to the understanding of the use and, more properly, the reuse of Egyptian statuary in the Levant. The first, the nearly complete statuette of the *wab*-priest Nefertem (Cat. 55), is notable for its apparently conscious reuse as a piece of building material. Such use indicates an appreciation on the part of the builders in the objects material value as a piece of stone, but little to no recognition of its value as a piece of foreign material culture. The second,

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<sup>51</sup> Wall W7911 (Biran 1996, 44; Biran 1994, 161). For a plan showing this wall, see Biran 1996, 34 fig. 1.35. The excavators presume that the statue was originally associated with Late Bronze Age levels at the site, following their dating of the statue itself to that period (Ben-Dov and Martin 2011, 316).

<sup>52</sup> Dr. David Ilan, personal communication. For an overview of the cultic function of Area T, see Biran 1994, 159–233. The possibility that the Egyptian objects from this part of the site indicate the presence of an Egyptian temple at Dan was tentatively raised by Biran, but has been largely discounted by other scholars (Biran 1994, 161; Wimmer 1998, 106–7; Davis 2013, 27–28n24).

<sup>53</sup> Biran 1994, 161.

<sup>54</sup> Schulman 1990, 236.

<sup>55</sup> Despite this, the 7<sup>th</sup> century date has remained closely connected with the sculptural find in subsequent publications (see, for example, Davis 2013, 28n24).

the seated statue of an unidentified individual (Cat. 56), is often cited as an example of the reworking and reuse of statues in the Levant by Egyptians living in the region or at the very least quite active in it, following Schulman's study of the fragment. As careful analysis of the fragment has revealed, however, it is almost certain that the statue was never reworked in the manner in which Schulman suggested, and that in fact all of the features that it currently possesses were already present on the statue when it left Egypt.

Both statues were found in an area of the tell that is cultic in nature, suggesting that they may have once been associated with a religious structure. As both pieces were found in secondary contexts, however, this cannot be confirmed. The date at which the statues arrived at the site also remains a mystery; as the site was occupied already in the MB IIA, a period contemporary with both statues' manufacture, it is possible that they came to the Levant soon after they were commissioned, although their archaeological contexts are much later than that date.<sup>56</sup> The extent to which the statues indicate an Egyptian presence at the site remains to be seen.<sup>57</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that study of ceramics at the site have found that Egyptianizing forms come not from the direction of Egypt, but rather via Lebanon, indicating a possible route for other pieces of Egyptian material culture including the statues under discussion here.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> For an overview of the Middle Bronze occupation of Tel Dan, see Cohen 2002, 76–77.

<sup>57</sup> Studies of the pottery assemblage from the subsequent Late Bronze Age have led to the conclusion that “the modesty of Tel Dan's Egyptian assemblage and the marked paucity of its types argues against an actual pharaonic presence” (Ben-Dov and Martin 2011, 316). Nonetheless, the present excavators at the site suspect a larger Egyptian presence may be revealed in the as-yet-unexcavated area of the tell near the springs (David Ilan, personal communication).

<sup>58</sup> According to a study of the Late Bronze pottery, “in reconstructing the trade route, it is reasonable to assume that it reached Tel Dan, together with other imported vessels, from one of the northern ports, possibly Sidon or Serapta, via Kāmid el-Lōz” (Ben-Dov and Martin 2011, 316). A similarity between stone vessels at Dan and Kāmid el-Lōz has also been observed (Sparks 2007, 247). For further discussion of Egyptian objects from Kāmid el-Lōz see section 2.2.3 below.

## 2.2 – The Northern Levant

### 2.2.1 – Coastal Syro-Lebanon

#### 2.2.1.1 – Tyre

##### *The Site*

During antiquity the city of Tyre (Sur) was a major Mediterranean trade center located approximately 2 km off the Lebanese coast. Together with its mainland sister-city Ushu, ancient Tyre is positioned under the modern city of the same name.<sup>1</sup> That Tyre existed already by the Early Bronze Age is supported not only by archaeological evidence, but also by Herodotus' account that the city had been founded approximately 2300 years prior to his visit (i.e., ca. 2750 BCE).<sup>2</sup> Following an apparent period of abandonment during the Middle Bronze Age, the city was reoccupied during the Late Bronze Age, after which it continued to be inhabited up to modern times.<sup>3</sup> Archaeological work at Tyre has been undertaken by a number of projects since the 1830s, most of which have focused on the city's Roman and Byzantine remains.<sup>4</sup> One exception is the work of Patricia Bikai, who conducted a brief excavation from 1973-1974 to establish the city's chronological sequence from its founding.<sup>5</sup>

Tyre (Egyptian *Dwr*) is named numerous times in Egyptian texts.<sup>6</sup> The earliest reference to the city occurs in the Execration Texts where the city is called *Dwꜣwj*.<sup>7</sup>

During the New Kingdom, Tyre is frequently mentioned in topographical lists, appearing

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<sup>1</sup> The island of Tyre was connected to the mainland by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE (Ward 1997b, 247).

<sup>2</sup> Bikai 1978, 72; Ward 1997b, 248.

<sup>3</sup> Ward 1997b, 248.

<sup>4</sup> Ward 1997b, 247.

<sup>5</sup> Bikai 1978.

<sup>6</sup> For a list of Egyptian references to Tyre, see Ahituv 1984, 192–93. An overview of the relationship between Egypt and Tyre can be found in Givon 1986.

<sup>7</sup> (Posener 1940, 82 no. E35). Owing to the lack of occupation at the site from ca. 2000-1600 BCE, however, Bikai is skeptical about this passage referring to Tyre (Bikai 1978, 72–73).

in those of Amenhotep III,<sup>8</sup> Seti I,<sup>9</sup> Ramesses II,<sup>10</sup> and Ramesses III.<sup>11</sup> The city is also well-represented in the Amarna letters,<sup>12</sup> and makes an appearance in the satirical letter pAnastasi I<sup>13</sup> as well as in the tale of Wenamun's trip to Lebanon.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the prince of Tyre is referred to in an excerpt from the journal of a Ramesside border official.<sup>15</sup>

Because little archaeological work has been conducted at Tyre for periods preceding the Hellenistic occupation of the site, relatively few Egyptian finds have been discovered there.<sup>16</sup> Those that have been uncovered include fragmentary stelae of Seti I<sup>17</sup> and Ramesses II;<sup>18</sup> a stone vessel inscribed with hieroglyphs;<sup>19</sup> and scarabs and cylinder seals.<sup>20</sup> In addition, two Egyptianizing statue heads<sup>21</sup> and three fragmentary pieces of Egyptian sculpture are purported to come from Tyre.

<sup>8</sup> Tyre appears on Column IV N 10 (β2) of Amenhotep III's Soleb list (Giveon 1964, 251; Schiff Giorgini 2002, 137; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 233).

<sup>9</sup> Tyre is mentioned five times in the lists of Seti I: in two lists from Karnak (*KRI* I: 29 (no. 62A), 32 (no. 57A)); on the bases of the northern and southern sphinx at Qurna (*KRI* I: 33 (no. 21); 34 (no. 21)); and in his Abydos list (*KRI* I: 32 (B3)).

<sup>10</sup> Tyre appears in four of Ramesses II's lists: in two from the forecourt of Luxor Temple (*KRI* II: 177 (no. 33), 178 (no. 14 [fragmentary])); in the list from the Aksha Temple (*KRI* II: 211 (no. 22)); and in the list from Amara West (*KRI* II: 216 (no. 22)).

<sup>11</sup> Accompanying the southern triumph scene on the Medinet Habu pylon (*KRI* V: 96 (no. 121)).

<sup>12</sup> Letters EA 146-155 were written by Abi-Milku, the ruler of Tyre (Moran 1992, 232-42). The city and its ruler also appear in letters originating in other cities, including EA 77, 89, 92, 101, and 114 (Moran 1992, *passim*).

<sup>13</sup> pAnastasi I, 21.1 (Gardiner 1911, 23\*, 32-32a).

<sup>14</sup> pPushkin 120, 3.6 (Gardiner 1932, 63).

<sup>15</sup> pAnastasi III, vs. 6.3 (Gardiner 1937, 31; Caminos 1954, 108).

<sup>16</sup> For a list of Egyptian finds from Tyre, see PM VII: 383.

<sup>17</sup> Chéhab 1969, 32, pl. VIII.3; *KRI* I: 117.

<sup>18</sup> Chéhab 1969, 33, pl. VIII.4; *KRI* II: 401.

<sup>19</sup> Ward 1978, 83-84, pls. XIII, LXXX.1. Two uninscribed Egyptian vessels were also found at the site (Sparks 2007, 249).

<sup>20</sup> Ward 1978, 84-86, pls. XIV.18, XXI.3-4, XLV.47-50, LIV.6.

<sup>21</sup> Both heads wear a *nemes*-headdress with uraeus. One, made of a dark stone identified as diorite, is currently in the collection of the American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (48.356; PM VII: 383; Mackay 1951, frontispiece, 42). The other is made of limestone and is now in the Liverpool Museum (1965.231; A. Davies 2014).

**57. Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx** (pls. 78-80)



Material: Dolomitic marble (MMA)<sup>22</sup>

Dimensions: H: 14.1 cm; W: 12 cm; D: 14 cm<sup>23</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, likely reign of Amenemhat I

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (66.99.4)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: D. von Bothmer 1961, 14 (no. 65), pl. 20; Lilyquist 1965, 67; H. G. Fischer 1967, 258, fig. 6; Aldred 1970, 36–37, figs. 14-16; Dietrich Wildung 1984b, 194-195, 245; Dietrich Wildung 2000a, 57 (no. 7), 178; Dietrich Wildung 2000b, 10 (fig. 4); Jánosi 2010, 7 (fig. 1); “Head of a Sphinx, Possibly of Amenemhat I” 2016

This head of an early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king was reportedly “fished from the seabed off Tyre.”<sup>24</sup> The fragment has broken away from the rest of the statue at the neck, and has sustained additional damage to the face, particularly to the chin and nose, which is now missing. Further wear, most notably on the sides of the headdress, has been attributed to the effects of the sea.<sup>25</sup>

The statue was carved from a green-hued, crystalline stone most frequently identified as dolomitic marble.<sup>26</sup> It portrays a king wearing the *nemes*-headdress affixed with a uraeus serpent that snakes back over the top of the monarch’s head in eight turns. The triple-striped pattern of the *nemes* fabric has been incised, and a thick, horizontal frontlet runs across the forehead.<sup>27</sup> The king has fleshy cheeks and a full lower lip, giving

<sup>22</sup> H. G. Fischer 1967, 258; Aldred 1970, 36. The material has also been described as dolomitic limestone (Lilyquist 1965, 67) and green calcite (Dietrich Wildung 1984b, 195; Dietrich Wildung 2000a, 178).

<sup>23</sup> Dietrich Wildung 2000a, 178.

<sup>24</sup> Aldred 1970, 36.

<sup>25</sup> H. G. Fischer 1967, 258.

<sup>26</sup> Although unusual, other Middle Kingdom works of statuary in this stone are known. For further examples, see Aldred 1970, 36n42.

<sup>27</sup> For the possible use of this fabric pattern as a dating criterion, see Evers 1929, 2: 12 §60; Aldred 1970, 37. For the same pleating pattern in other clothing of the Middle Kingdom, see Fay 1996a, 134–41.



him a pleasant, smiling expression. His eyes are set obliquely on his face, with deep inner canthi and convex eyeballs. Flaring cosmetic lines are incised from the outer canthi, and the arching eyebrows are rendered plastically, curving down slightly in the middle. Squared sideburns pass in front of his ears, which lie back against the sides of his head.

As Aldred notes, several features including the “great length of the head from front to back” and the form of the *nemes* lappets suggest that the fragment comes from a statue depicting the king in the form of a sphinx.<sup>28</sup> That the head represents a king of the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty has long been clear, but which monarch is portrayed is uncertain. Although the statue was initially attributed tentatively to Senwosret I,<sup>29</sup> it has since been understood as a portrayal of his predecessor Amenemhat I.<sup>30</sup>

#### 58. Osirophorous Statue (pls. 81-83)



Material: Basalt (British Museum)<sup>31</sup>

Dimensions: H: 18 cm; W: 7.54 cm; D: 12 cm

Date of statue: Ptolemaic Period

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: British Museum (EA24784)<sup>32</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 383; Erman 1893; Krebs 1894; British Museum 1922, 133 (no. 122); *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* 1930, 38; Vidman 1969, 182 (no. 359); Parlasca 2004, 2–3, pl. 2; Pétigny 2008, 281

This fragment comprises most of the lower portion of a priestly Osirophorous statue, that is to say a statue of a man presenting a smaller image of the god Osiris. The statue, which is broken at the man’s waist and just below the bottom of his kilt, portrays

<sup>28</sup> Aldred 1970, 36.

<sup>29</sup> Lilyquist 1965, 67.

<sup>30</sup> For further discussion see Aldred 1970, 37. Statues with similar features include a granite statue of Amenemhat I now in Cairo (JE 60520) and the contemporary private statue of Nakht from Lisht (Cairo CG 409; “Head of a Sphinx, Possibly of Amenemhat I” 2016; Dorothea Arnold 1991, 31–33).

<sup>31</sup> The British Museum currently identifies the stone as “grey basalt(?)” ([www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)). The stone had previously been described as black granite (British Museum 1922, 133).

<sup>32</sup> The statue was formerly in the Løytved collection in Beirut (Erman 1893, 102).

the priest standing in a striding pose with his left foot advanced. He wears a mid-calf-length kilt with a long, trapezoidal panel in front and a wide belt. His slightly bent arms extend minimally forward, allowing the tips of his fingers to skim the backs of the Osiris figure's shoulders.

The smaller figure of Osiris is portrayed in the traditional mummiform guise. The deity's feet are missing, as is the proper right side of his head and crown. Osiris' features are badly worn, particularly in the area of the face. He wears the *atef*-crown with incised plumes and a beard (now damaged); traces of a broad-collar are incised around his neck. Osiris' hands, which peek out from his wrappings, do not cross and are placed firmly against his chest, with the right above left.<sup>33</sup> In each hand he holds an implement executed in extremely low relief: the *heka*-scepter in the left, which bends across his body and up onto his shoulder, and (presumably) the flail in his right.

The man stands against a thin yet deep back-pillar that is densely inscribed on its rear surface with hieroglyphs that read from right to left (pl. 83). As both the upper and lower portions of the statue are missing, the inscribed text also lacks its beginning and ending. Translation of the text, which is framed on either side by a thin, incised vertical line, is further complicated by the miniscule size of the individual signs, which makes some of them difficult to identify. Nonetheless, the following tentative translation can be put forth:

[...] *tp t3 ʕk.sn r*<sup>34</sup> *hwt-ntr nt Wsir nb nḥḥ*  
 [...] upon the earth, who enter into the temple of Osiris, lord of eternity

<sup>33</sup> This hand position is found on Osirian statues originating in Lower Egypt (Roeder 1955, 249). Compare the Osirophorous statue fragment from Petra (Cat. 19).

<sup>34</sup> For the use of this sign to write *r*, see (P. Wilson 1997, 570).

*dw3.i/wy ḥs<sup>35</sup>.tn wy im3ḥ mwt it[.f]*

I praise / praising me?, may you praise me, one who is revered by [his] mother and father,

*im3-ib snw.f*

beloved of his brothers

*ḥm-ntrw [???] s3 4 nb n [Wsir] wr [???]*

the ḥm-ntr-priests [???] of all four phyles of [Osiris] great of [???]

*ḥr-nt[t] ink mk n [...]*<sup>36</sup>

because I am one protected by [...]

What remains of the text therefore takes the form of an address to the living, with formulaic statements about the dedicator's esteem among his family members, together with references to the cult of Osiris, who is depicted in three dimensions on the front of the statue.<sup>37</sup>

An additional feature, which speaks to the statue's reuse in a foreign context, is a secondary, bilingual inscription added on the side of the back-pillar behind the man's left leg (pl. 82).<sup>38</sup> The inscription is oriented sideways on the proper left side of the back-pillar and is written so that it reads from the back of the pillar towards the man's leg in four lines, the ends of which are damaged. The bilingual inscription identifies the statue as one of a "priest bearing Osiris" first in Latin and then in Greek.<sup>39</sup> The presence of an identifying inscription such as this is not surprising given the statue's appearance in Tyre,

<sup>35</sup> For the reading of this sign as *ḥs*, see Kurth 2009, 1:427 no. 28.

<sup>36</sup> The last sign preserved in the line appears to be an eye (Gardiner D4), and may therefore be the beginning of another writing of the name of Osiris.

<sup>37</sup> Erman, who also noted the difficulties present in reading the text, provided the following translation: "[o ihr die ihr] auf Erden [lebt], die da eintreten in den Tempel des Osiris, des Herrn der Ewigkeit, verehrt mich, lobt (mich? Ich bin?) ein von seiner Mutter geehrter, bei seinen Brüdern beliebter, der Prophet...des Osiris...weil ich bin..." (1893, 102).

<sup>38</sup> As Parlasca notes, this inscription was erroneously listed by Erman as occupying the right side of the statue (Parlasca 2004, 3n21; Erman 1893, 102).

<sup>39</sup> SACERDOS • OSIRIM // FERENS • ΠΡΟΦΗ[ΤΗΣ] // ΟCEIPIN KWM[A]//Z[WN]. For a transcription of the text, see (Erman 1893, 102). For discussion of the Greek and Latin inscriptions with further citations, see Parlasca 2004, 3; Vidman 1969, 182 (no. 359).

where it was likely incorporated into a shrine with offerings and divine images from a variety of foreign cultures.<sup>40</sup>

Osirophorous statues became popular starting during the Egyptian Late Period, and continued in use through the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>41</sup> The style of the hieroglyphic inscription points towards a date at the later end of this range, likely during the Ptolemaic Period. As noted by Krebs, this date can probably be narrowed further to 238 BCE or earlier, as the Canopus Decree added a fifth phyle, while the statue seemingly refers to only four.<sup>42</sup>

#### 59. Kneeling Statue Fragment (pls. 84-87)



Material: Greywacke (Pétigny)<sup>43</sup>

Dimensions: H: 20.8 cm; W: 17.5 cm; D: 30.3 cm<sup>44</sup>

Date of statue: Late Period, 29<sup>th</sup>–early 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (DGA 92 372)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: De Meulenaere 1966, 12n46; Vernus 1978, 173 (no. 144); Parlasca 2004, 2n12; Pétigny 2008; Perdu 2016, 548–49

This heavily damaged fragment preserves a portion of the base and figure of a kneeling male statue. The inscribed rectangular base has suffered significant damage, with large areas of loss to the proper right front corner, the proper left front corner, and a substantial portion of the rear face, particularly on the proper left side. The damage sustained by the figure is even more pronounced, with only the toes of each foot and a

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<sup>40</sup> Compare also the incorporation of Egyptian statuary into the Graeco-Roman cult places of Isis and Serapis, where the true meaning and purpose of naophorous and similar Egyptian votive statues was apparently poorly understood, requiring explanation (Roullet 1972, 111). For the addition of foreign-language inscriptions to Egyptian statues prior to dedication in foreign sanctuaries, see a fragmentary seated statue discovered on Rhodes inscribed in Greek (Archaeological Museum of Rhodes 14341; Trolle 1979, 145–46, fig. 7).

<sup>41</sup> For further discussion of this statue type, see the Osirophorous statue from Petra (Cat. 19) above.

<sup>42</sup> Krebs 1894, 64; Parlasca 2004, 3.

<sup>43</sup> Pétigny identified the stone as “schiste gris” (Pétigny 2008, 273).

<sup>44</sup> Pétigny 2008, 273.

short portion of the thighs and calves of each leg preserved. When complete, the statue would have taken the form of a naophorous statue, or some similar pose showing the private individual proffering a divine figure or element of some sort.

The base is inscribed around its circumference with a single line of text that starts in the center of the statue's front with a *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula that reads in both directions. The inscription on the proper right side of the statue emanates from the central sign in right-to-left reading hieroglyphs that continue around the side of the statue base and onto its rear face. The text provides the titulary of the man depicted:<sup>45</sup>

*ḥtp di nsw [...]*  
A gift the king gives [...]

*iry-[p<sup>c</sup>t] ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r ipt-nsw imy-r st imy-r pr.wy-ḥd imy-r smsmw ḥm-ntr ḥbs-diw  
ḥm w3dty [...]*  
the hereditary [prince] and noble, the overseer of the royal harem,<sup>46</sup> the overseer of the storehouse,<sup>47</sup> the overseer of the double silver house,<sup>48</sup> the overseer of the cavalry, the *ḥm-ntr* priest, the *ḥbs-diw* priest, the servant of the two uraei<sup>49</sup> [...]

*[P]f-t3w-Imn s3 Pf-t3w-Imn ms[.n] [St3]-ir(t)-bint*  
[Pe]ftjaouamon, the son of Peftjaouamon, born [of Setja]iretbint

The text running the opposite direction starts on the front of the base and continues onto the proper left side, with a break in the middle; the text on the back of the base is completely lost on this side. The preserved inscription replicates much of what is on the other side, reading as follows:

*ḥtp di nsw n Rs-wd3 [...]*  
A gift the king gives to Reswedja<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The translation presented here follows the transcription of Pétigny 2008.

<sup>46</sup> *Wb.* I: 67.13-14; (Hannig 2006, I: 194; Ward 1982, 11 (no. 36)).

<sup>47</sup> (Hannig 2006, I: 228-29; Ward 1982, 41 (no. 313)).

<sup>48</sup> (Hannig 2006, I: 213; Ward 1982, 28 (no. 192)).

<sup>49</sup> *Wb.* I: 269. The title *ḥm w3dty* “servant of the two uraei” is commonly attested at Athribis. For further discussion with additional examples, see Vernus 1978, 172–73, note d.

<sup>50</sup> Leitz 2002d, 713; Pétigny 2008, 283n6.

[...] *f snm ht nw r nb n k3 [n] iry-p t h3ty- imy-r ip3t nsw imy-r st imy-r pr.wy-ḥd imy-r smsmw ḥm-ntr hbs-diḥ ḥm W3d[ty ...]*  
 [...] the nourishment<sup>51</sup> of the daily offerings to the *ka* [of] the hereditary prince and noble, the overseer of the royal harem, the overseer of the storehouse, the overseer of the double silver house, the overseer of the cavalry, the *ḥm-ntr* priest, the *hbs-diḥ* priest, the servant of the two *ura*[ei...]

De Meulenaere was the first to equate the man represented by the statue with the Peftjaouamon whose tomb was discovered in Athribis.<sup>52</sup> Utilizing the genealogical information contained in the later statue of Paenhebwedja, Vernus was able to narrow the date of the statue to the 29<sup>th</sup> to late 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>53</sup> Based on the owner's connections with Athribis, it seems likely that the statue originated from that site.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Of the three Egyptian statues reported to have come from Tyre, none was formally excavated or has specific find information associated with it. Indeed, for each of the works an association with the city of Tyre is tentative at best. The earliest of the fragments to come to light was the Osirophorous statue now in the British Museum (Cat. 58). In his treatment of the statue, which was carried out while the statue was still in Løytved's possession in Lebanon, Erman stated simply that the fragment "stammt aus Tyrus."<sup>54</sup> Subsequent publications of the statue fragment have been inconsistent, however, with some providing its provenance as Tyre while others give it as Beirut.<sup>55</sup> Similarly little is known about the find contexts of Cat. 59, which De Meulenaere

<sup>51</sup> *Wb.* IV: 164.

<sup>52</sup> De Meulenaere 1966, 12n46. For the Athribis tomb, see PM IV: 65; Gauthier 1921; Vernus 1978, 171–73 (no. 143).

<sup>53</sup> Vernus 1978, 173. For the statue of Paenhebwedja (Munich 82), see Vernus 1978, 173–6 (no. 145), with further references. For further discussion of the prosopographical data pertaining to the Tyre statue, see Pétigny 2008, 277.

<sup>54</sup> Erman 1893, 102.

<sup>55</sup> e.g., British Museum 1922, 133; Rouillet 1972, 111. This discrepancy may come from the statue's previous presence in the Løytved collection in Beirut.

describes as being “trouvé à Tyr.”<sup>56</sup> Slightly more is known about the findspot of the Middle Kingdom sphinx head (Cat. 57), which reportedly comes from underwater excavations at Tyre, although, as with the other pieces, the location of its discovery cannot be confirmed.<sup>57</sup>

### *Summary*

Although Tyre clearly had a relationship with Egypt, particularly during the New Kingdom, few finds of Egyptian origin have been found there. This is almost certainly due in large part to the dearth of archaeological explorations of pre-Roman levels within the city. Nonetheless, three Egyptian statues are reported to have come from the site, although none is associated with firm archaeological data. The statues include a Middle Kingdom sphinx head, a Late Period private statue, and a theophorous statue likely dating to the Ptolemaic Period. The last of these was clearly reworked to be utilized in a non-Egyptian environment, as it is captioned in both Greek and Latin, pointing to a Roman date for its use in Tyre, possibly in relation to the spreading Isiac cult.

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<sup>56</sup> De Meulenaere 1966, 12n46.

<sup>57</sup> H. G. Fischer 1967, 258; Aldred 1970, 36. The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s website gives the location as “From Lebanon Levant; Possibly from Tyre” (“Head of a Sphinx, Possibly of Amenemhat I” 2016).

### 2.2.1.2 – Adlun

#### *The Site*

Adlun, often identified with ancient Ornithopolis, is located on Lebanon's coast 14 km south of Sidon and 18 km north of Tyre.<sup>1</sup> The site is home to a Phoenician necropolis as well as a series of prehistoric caves. Renan surveyed the site as part of his study of Phoenicia, resulting in the discovery of a handful of objects. Among them was reportedly the fragmentary head of a healing statue. A rock-cut stela of Ramesses II is also known from the site.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Statuary*

##### **60. Head with Wig of a Healing Statue (pls. 88-94)**



Material: Granite(?)<sup>3</sup>

Dimensions: H: 8.5 cm; W: 10.8 cm; D: 8 cm

Date of statue: Late Period, 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty–Ptolemaic Period

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (E 4898)<sup>4</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 383; Boreux 1932, 462–63; Étienne 2002<sup>5</sup>

This male head comes from a Late Period or later healing statue (*statue guérisseuse*). Such statues portray the individual covered in magical texts and images, often presenting a cippus (Horus-on-crocodiles stela).<sup>6</sup> The Louvre head is badly

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<sup>1</sup> Gubel 2002d, 115.

<sup>2</sup> PM VII: 383. The stela was never formally studied, and has since been destroyed (Gubel 2002d, 115).

<sup>3</sup> The statue is made of a dark stone. Étienne identifies the stone as greywacke, but the material does not appear to be fine-grained enough for that stone (Étienne 2002, 115).

<sup>4</sup> The previous accession number for this object was AF 1657.

<sup>5</sup> In her study of cippi, Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi cites an image of a pantheistic Amun-Re as coming from this statue (Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, I: 208, 271 fig. 71; 2: 108; Leitz 2002a, 322). Examination of the piece indicates that this is not the case, however.

<sup>6</sup> For an introduction to healing statues, see Lacau 1921. A list of statues of this type can be found in Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, II: 99-111. See also Kákossy 1999 (particularly pages 32-33) for the popularity of cippi and healing statues outside of Egypt.



damaged; it has broken away from the rest of the statue at the top of the shoulders, the face has been sheared off, and there is additional damage to the top of the head, particularly on the proper left side. The man portrayed by the statue wears a bag wig which is tucked behind his ears.<sup>7</sup> He is positioned against a back-pillar, the top of which is trapezoidal in shape, that rises halfway up his head.<sup>8</sup> This pillar is incised with six columns of small hieroglyphs that are now largely illegible. The sides of the thin back-pillar are also incised.<sup>9</sup>

The entirety of the wig's surface is covered with registers of magically efficacious figures and deities. The back-pillar provides a division in the two sets of figures, each of which is oriented facing towards the front of the statue. On the proper right side, the wig (as preserved) has been divided into two registers with ground lines. The upper register, the top of which is missing, is comprised of a row of four figures: a standing male with a staff and short garment; a second male with a short garment holding a staff that does not reach the ground; a mummiform figure; and a third standing male in a short garment holding a staff. Behind the row of figures (all of whom face towards the front of the statue) a scorpion has been incised facing the back-pillar. The lower register starts with a figure who faces the back of the statue. He stands with his arms lowly extended, in a gesture of offering.<sup>10</sup> Facing him are three deities: the goddess Isis, who is identifiable by

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<sup>7</sup> The right ear is fully preserved, while only the lobe of the left remains.

<sup>8</sup> This shape of back-pillar first came into use during the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (*Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, xxxiv).

<sup>9</sup> Traces of hieroglyphic signs are visible on the right side of the pillar. The left side is damaged, but would have presumably received the same treatment.

<sup>10</sup> Étienne identifies this figure as a king wearing the *khepresh* crown (Étienne 2002, 116). Examination of the figure suggests that he is not wearing a headdress, however, or, if he is, perhaps the cap crown.

her headdress; a second uncrowned goddess, seemingly with a leonine head and holding a staff; and a male deity with a staff and tall crown.<sup>11</sup>

The proper left side of the wig is divided into three registers. As with the other side, the figures in these registers face towards the front of the statue. The top register is badly damaged, but traces of the lower portions of four anthropomorphic figures can be made out. The second register depicts a falcon followed by four rearing cobras. The final register contains three additional falcons.

The form that the statue originally took cannot be determined based upon what is preserved. Healing statues are known in a variety of poses, including showing the dedicant standing or seated upon the ground (pl. 94). Notable examples include the so-called Tyszkiewicz statue, which is portrayed standing,<sup>12</sup> and the statue of Djedhor, which takes the form of a block statue.<sup>13</sup> Such statues were erected in publically accessible areas where people could pour water over the potent images, collecting it as a protection against malevolent forces and beings. Boreux dates the statue to the Saite period (26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), likely in large part due to the appearance of the bag wig, which was popular during that era.<sup>14</sup> Healing statues of this type do not appear in this style until the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, however, and it is likely to that time or the early Ptolemaic Period that this statue dates.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Étienne, who sees the Double Crown here, identifies the figure as Horus (Étienne 2002, 116).

<sup>12</sup> Louvre E 10777. For bibliography see Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, 108.

<sup>13</sup> Cairo JE 46341. For bibliography see Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, 104–5.

<sup>14</sup> Boreux 1932, 462.

<sup>15</sup> Russmann 2010, 967.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The head is reported to have come from Renan's work at Adlun.<sup>16</sup> It is not mentioned in Renan's presentation of the site, however, and no additional information is known about its provenance.

### *Summary*

The head of a healing statue reportedly comes from the site of Adlun on the Lebanese coast. The statue, which dates to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or later, depicts a man wearing a bag wig that is covered with incised figures arranged in registers on the back. Because only the head is preserved, it is not possible to determine what pose the statue was depicted in, although the man was almost certainly shown presenting a cippus. Furthermore, the murky information surrounding its provenance hampers discussion of how and when the piece came to be in Lebanon. It is interesting to note, however, that a high percentage of healing statues excavated in Egypt come from the cities of Bubastis or Athribis, the latter of which features heavily in the present corpus.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For a brief introduction to this project, see Renan 1864, 656–63. For possible discrepancies in Renan's study, see Gubel 2002d, 115.

<sup>17</sup> Kákossy 1999, 29. For Athribis see Chapter 3.4.2 below.

### 2.2.1.3 – Beirut

#### *The Site*

Beirut, the modern capital of Lebanon, is located some 40 km south of Byblos on the Mediterranean coast. Although the city's antiquity has been well documented through both archaeological remains and textual sources, few large-scale archaeological projects have been carried out there, resulting in a relative paucity of material remains.<sup>1</sup> Beirut is mentioned once in Egyptian sources, appearing in the satirical papyrus Anastasi I together with other Lebanese coastal cities.<sup>2</sup> Relations between Egypt and Beirut are further evidenced by the city's frequent appearance in the Amarna letters.<sup>3</sup> Because of the lack of extensive archaeological research in the city, Egyptian finds are relatively rare but represent a variety of Egyptian periods. They include a Predynastic slate palette,<sup>4</sup> a New Kingdom relief scene depicting a banquet,<sup>5</sup> a bone fragment with the cartouche of Ramesses IV,<sup>6</sup> scarabs,<sup>7</sup> and several stone vessels.<sup>8</sup> From Nahr el-Kelb just north of the city comes a series of rock-cut stelae produced for Ramesses II, providing further evidence of Egyptian involvement in Beirut's environs.<sup>9</sup> In addition, a sphinx inscribed for Amenemhat IV is said to come from the city of Beirut proper.

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the history and archaeology of the site with further references, see Khalifeh 1997.

<sup>2</sup> pAnastasi I 20.8 (Gardiner 1911, 22\*, 32-32a; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 170-71; Fischer-Elfert 1992, 131; Ahituv 1984, 75).

<sup>3</sup> Three letters (EA 141, 142, and 143) are written by Ammunira, the ruler of Beirut (Moran 1992, 227-30). The city is also referenced in letters from other cities (EA 92.32; 101.25; 114.13; 118.28, 31; 138).

<sup>4</sup> PM VII: 384.

<sup>5</sup> PM VII: 385.

<sup>6</sup> Ward 1997a.

<sup>7</sup> Ward 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Excavated examples suggest that stone vessels were imported to the site from the MB through at least the LB II (Sparks 2007, 249).

<sup>9</sup> PM VII: 385; Loffet 2009.

**61. Sphinx of Amenemhat IV (pls. 95-96)**



Material: Gneiss

Dimensions: H: 38.1 cm; W: 20.2 cm; L: 58.5 cm<sup>10</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat IV; re-carved during the Late Period or later

Archaeological Context: in building foundations in Bab-Serail

Current Location: British Museum, BM EA58892

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 384-85; Moret 1928; Dunand 1928; Hall

1928b; *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian*

*Collections in the British Museum* 1930, 324-25, fig. 173; von

Bissing 1930; Harris 1955; Vandier 1958, 585, pl. LXXI.6;

Chéhab 1969, 24-25; Buhl 1977a, 5; Habachi 1978, 85-86, pl.

XXVI; Habachi 1987, 233-34, 244; Ward 1994, 66-68; Fay

1996b, 68: no. 54, pl. 94a-b; Freed 2002, 84-86, fig. 9; Strudwick

2006, 98-99, 342

This gneiss statue presents a recumbent sphinx lying on a thick base that is curved in the back and straight in the front. A crack runs through the middle of the leonine body, and an enigmatic hole has been drilled into its back.<sup>11</sup> An inscription, written in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from left to right, starts in the center of the sphinx's chest and runs down onto the base between its paws.<sup>12</sup> The text identifies the depicted ruler as Amenemhat IV, making the statue one of only a small number of sculptures attributable to that king. The inscription reads:

(M<sup>3</sup>t-hrw-R<sup>c</sup>)| ʿnh dt mry Itm nb Twnw

Maatkherure, may he live forever, beloved of Atum, Lord of Heliopolis

Many features of the sphinx's form fit well with the sculpture of the later 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. For instance, the sphinx exhibits a long, shelf-like fold of flesh spanning the

<sup>10</sup> www.britishmuseum.org. Fay gives the height as 48.2 cm (1996b, 68).

<sup>11</sup> Moret suggested that the hole may have been created for the insertion of a secondary statuette "qui dominait le lion-sphinx" (1928, 37). Citing Mesopotamian parallels, Dunand proposed that the hole could have been used for the placement of offerings (1928, 300n3). Without further examination it is not possible to comment on the hole's function, although it was almost certainly not part of the original Amenemhat IV sculpture.

<sup>12</sup> This placement for sphinx inscriptions started during the reign of Amenemhat III (Evers 1929, II: 86 §584; Freed 2002, 83).

length of the flank, an element often seen on sphinxes dating to the reign of Amenemhat III or later.<sup>13</sup> The figure also has a naturalistic mane covering its chest and part of its back, with individually-carved tufts of hair, another innovation of Amenemhat III's reign.<sup>14</sup> The swag of the mane curves behind the sphinx's shoulder in a single, lunate-shape, a feature that also aligns with the decoration of other Middle Kingdom sphinxes. However, some peculiar components of the statue indicate that it was heavily reworked at a much later date. Careful examination reveals that the human head is proportionally too small for the leonine body. In addition, the stylistic features of the flat, narrow face have more in common with portraits of the Late through Graeco-Roman Periods than with those of the Middle Kingdom. A later date is further indicated by the presence of a ball-bead necklace, as opposed to the more traditional broad collar worn by other 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sphinxes.<sup>15</sup> Most notable, however, is the unconventional treatment of the *nemes* headdress, which is too rounded on top, is covered with the same tufts used to represent the lion's mane, and lacks the horizontal banding that usually adorn the lappets. As other scholars have previously pointed out, this treatment of the *nemes* indicates that the sphinx almost certainly originally took the form of a fully maned sphinx with only a human face.<sup>16</sup> Such a representation of the sphinx is known from other reigns, most notably in the so-called "Hyksos sphinxes" of Amenemhat IV's father Amenemhat III.<sup>17</sup> The reworking of the statue would have required the leonine ears to be transformed into human

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<sup>13</sup> Evers 1929, II: 88 §593; Freed 2002, 86.

<sup>14</sup> Freed 2002, 84.

<sup>15</sup> Compare, for example, the sphinx of Amenemhat III from Hazor (Cat. 38), that of Amenemhat III in the Aleppo Museum (Cat. 140), and the Princess' sphinx from Qatna (Cat. 135).

<sup>16</sup> e.g., Fay 1996b, 68; Strudwick 2006, 98.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, several sphinxes of Amenemhat III discovered at Tanis: Cairo CG 393, Cairo CG 394, Cairo CG 530, Cairo CG 1243 (Fay 1996b, 67, pls. 90-91, with further references).

ones, the *nemes* lappets to be carved from the mane, and the addition of the necklace.<sup>18</sup>

On the upper and back part of the *nemes*, the tuft-like surface treatment was left (possibly to be smoothed over in plaster), creating a unique treatment of the headdress.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

In 1928, both Moret and Hall published articles on the sphinx, the former from the point-of-view of the statue's discovery in what was then referred to generally as Syria, and the latter as a presentation of an Egyptian artwork newly entered into the British Museum's collection.<sup>19</sup> In the same year, Dunand recognized that the two statues were one in the same, and, through additional reconnaissance, he was able to determine that the sphinx had in fact come from the city of Beirut.<sup>20</sup> According to his account, the statue was discovered in 1926 during foundation work for a municipal building in the Bab-Serail area of the city.<sup>21</sup>

The inscription on the sphinx, as well as the nature of its re-carving, provide some clues as to how the sphinx might have made its way northwards towards Lebanon. As noted above, the text invokes Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, indicating that city as its probable original place of display. Indeed several sphinxes have either been found at Heliopolis or are inscribed with its name, including one of Amenemhat IV.<sup>22</sup> The late characteristics of the sphinx's head and headdress noted above suggest that the sphinx

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<sup>18</sup> Fay notes the possibility that the statue had human ears in its original form, but observes that if this were the case it would be the only known example of a the combination of the "tufted headcovering" with human ears (1996b, 68).

<sup>19</sup> Moret 1928; Hall 1928b.

<sup>20</sup> Dunand 1928, 300–01.

<sup>21</sup> Dunand 1928, 301. The sphinx was sold to a local antiquities dealer who subsequently sold it to the British Museum.

<sup>22</sup> The sphinx of Amenemhat IV is in the Giza Pyramids storeroom, no. 17 (Fay 1996b, 68–69 (no. 58), pl. 95b). For further discussion of Heliopolitan sphinxes, see (Fay 1996b, 56–57). See also the sphinx fragment from Hazor (Cat. 37), which invokes the Souls of Heliopolis.

may have also made an intermediate stop in a Graeco-Roman Delta city, perhaps Alexandria.<sup>23</sup> This is supported by the discovery of numerous objects from Heliopolis in Alexandria and its environs, which include three additional sphinxes of Amenemhat IV that were unearthed in Abuqir just outside of the city.<sup>24</sup>

### *Summary*

During construction work in the Bab-Serail area of Beirut in 1926, a complete sphinx made of gneiss was discovered. Although inscribed for the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Amenemhat IV, stylistic features indicate that it was re-carved at a much later date, likely during the Graeco-Roman Period. Both the inscription and the style of re-carving on the sphinx provide clues to its journey towards Beirut, indicating that it was likely originally designed to be erected in Heliopolis, later making its way northwards to Alexandria or a neighboring city. The late style of the re-carving suggests that the sphinx arrived in Lebanon quite late, possibly during the Ptolemaic or Roman periods.

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<sup>23</sup> Strudwick 2006, 98.

<sup>24</sup> For the sphinxes of Amenemhat IV from Abuqir (Alexandria 361, Alexandria 363, and unknown location), see Fay 1996b, 68 (nos. 55-57), pls. 94c, 95a. For a Heliopolitan origin for several objects found in Alexandria, see Fay 1996b, 68n324 with further references. See also Abdel-Fattah 2003.



#### 2.2.1.4 – Byblos

##### *The Site*

Byblos (Jebail) is located on Lebanon's Mediterranean coast some 40 km north of Beirut.<sup>1</sup> This important seaport, which was revered by many (not the least among them the Egyptians), for its proximity to Lebanese cedar trees, has been occupied almost continuously since the Neolithic period. In 1860 Ernest Renan became the first to undertake fieldwork at Byblos as part of his investigation of Phoenicia.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent work at the site was carried out by Pierre Montet from 1921-1924 and later by Maurice Dunand, who excavated there from 1928 until the outbreak of civil war in the 1970s.<sup>3</sup>

Byblos (Egyptian *Kbn / Kpn*) appears frequently in Egyptian textual sources, often in connection with the procurement of cedar and its use in the construction of seafaring boats that the Egyptians called "Byblos-boats." References to Byblos are particularly numerous in the texts of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> In describing the breakdown of the natural order during the First Intermediate Period, Ipuwer laments the fact that ships no longer travel to Byblos to procure goods.<sup>5</sup> Byblos is also the first destination of Sinuhe during his flight from Egypt,<sup>6</sup> and the city plays an important role in the historical text of Khnumhotep from his tomb at Dahshur.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the occupants of Byblos are listed in both the Berlin and Brussels groups of Execration Texts from the Middle

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<sup>1</sup> For introductions to the site, see Joukowsky 1997; Jidejian 1968; Jidejian 1977. Overviews of the site, with particular focus on its interactions with Egypt, can be found in many places, including Helck 1975a; Redford 1992, 37–43; Weinstein 2001a.

<sup>2</sup> Renan 1864.

<sup>3</sup> Montet 1928; Montet 1929; Dunand 1937; Dunand 1939; Dunand 1950; Dunand 1954; Dunand 1958. The Lebanese Department of Antiquities has undertaken sporadic salvage projects at Byblos since that time in concert with the construction of new infrastructure.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of Middle Kingdom references to Byblos, see Hannig 2006, II: 2981.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner 1990, 32-33, pl. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Blackman 1972, 15 (B29) .

<sup>7</sup> Allen 2008; Allen 2009.

Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> The coastal city continued to play an important role in Egyptian interactions with the Levant during the New Kingdom and into the Third Intermediate Period. In his Gebel Barkal stela, Thutmose III states that he commissioned boats of cedar, which were constructed in the presence of the Mistress of Byblos.<sup>9</sup> Byblos is also the source of the largest percentage of letters within the Amarna corpus, accounting for some 20% of the total.<sup>10</sup> In addition the city appears in a satirical letter of the New Kingdom commenting on a series of Syrian cities,<sup>11</sup> and plays a major role in Wenamun's journey to procure cedar for the barque of Amun.<sup>12</sup>

Egypt had strong ties with Byblos for several millennia, as evidenced by the numerous Egyptian artifacts discovered there, many of which were found in the temple of Ba'alat Gebal, a goddess whom the Egyptians equated with Hathor, mistress of Byblos.<sup>13</sup> This uniquely close relationship can further be seen in the Byblian adoption of Egyptian artistic motifs, their use of hieroglyphs, and even the assumption of the Egyptian titles *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* and *iry-pꜥt* for its ruling elite.<sup>14</sup> As a result, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish truly Egyptian from Egyptianizing finds at Byblos, particularly utilizing only the final

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<sup>8</sup> Sethe 1926, 55–56 no. f2; Posener 1940, 94 no. E63.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1232.3. Likewise the royal scribe and overseer of works Minmose, who accompanied Thutmose III on campaign, states that he conducted works in the temple of Hathor Mistress of Byblos among others (*Urk.* IV: 1443.19).

<sup>10</sup> Rib-Hadda, the ruler of Byblos, and his successor Ili-Rapiḥ are the authors of EA 68-95, 101-140, and 362 (Moran 1992, 137–69, 174–227, 359–61). The city is also referenced in the letters of Egypt and other polities, including EA 67, 98, 142, 152 and 162 (Moran 1992, *passim*).

<sup>11</sup> pAnastasi I, 20.7 (Gardiner 1911, 22\*, 64.11; Fischer-Elfert 1992, 130; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 170–71).

<sup>12</sup> The name of Byblos appears several times in the text, a publication of which can be found in Gardiner 1932, 61–76.

<sup>13</sup> The epithet “mistress of Byblos” (*nbt Kbn*) is attested for Hathor as early as the Old Kingdom. For examples of this epithet within Egyptian texts, see Leitz 2002d, 150. For the importance of Byblos' temple in relations between Egypt and the city during the Old Kingdom, see Espinel 2002. For an Egyptian temple in Byblos during the New Kingdom, see Morris 2015b, 175–77. As Weinstein notes, “more stone vessels, statuary, reliefs, and other large objects inscribed with Egyptian royal names are known from Byblos than from any other site in the Near East” (2001a, 219).

<sup>14</sup> For remarks on artistic styles, see Hansen 1969. Discussion, with further references, of the use of Egyptian titles among Byblian rulers can be found in Ward 1961, 134–35; Flammini 1998.

excavation reports, which published finds in a very cursory manner. Egyptian finds from the site include numerous stone vessels (many inscribed with the names of Egyptian kings) dating as early as the Early Dynastic Period, and innumerable scarabs and amulets.<sup>15</sup> At least 54 fragments of stone statuary were also discovered at the site.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **62. Upper Portion of a Statue of Niuserre (pls. 97-100)**



Material: Pink Granite (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 34 cm; W: 26.5 cm; D: 15.6 cm<sup>17</sup>

Date of statue: Old Kingdom, 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Niuserre

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (B.7395)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX; Dunand 1954, 1:95 (no. 7395); Chéhab 1969, 24, pl. VIII.2; Bothmer 1971; Bothmer 1974, 166, pl. 44d; Jidejian 1977, fig. 160; Dietrich Wildung 1984, fig. 10; Johnson 1990, 130, figs. 241, 425, 628; Freed 1996, 51–52; Scandone Matthiae 2000, 190; Espinel 2002, 113

The upper portion of this Egyptian royal statue is, as Dunand describes it, among the best carved works of sculpture discovered at Byblos.<sup>18</sup> The statue, which is made of pink granite, is broken just above the figure's waist. Additional damage has occurred to the face, particularly to the mouth, chin, and proper left side. The king has a broad face with wide-set eyes. He wears a *nemes*-headcloth with a flat top and striped lappets.<sup>19</sup> The tail of the *nemes*, which is roughly executed, hangs down the king's back between his

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<sup>15</sup> For an overview of the stone vessel assemblage, see Sparks 2007, 249–51. Treatment of scarabs and other materials found in the so-called “Montet Jar” can be found in Tufnell and Ward 1966; D. Ben-Tor 1998.

<sup>16</sup> It is almost certain that more Egyptian statues and statuettes have been unearthed at the site. However, due to the nature of the published evidence and the availability of material, only those that can be identified as Egyptian most confidently have been included in the present study.

<sup>17</sup> B. V. Bothmer 1971, 11n6.

<sup>18</sup> Dunand 1954, I:24. A fragmentary alabaster vessel inscribed for Niuserre was also excavated at Byblos serving as further evidence of relations between the polity and Egypt during that period (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXVII; Dunand 1939, 280 (no. 4030)).

<sup>19</sup> The upper part of the headdress is not striped.

shoulders. According to Bothmer, the head and hood of a bodiless uraeus appear on the front of the king's forehead.<sup>20</sup>

In his presentation of the fragment, Dunand recognized a similarity in style between the Byblos bust and the sculpture of Amenemhat III.<sup>21</sup> The statue was therefore assigned to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in early publications.<sup>22</sup> A 1971 study by Bothmer demonstrated that this was not the case, however, and that in fact the uninscribed statue must represent the earlier 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Niuserre. So close is the Byblos bust to the other sculpture of that king, in fact, that it has been convincingly argued that the statue comes from the same workshop as another pink granite statue now in Cairo.<sup>23</sup>

The pose that the king was originally presented in is difficult to ascertain based upon what is preserved. Bothmer describes Niuserre's pose as follows: "the left shoulder rises slightly above the right one, and the left side of the chest protrudes almost half an inch in comparison with the right side. While the left arm hangs nearly straight down, the right arm is noticeably moved forward."<sup>24</sup> As he notes, such a pose is difficult to place within the Egyptian artistic canon. This is not particularly surprising, given that Niuserre's admittedly small corpus of statuary is notable for innovative and unusual poses.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> B. V. Bothmer 1971, 12. See also S. B. Johnson 1990, 130, figs. 425, 628.

<sup>21</sup> Dunand 1954, I:95.

<sup>22</sup> Chéhab 1969, 24; Jidejian 1977, fig. 160.

<sup>23</sup> CG 38. The provenance of that piece is not clear, although it seems to come from Lower Egypt, likely the Memphite region (B. V. Bothmer 1971, 14n21). For the attribution of Niuserre's statues to a single workshop, see also Freed 1996, 52.

<sup>24</sup> B. V. Bothmer 1971, 13.

<sup>25</sup> B. V. Bothmer 1971, 15.

### 63. Head of a Middle Kingdom King (pl. 101)



Material: Granite (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 7.3 cm; W: 7.2 cm; D: 6.8 cm<sup>26</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Levée XV

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (DGA 27574)

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1958, II:596 (no. 13377); Scandone Matthiae 1989a

This small, well-modeled head comes from a statue of a late Middle Kingdom monarch. It has broken away from the rest of the statue at the neck, with additional damage removing the wings of the *nemes*-headdress that the king wears. The king has a heart-shaped face and a prominent brow. Abrasion has removed much of the nose and the mouth, but the eyes are still well preserved. They are almond-shaped, with hooded orbital arches, prominent upper and lower lids and deep, sharp inner canthi. The king wears a striped *nemes*-headcloth with a thin frontlet and a uraeus affixed at the front. His ears, which the head-covering exposes, appear to be schematically rendered.

In her study of this head, Scandone Matthiae notes that it bears a close resemblance to a limestone head currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>27</sup> The unusual features of that head have led to some disagreement about its chronological position within the development of Middle Kingdom royal portraiture. Aldred dated it to the reign of Senwosret III, a dating which led Scandone Matthiae to identify the Byblos head as a portrait of the same ruler.<sup>28</sup> More recent analysis of the Met head suggests that it may in fact be a representation of Amenemhat

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<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Anne Marie Afeiche (Curator, National Museum of Beirut) for providing me with these measurements.

<sup>27</sup> Scandone Matthiae 1989a, 8–9. That head (MMA 08.200.2) was discovered in the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht (“Head of a King, Possibly Amememhat (*sic.*) IV” 2015).

<sup>28</sup> Aldred 1970, 41–43; Scandone Matthiae 1989a, 9. Dunand had previously dated the head to the Middle Kingdom–early Second Intermediate Period (1958, II:596).

IV, however.<sup>29</sup> A date to that reign is therefore tentatively put forth here for the Byblos head.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, an identification of the type of statue from which the head originated cannot be made given the high position of the break, and a variety of poses including a standing or seated statue remain possibilities.<sup>31</sup>

#### 64. Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx (pl. 102)



Material: Diorite (Dunand)<sup>32</sup>

Dimensions: H: 14.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III(?)

Archaeological Context: Surface Clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII; Dunand 1958, 2:872 (no. 16917); Scandone Matthiae 1989a

This badly damaged head depicts a king wearing the *nemes*-headdress. The statue is broken at a diagonal from the back of the shoulders to the front of the chest; a higher, parallel break runs diagonally from the top of the head in the back to the bottom of the eyes. The figure's identity as a king is indicated by the *nemes*-headdress that he wears, which is unadorned with pleats. The type of statue is revealed by the very high placement of the shoulders in relation to the head and headdress, which indicate that the king was once represented in the form of a sphinx.<sup>33</sup>

Insomuch as they are preserved, the king has delicately modeled features. His mouth, set horizontally on his face, is thin with a fuller lower lip and slight upturns in the

<sup>29</sup> "Head of a King, Possibly Amenemhat (*sic.*) IV" 2015. See also Fay 1996a, 130–1, pl. 27i, who identifies the head as a portrait of Amenemhat III.

<sup>30</sup> A beautiful box of obsidian and gold inscribed for Amenemhat IV was discovered in Tomb II at Byblos (Montet 1928, 157–59 (no. 611); Montet 1929, pls. LXXXVIII-XC).

<sup>31</sup> Scandone Matthiae tentatively suggested that the head came from a sphinx through analogy with Cat. 64, but this cannot be confirmed (1989a, 13).

<sup>32</sup> The speckled, slightly banded pattern visible on the surface of the stone suggests that this statue may have been made from a gneissic diorite or another form of gneiss, but this cannot be confirmed without first hand inspection of the object.

<sup>33</sup> This observation was first made by Scandone Matthiae 1989a, 13.

corners presenting a pleasant expression. The upper portion of the nose to the tip is missing, but the broad base of the nose with its emphasized alae is well preserved. Both eyes have been almost completely removed by the upper break, although the partially preserved lower lids appear to be naturalistically yet heavily rendered, producing the impression that the king has bags under his eyes.

In her study of the fragment, Scandone Matthiae recognized a stylistic correspondence between Cat. 64 and the sculpture of Amenemhat III.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, the high cheekbones, the broad nose and the emphasized folds around the mouth bear resemblance to sculpture attributed to that king.<sup>35</sup> Given the small scale and peculiar angle of the only photograph published of the piece, however, this date can be put forth only tentatively until the work can be examined further.

**65. Head of a Female Sphinx (pls. 103-104)**



Material: Alabaster (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 4.9 cm; L: 11.2 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX; Dunand 1954, 1:66 (no. 7099); Scandone Matthiae 1989b, 126n8; Wastlhuber 2011, 51 (no. 52)

This alabaster fragment preserving the upper portion of a woman's head comes from the sculpture of a female sphinx. The head is broken at the level of the nose's bridge, preserving the eyes, ears and hairstyle of the figure. The woman wears a voluminous tripartite wig that is parted in the center, with the wavy tresses indicated by undulating incised lines. The wig pushes the woman's large ears forward. A projection

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<sup>34</sup> Scandone Matthiae 1989a, 9.

<sup>35</sup> For recent descriptions of various statues of the king, see Oppenheim et al. 2015, 84–88 (nos. 27–29).

from the back of the head represents a third section of hair running along the back of the leonine form. A small uraeus is suspended on the center of her brow, indicating her royal status. The face, as preserved, is well modeled, with almond-shaped eyes set horizontally on the face. No indication of cosmetic lines is visible in the published photographs, although there is an emphasis on the hollows of the upper eye sockets, particularly near the bridge of the nose. The head fits well with other 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sculpture portraying female members of the royal family in the guise of sphinxes.<sup>36</sup> In particular, the treatment of the uraeus as a small applique on the brow at the point where the hair is parted is reminiscent of a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty chlorite sphinx head excavated at Hadrian's Villa in Rome.<sup>37</sup> Compare also a fragmentary queen's head of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty that has a similar wavy hairstyle.<sup>38</sup>

**66. Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (pls. 105-107)**



Material: green amphibolite (Dunand)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Ramesses III

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII; Dunand 1958, II:618 (no. 13658); Ward 1966, 177; Chadeffaud 1982, 68–69; Scandone Matthiae 1997, 168; Weinstein 2012, 168; *KRI* V: 256, *RITA* V: 215

This work once represented an Egyptian monarch standing with a standard supported against his left shoulder. The bulk of this standard is now missing, with the result that the emblem that once surmounted it cannot be identified.<sup>39</sup> The king wears a composite headdress comprised of the *nemes*-headcloth with a surmounting element that

<sup>36</sup> Compare, for instance, the sphinx of the princess Ita from Qatna (Cat. 135).

<sup>37</sup> Brooklyn Museum 56.85 (Warmenbol 2006, 159, 288 (Cat. 174)).

<sup>38</sup> Munich ÄS 5551 (*Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst* 1976, 64–65 (no. 43))

<sup>39</sup> For other standard-bearing statues of Ramesses III, see Cairo CG 42150, Cairo CG 42149, and Philadelphia University Museum E 15727 (Mojsov 2012, 293–95, with further references).



is now damaged. The *nemes* is made of a fabric that is striped on both the upper part and the lappets. A wide frontlet runs across the king's forehead at the base of the headdress. Traces of a uraeus are visible above the frontlet. The interior portions of the *nemes* are decorated with a thin, vertical, unstriped element. In the back, the *nemes* tail is bifurcated in a peculiar fashion by the back-pillar. From the back view, the upper portion of the crowning element is also decorated with a striped pattern. This would seem to argue against the restoration of the *pschent* or similar crown here. The reconstruction of this element without further examination is not possible, however.<sup>40</sup>

The king has a heart-shaped face with small, almond-shaped eyes. Damage has removed the nose and the mouth. A rectangular indent below the chin indicates where a beard, perhaps added in another material, has been lost or removed. The king wears a broad collar over a heavily-pleated garment that ties at the breast, a clothing style was common for Ramesside kings. The statue is broken just beneath the king's breast.

An inscription on the back-pillar, written in a column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left, identify the monarch as “the strong bull, great of kingship, the king of Upper [and Lower Egypt...],” providing the Horus name of Ramesses III.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Chadeffaud identified it as the crown of Lower Egypt or, perhaps, the Double Crown (1982, 68). The Porter & Moss archives, on the other hand, suggest that the king has a hawk on his head. It should be noted that other sculpture attributed to Ramesses III depicts him wearing the *nemes* with various crowning elements, including a scarab beetle (Cairo JE 69771) and a sun-disk with uraei (Cairo JE 54477) (Mojsov 2012, 294–96, with additional bibliography).

<sup>41</sup> *k3 nḥt ʿ3 nsyt nsw-[bitt...]*. The inscription is encased by a rectangular box surmounted by the Horus falcon and sun-disk with uraeus.

**67. Throne Inscribed for Sheshonq I (pls. 108-112)**



Material: Granite

Dimensions: H: 25 cm; D: 22 cm<sup>42</sup>

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Sheshonq I

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 3361)

Manner of examination: Unpublished photographs<sup>43</sup>

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Clermont-Ganneau 1903, 378–83; Clermont-Ganneau 1905, 74–78; Dussaud 1924, 145–47, XLII; Dussaud 1925, 111; Montet 1926; Montet 1928, 54–57, figs. 17–18; Leclant 1968, 12; Chéhab 1969, 38–39; Kitchen 1996, 292 §250(i); Ritner 2009, 219–20 (no. 52); H. Brandl 2012, 90 (no. M-2.1); Arico and Parker 2013; Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 64–65; Dijkstra 2016, 125–26<sup>44</sup>

As a quick perusal of the bibliographic history provided above reveals, this fragment from a statue inscribed for the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty king Sheshonq I has been the subject of numerous studies since its appearance in the Løytved collection at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fragment comes from the lower proper right side of a seated statue of the king, and preserves part of its throne as well as a small portion of the king's leg. The statue is remarkable not only for its Byblian provenance, but particularly because of a Phoenician inscription added to it by the ruler of Byblos Abiba'al.<sup>45</sup> That inscription, which appears on the proper right face of the throne, was the focus of many early studies on the fragment, and as a result its other faces have been understudied, leading to some confusion about the piece in the history of scholarship.

In an early study of the fragment based solely on photographs and squeezes, Clermont-Ganneau suggested that this flat piece of inscribed stone originated from an

<sup>42</sup> Montet erroneously gave the height as 75 cm rather than 25 cm (Montet 1928, 54).

<sup>43</sup> I am grateful to Heather Dana Davis Parker for providing me with her images of this fragment.

<sup>44</sup> Because this fragment has been extensively published, only a selected bibliography is provided here.

<sup>45</sup> This fragmentary inscription indicates that Abiba'al, king of Byblos, brought the statue from Egypt for the goddess Ba'alat. For further treatment of the Phoenician text, see Parker 2013, 45–116.

Egyptian stela or offering table.<sup>46</sup> Dussaud, following a suggestion of Montet, was the first to correctly identify the piece as having come from an Egyptian seated statue, publishing a reconstruction of the piece in 1924 (pl. 109).<sup>47</sup> Still, study of the work has been greatly hindered as the result of the limited views of it that have been published and the fact that it was considered lost until quite recently.<sup>48</sup>

The fragment preserves three faces of the statue. The front face preserves part of the king's heavily damaged right leg (pls. 110-111). To the left of his leg, on the front face of the throne, a single column of text written in hieroglyphs that read from right to left is incised onto the front of the throne. The text, which preserves the first part of Sheshonq I's prenomen, reads:

*nsw [biti] nb t3wy (Hd-hpr-R[...]*  
The King of Upper and [Lower] Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Hedjkheperre [...]

A parallel inscription would have once appeared on the opposite side of the throne.

The proper right side of the statue, which is the most fully preserved of the three sides, retains a small portion of the king's thigh, which is clad in a pleated garment, likely the *shendyt*-kilt, and the bulk of the throne's side (pls. 108-109). The throne is inscribed with two cartouches placed side-by-side. They read:

*nb t3wy (Hd-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n R<sup>c</sup>[...])*  
The Lord of the Two Lands Hedjkheperre, chosen of Re

*nb h<sup>c</sup>w (Sšn<sup>k</sup> mry'Imn)*  
Lord of Appearances, Sheshonq, beloved of Amun

<sup>46</sup> Clermont-Ganneau 1905, 74. Lidzbarski also identified the object as an offering stone (Lidzbarski 1908, 167).

<sup>47</sup> Dussaud 1924, 146, fig. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Lemaire rediscovered the piece in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in 2006, a fact that continued to go overlooked in Egyptological scholarship for some time (e.g. Ritner 2009, 219–20; H. Brandl 2012, 90).

The bottom of the right cartouche is missing, as is a smaller portion of the bottom of the left. The text is otherwise well preserved, however. To the left and right of the cartouches Abiba'al (the ruler of Byblos) added three lines of 10<sup>th</sup> century Phoenician text. This secondary inscription presents Abiba'al's claim that he played a role in bringing the statue to his city.

As with the front of the statue, the back side has been largely understudied, in large part because all that was known about it came from a partial squeeze and a photograph in deep shadow published by Clermont-Ganneau. These resources were used by Montet to produce a line drawing that has been the main source for study of this section of the piece. In his reconstruction, Montet restores a second cartouche to the left of the one that is clearly visible in the previously published images. However, new images of the fragment reveal that this is not the case (pl. 112). As was already documented, the rightmost portion of the throne's back is inscribed with a cartouche of Sheshonq. It reads:

(*Hd-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*)| *d[i] nḥ*  
Hedjkhepere, chosen of Re, given life

The second column does not contain a second cartouche, however, but rather a column of hieroglyphic text. Unfortunately, this section is highly fragmentary, and at present no sense can be made of it.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> The preserved signs include a flat sign (probably *š*) followed by a *k* or *nb* sign, a horned viper, an *r*, an *ḥ*, and the phrase *ib.f* "his heart."

## Cats. 68-75 – Fragments of a Statue of Osorkon I

It has been argued that Cats. 68-75 come from a single statue of Osorkon I. These fragments were discovered at Byblos (or at least suspected to have been) over the course of several decades. See further discussion below concerning how the fragments might fit together.

### 68. Upper Portion of a Statue of Osorkon I (pls. 113-116)



Material: Silicified sandstone

Dimensions: H: 60 cm; W: 36 cm; D: 37.5 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (AO 9502)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Wiedemann 1912, 14; Montet 1928, 51–54 pls. xxxvi-xxxviii; Dunand 1939, 17–18; Dussaud 1925; Chéhab 1969, 39; Amiet and Ziegler 1987; Kitchen 1996, 308–9 §267(i); Bordreuil and Gubel 2002; Ritner 2009, 233–34; H. Brandl 2012, 100–101 (K-5.7); Arico and Parker 2013; Fontan 2014; Dijkstra 2016<sup>50</sup>

The most frequently cited Egyptian statue reported to have come from Byblos is without a doubt this bust inscribed for the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty king Osorkon I. The fragment preserves the image of the king from the waist up, with his arms as well as a thin section of the proper right side of his torso missing. The king has a broad face with a short, rounded jaw and fleshy cheeks. His mouth is set horizontally on his face, with a thick lower lip and a thin upper lip that do not meet in the corners, creating a smirking expression. His nose is now largely missing, but what is preserved at the top of the bridge is quite thin. His eyes have almost horizontal lower lids and arched upper lids, with sharp inner canthi and slightly convex eyeballs. Both his cosmetic lines, which extend from the

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<sup>50</sup> As one of the only sculptural representations of Osorkon I, this bust is frequently illustrated. Only a selection of sources have been provided here; see these publications for further bibliographical references.

outer canthus of each eye at a downward angle, and the eyebrows, which extend from the bridge of the nose, are treated plastically.

Osorkon I wears a unique wig that consists of a thin frontlet on his forehead, six long ringlet curls to either side of his face, and a striated wig in the back.<sup>51</sup> While the back section of the wig is shorter than shoulder-length, it descends in the front to rest on his collarbones to either side of his face, arching highly over the king's shoulders on the sides (pl. 115). A uraeus with a broad hood is placed in the center of the wig's front, with its body curving twice on the top of Osorkon's head and the tail running down the back of the wig in a straight line (pl. 116).

Three separate inscriptions appear on the bust. The first, a deeply incised cartouche in the center of the king's chest, presents the prenomen of Osorkon I in hieroglyphs that read from right to left. A second hieroglyphic inscription appears on the thick back-pillar that the king is positioned against. This text, also written in right-to-left reading hieroglyphs, also presents part of the king's titulary.

*ḥnh Hr k3 nḥt mry Rḥ*  
Live the Horus "Strong bull, beloved of Re"

The final text, written in Phoenician, is written around the cartouche on the front of the king's chest. As with the secondary inscription on the Sheshonq I fragment (Cat. 67), this inscription states that Eliba'al, King of Byblos, made the statue for the Lady of Byblos.<sup>52</sup>

Since its discovery, some questions have arisen over whether the statue, of which the Osorkon bust was once only a part, was created for that ruler or re-inscribed from an

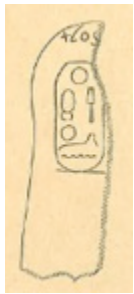
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<sup>51</sup> This wig has sometimes been identified as the *ibes*-wig, although that style of wig usually has a rounder appearance (Amiet and Ziegler 1987, 166).

<sup>52</sup> For further treatment of the Phoenician text, see Parker 2013, 45–116.

earlier royal work.<sup>53</sup> However, as Brandl notes, the style of uraeus exhibited by the statue is in keeping with other sculpture of the Third Intermediate Period, and given its large style would be difficult to reshape from an earlier statue with a smaller one.<sup>54</sup> Based solely on what is preserved of the bust, it is difficult to determine what pose the king was portrayed in.<sup>55</sup> However, other fragments discovered at Byblos, which are treated below, may shed light upon this question.

#### 69. Arm Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon I (pl. 117)



Material: Silicified sandstone(?)<sup>56</sup>

Dimensions: H: 32 cm; Diam.: 10 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published line drawing

Bibliography: Dunand 1939, 17–18, fig. 7 (no. 1048); Chéhab 1969, 40–41; Amiet and Ziegler 1987

Two portions of the proper right arm from a slightly larger than life-size statue were also excavated at Byblos. The upper fragment, under discussion here, preserves a portion of the shoulder as well as the arm above the elbow. On the front of the bicep a cartouche containing the prenomen of Osorkon I (*Shm-hpr-R<sup>c</sup> Stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*) has been incised vertically. Above the cartouche a secondary inscription has been added in Phoenician. The latter inscription, which is highly fragmentary, refers to “Ba‘alat” (our lady), the principal goddess of Byblos whom the Egyptians equated with Hathor, mistress of

<sup>53</sup> For instance, Amiet and Ziegler suggest that the statue might have once represented the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Horemheb (1987, 166).

<sup>54</sup> H. Brandl 2012, 101.

<sup>55</sup> Compare H. Brandl 2012, 100–101 who lists the statue under the heading of statue fragments of unknown postures.

<sup>56</sup> Dunand identifies the stone of both Cat. 69 and Cat. 70 as rose granite, but also indicates that they come from the same statue as the Louvre bust (Cat. 68), which is carved from silicified sandstone, indicating that they are likely also made of sandstone (Dunand 1939, 18).

Byblos. The placement of the text is reminiscent of the Phoenician inscription on the Osorkon I bust (Cat. 68), and may very well be a portion of it.<sup>57</sup>

#### **70. Elbow Fragment**

Material: Silicified sandstone(?)<sup>58</sup>

Dimensions: L: 20 cm; Diam.: 10 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I(?)

Archaeological Context: Surface find

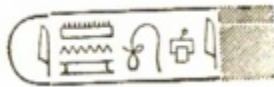
Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: Dunand 1939, 17–8 (no. 1048)

An additional fragment purportedly coming from an Osorkon statue was found by Dunand, presumably with or near the inscribed shoulder fragment (Cat. 69). This fragment, which is not inconsiderable in size, represents part of the right elbow of a slightly larger than life-size statue.<sup>59</sup> The fragment is only mentioned by Dunand in passing and is not included in the line drawing that illustrates its mate. Based on his brief description, however, it seems that the fragment itself is uninscribed.

#### **71. Belt Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon (pls. 118-119)**



Material: Silicified sandstone(?)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I(?)

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published transcription

Bibliography: Wiedemann 1884, 553; Wiedemann 1895, 14;

Wiedemann 1912, 14; Dussaud 1925, 101n3; Montet 1928, 51;

Chéhab 1969, 39; Ritner 2009, 233–34

<sup>57</sup> For further discussion of the relationship between the various Osorkon fragments from Byblos, see below.

<sup>58</sup> See note 56 above.

<sup>59</sup> The two fragments together form Dunand's number 1048.



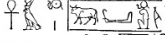



Study of the Osorkon I belt fragment relies entirely on the observations of Alfred Wiedemann, who saw the piece during a visit to the Meuricoffre collection in 1882.<sup>60</sup> According to his description, which was published over a decade later, two statue fragments had been present: A bust with a cartouche of Osorkon I on the breast, another cartouche on the belt, and an inscription on the back-pillar, which seems to describe a combination of Cat. 68 and Cat. 71, and part of an inscribed base (Cat. 75).<sup>61</sup> This remains the only presentation of the Cat. 71 published based on physical examination.

From Wiedemann's description it is clear that when he examined the inscribed belt it was part of the bust of Osorkon I, now in the Louvre (Cat. 68).<sup>62</sup> By the time the bust was auctioned off as part of the Canessa collection in May 1910, however, the belt was no longer part of the bust, as evidenced by a photograph published in the auction catalogue.<sup>63</sup> The current location of the belt fragment remains unknown.<sup>64</sup>

Using only Wiedemann's cursory publication of the belt section of the statue, which lacked a line drawing of the fragment itself, little can be said about it stylistically. Presumably it took the form of a horizontally arranged cartouche centered on the figure's

<sup>60</sup> Wiedemann 1912, 14. Dussaud places the date of this visit in 1881 (1925, 101).

<sup>61</sup> "Vor nahezu 15 Jahren hatte ich Gelegenheit ... eine grosse Statue aus hartem Sandstein des Koenigs Osorkon I kennen zu lernen (cit. *AEg. Gesch.*, S. 553). Von ihr waren zwei Fragmente erhalten. Zunaechst die Büste, an deren Brust vorn stand , am Gürtel befand sich der Cartouchenrest , am Rückenpfeiler . Dann ein Theil der Basis mit darauf stehenden Fuss, neben dem man liest  (Wiedemann 1895, 14). A similar description is repeated in Wiedemann 1912, 14.

<sup>62</sup> Wiedemann explicitly states that he viewed two fragments of the statue the bust (which included the belt) and the base. It is possible, however, that the belt had already separated from the bust at this time but joined in some way that made it evident that the two pieces once formed a unit.

<sup>63</sup> *Catalogue des Objets Antiques et du Moyen Age. Marbres, orfèvrerie, verrerie, céramique, bronzes, ivoires, etc. provenant des collections du Dr. B. et de M. C. et dont la vente aura lieu à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, Salles Nos 7 et 8 du Jeudi 19 au Samedi 21 Mai 1910* 1910, pl. I.3. Nor does the description of the Osorkon group in the auction catalogue mention the belt, indicating that that section of the statue had become completely disassociated from the bust and base by that time.

<sup>64</sup> See, for example Ritner 2009, 233. It is possible given the unusually level break on the lower part of the bust (Cat. 68) that the belt was removed to facilitate that piece's display.

belt, a format that is well known in royal sculpture.<sup>65</sup> In this instance, the belt is inscribed with a portion of Osorkon's nomen. It reads:

*Wsi[rkn mry T]mn*  
Oso[rkon beloved of A]mun

Notably, the inscription is lacking the *mr*-sign that usually forms part of his titulary.<sup>66</sup>

By the time it appears in Montet's publication, however, it has been normalized to include the first *yod* in the name of Amun and also the *mr*-sign (pl. 119).<sup>67</sup> This rendering has been followed in all subsequent treatments of the fragment.<sup>68</sup>

## 72. Fragment of *shendyt*-kilt Inscribed for Osorkon (pls. 120-121)



Material: Silicified sandstone

Dimensions: L: 14 cm; W: 13 cm; D: 23.3 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I(?)

Archaeological Context: "Temple Syrien"

Current Location: Louvre (AO 31153)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Dussaud 1925, 112, 117; Montet 1928, 49-51, 53-54, fig. 14; Montet 1929, pl. XXXVIII; Chéhab 1969, 39-40; Gubel 2002c; Ritner 2009, 233-34; H. Brandl 2012, 90 (no. K-2.2)

During his 1921/1922 excavations in the so-called "temple Syrien," Montet uncovered three Egyptian statue fragments made of silicified sandstone: this fragment of

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of this practice see Evers 1929, II: 37.

<sup>66</sup> The *mr*-sign (Gardiner N36) should come between the latter half of Amun's name and the *w3*-sign (Gardiner V4) that begins Osorkon's name. Wiedemann does not indicate any damage between these two sections of the inscription, which would account for the missing sign.

<sup>67</sup> Montet 1928, 51. In his publication of the fragment, Montet makes it clear that his treatment is based on Wiedemann's published observations and not his own.

<sup>68</sup> Note for example Ritner's recent mention of the fragment which he transliterates and translates "*Wsi[rkn] mri-Imn* Oso[rkon], beloved of Amon" without noting that the *mr*-sign and part of Amun's name are missing (Ritner 2009, 234). Montet's figure was also reproduced by Chéhab (1969, 39). There are two possible explanations for the missing sign in the king's titulary. The first is that the sign was actually missing from the belt. While rare, a couple of examples of the king's name without the *mr*-sign are known, although in those cases damage rather than omission could be to blame (e.g., two examples from an admittedly damaged section of wall; Jansen-Winkel 2007, 43 (no. 13.6), 45). The second option is that Wiedemann simply copied the inscription wrong. Indeed, his attention to detail in recording information about the bust of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) has already been called into question given his complete lack of mention of the Phoenician inscription that covers most of its surface (Dussaud 1925, 101-2).

a skirt with part of a cartouche and two additional fragments inscribed with Egyptian hieroglyphs (Cats. 73, 74). This fragment preserves part of a pleated skirt, with a centrally placed cartouche.<sup>69</sup> Traces of the figure's left hand are visible to the side of the cartouche. The position of the hand on the front of the kilt indicates that the fragment once belonged to a seated statue of the king. The cartouche itself is damaged, but preserves part of the name of Amun followed by a *w3*-sign (Gardiner V4), allowing the contents of the cartouche to be restored with some confidence to read:

*W[sirkn] mry'Imn*  
O[sorkon], beloved of Amun

Which Osorkon is referred to, however, is unclear. Montet argued for assigning the statue to Osorkon I, based on the fact that the stone of this fragment and the bust of Osorkon I in the Louvre are similar, and, he argues, most likely part of the same statue.<sup>70</sup>

### 73. Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back (pl. 122)



Material: Silicified sandstone(?)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I(?)

Archaeological Context: "Temple Syrien"

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1928, 49–51, 53–54, fig. 14 (no. 27); Chéhab 1969, 40; Ritner 2009, 234

Discovered together with Cat. 72 and Cat. 74, this very fragmentary piece of inscribed sandstone comes from the proper left side of a seated statue. Montet's highly schematic drawing of the fragment, together with his brief description of it, indicate that

<sup>69</sup> The placement of a large, vertically arranged cartouche in the center of a skirt, while not common, is elsewhere attested. See, for instance: a bronze standing statuette of Osorkon I (Brooklyn Museum 57.92) and a seated statue of Ramesses II (CG 42140).

<sup>70</sup> Montet 1928, 49. For further discussion see below.

Cat. 73 once formed part of the curved backrest of a seat or throne, as well as a portion of a back-pillar's edge.<sup>71</sup> The back surface of the throne retains traces of a hieroglyphic inscription. Montet described contents of the inscription as “deux segments de cercle ... probablement le haut d'un cartouche et du [R<sup>c</sup>] du titre [s3 R<sup>c</sup>].”<sup>72</sup>

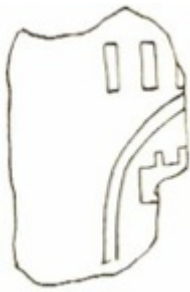
While the addition of the king's titulary to the lower part of his throne is to be expected on a work of royal sculpture, however, Montet's assertion that the curved signs represent part of a sun-disk beside the top of a cartouche is questionable. For one, unless his rendering is horribly distorted as a result of its three-quarter view, the proportions between the “sun-disk” and “cartouche” are not correct, with the sun-disk being much too large. Secondly, one would expect the title (in this case apparently “Son of Re”) to come above the cartouche containing the king's name, not beside it. A better suggestion, based on Montet's drawing of the fragment, might be that the rightmost sign is actually the top of the s3-bird's head (Gardiner G38), and the sign to the left of it the sun-disk. In this scenario Montet would be correct in reading the title “Son of Re,” written to be read right to left. Further examination of the piece is required to confirm this hypothesis, though. In any case, the “son of Re” title is a standard element of the king's titulary and cannot be used in support of or against the work's association with Osorkon I over another monarch.

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<sup>71</sup> Montet 1928, 49 figs. 27, 50.

<sup>72</sup> Montet 1928, 50. This suggestion has been followed by later scholars (see, for instance, Ritner 2009, 234 who translates this fragment “Son of Re” without any indication of ambiguity).

**74. Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back(?)** (pl. 123)



Material: Silicified sandstone(?)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I(?)

Archaeological Context: “Temple Syrien”

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1928, 49–51, 53–54, fig. 14 (no. 28); Chéhab 1969, 40; Ritner 2009, 234; Dijkstra 2016, 128, 132 (fig. 3)

As with the two preceding fragments (Cats. 72, 73), this royal statue fragment was excavated by Montet in the “temple Syrien” at Byblos. The fragment preserves part of the titulary of a king consisting of the plural strokes at the end of a title followed by a cartouche with a *mn*-sign (Gardiner Y5) in it. As Montet notes, given other finds at the site, this is most likely part of the titulary of Osorkon I.<sup>73</sup> The inscription, which reads from right to left, can therefore be tentatively restored as:

[*nb h<sup>c</sup>*]w ([*Wsirkn mry T*]*mn*)|  
[Lord of appearan]ces Osorkon, beloved of Amun

Montet does not comment on the placement of the fragment within the larger statue to which it once belonged. However, given the flat appearance of the fragment in his published line drawing, a location somewhere on the throne’s sides is probable, most likely on the proper right or back sides given the orientation of the text.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> The cartouche could also belong to another king who includes the epithet “beloved of Amun” in his cartouche, but given the proximity of the find to a skirt fragment clearly inscribed for Osorkon (Cat. 72), an attribution to Osorkon I or II is most likely.

<sup>74</sup> Indeed a similar arrangement can be seen on the statue fragment of Sheshonq I / Abiba‘al from the same site (Cat. 67).

**75. Partial Statue Base Inscribed for Osorkon I** (pls. 124-126)



Material: Silicified sandstone

Dimensions: L: 52.7 cm; W: 25.5 cm; H: 28 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon I

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (AO 9503)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Wiedemann 1895, 14; Wiedemann 1912, 14; Dussaud 1925; Montet 1928, 51; Montet 1929, pl. XXXVIII; Chéhab 1969, 39; Gubel 2002b; Ritner 2009, 233–4 (no. 57); H. Brandl 2012, 90 (no. K-2.1)

This fragment preserves the base and part of the proper left foot of a statue of Osorkon I. It was first noted by Wiedemann, who saw it together with the bust of Osorkon (Cat. 68) and the belt of Osorkon (Cat. 71) in the collection of the Swiss banker Meuricoffre in Naples in 1882.<sup>75</sup> Although a Byblian provenance is not certain, the fragment's association with the famous Phoenician-inscribed bust of Osorkon I makes such an attribution likely.

A diagonal fracture running from the front of the ankle to the bottom of the heel has separated the foot from the leg and with it the rest of the statue. A second break has removed the interior face of the proper left foot, including the entirety of the big toe. The surface of the foot has become rough and worn, but evidence of the detail of carving can be seen in the incision of the toenails on each of the four remaining toes. Immediately to the side of the foot along the top of the base, a shallowly inscribed column of text has been added in hieroglyphs that read from left to right, and which contain the prenomen of Osorkon I.

*nsw biti nb t3wy (Shm-~~hpr~~-R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>)| di ʿnh*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands,  
Sekhemkheperre, chosen of Re, given life

<sup>75</sup> Wiedemann 1884, 553; Wiedemann 1895, 14; Wiedemann 1912, 14.

Based on the placement of this text, it seems that the statue once portrayed the king seated on a throne, with the base to either side of his feet inscribed with part of his titulary.<sup>76</sup> The rear break of the statue therefore runs approximately at the point where the larger portion of the statue consisting of the throne base and the king's body connected with the footrest/base section of the statue.

The surface of the base on its left side is unchanged. However, on the front of the base, a deeply cut away section of stone presents one half of what was once a butterfly join (pl. 126). Whether the fractured statue was being joined back together or the base was united with a different piece of stone as part of a reuse in a secondary building context can unfortunately not be determined based on the present evidence.

#### **Cats. 68–75. Fragments of a Statue of Osorkon I (pls. 113-127)**

As many as eight fragments (Cats. 68-75) of sandstone statuary have been suggested to come from a single statue representing the seated 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty king Osorkon I. Of these, three were first noted in a private collection in Italy, three were excavated by Montet in the so-called “temple syrien,” and two were unearthed by Dunand.<sup>77</sup> Three of the fragments (Cats. 68, 69, 75) can be assigned to Osorkon I with some confidence based on the inscriptions that they preserve. Two additional fragments represent an Osorkon (Cats. 71, 72), and two more a king (Cats. 73, 74). The final fragment (Cat. 70) has no identifiable markers indicating its original owner, but can be included with the group through its archaeological proximity to Cat. 69.

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<sup>76</sup> This pose for the king was previously suggested by Gubel (2002b) as well as Brandl (2012, 90).

<sup>77</sup> For further discussion of the provenance of each piece, see below.

Montet's discovery of three statue fragments, some inscribed for an Osorkon, led early on to the hypothesis that all of the fragments originated from a single statue.<sup>78</sup> To test this theory, one of the fragments (Cat. 72) was sent to the Louvre for petrographic comparison against the Osorkon I bust.<sup>79</sup> J. Barthoux, who carried out the examination, concluded that both Cat. 68 and Cat. 72 were made of the same type of stone, but that they originated from separate blocks, the skirt fragment being of a "teinte plus claire" than that of the statue.<sup>80</sup> Montet, however, was not convinced that the two fragments come from separate statues, noting that even within statuettes the color of the stone can vary. Furthermore, he argues, the fact that all of the fragments come from a work of the same scale and that none of the pieces duplicate sections of a statue, it is most likely that they come from the same work of art, although it remains possible that there were two statues of the same scale inscribed for Osorkon at Byblos (Fig. 30).<sup>81</sup> Dunand also ascribed to this view when he later excavated the arm fragments, and it has been adopted by most scholars since with few exceptions.<sup>82</sup> Without access to all of the fragments, it is impossible to determine with certainty whether all originate from the same object. Based upon the present evidence, however, this is the most likely scenario.

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<sup>78</sup> Montet 1928.

<sup>79</sup> Dussaud 1925, 117.

<sup>80</sup> Dussaud 1925, 117.

<sup>81</sup> Montet 1928, 53–54.

<sup>82</sup> Dunand 1939, 18. Chéhab, on the other hand, believes that the fragments come from two statues of equal scale (1969, 41). In more recent scholarship, most scholars do not pick a side, noting that the evidence is ambiguous and that either one or two statues could be represented e.g., Gubel 2002d; H. Brandl 2012.



## 76. Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of Osorkon II (pls. 128-132)



Material: Granodiorite<sup>83</sup>

Dimensions: H: 87 cm; W: 71.5 cm; D: 48 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom (?), re-carved Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, reign of Osorkon II

Archaeological Context: Levée IV, east of Salle D

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (DGA 2050)

Manner of examination: Published and unpublished photographs<sup>84</sup>

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII; Dunand 1939, 115–17 (no. 1741); Montet 1947, 21–22; Leclant 1968, 13, pl. VIIIb;

Chéhab 1969, 41–42; Jidejian 1977, fig. 177; Kitchen 1996, 324

§283(i); Jansen-Winkel 2007, 121 (no. 35); Ritner 2009, 288 (no. 75);

H. Brandl 2012, 91 (no. U-2.1), pl. 20.1a-c; Arico and Parker 2013

The fragment, which comes from the lower half of a royal seated statue, preserves the king's figure from the level of the navel down together with most of his throne. An additional break has removed the king's feet and footrest.<sup>85</sup> The king wears a pleated kilt with an intricately decorated belt. The center of the belt, which surely once bore the titulary of a king, has been erased, indicating that the statue was re-carved by Osorkon II from a statue that originally depicted an earlier, probably Ramesside, king (pl. 130).<sup>86</sup>

All three sides of the throne are inscribed, allowing for an attribution of the piece. Of the three faces, the inscription on the proper right side of the throne is the best preserved. It contains both the nomen and prenomen of Osorkon II, inscribed in three columns of right-to-left reading hieroglyphs:<sup>87</sup>

*nsw biti (Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Imn)|*

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre, chosen of Amun

<sup>83</sup> The National Museum of Beirut currently identifies the statue's material as basalt (Anne-Marie Afeiche, personal communication).

<sup>84</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Anne-Marie Afeiche (Curator, National Museum of Beirut) for providing me with images of this statue.

<sup>85</sup> Part of the front section of the base was recovered as a surface find (Dunand 1939, 116).

<sup>86</sup> H. Brandl 2012, 91, pl. 20.1 with details of the belt.

<sup>87</sup> Note the presence of discrepancies between Dunand's transcription of the text and what is preserved on the statue, particularly in the appearance of the reed leaf (Gardiner M17) in the name of Osorkon and the direction that the *wr*-bird (Gardiner G36) faces.

*s3 R<sup>c</sup> (Wsirkn mry'Imn s3 B3stt)|*  
The Son of Re Osorkon, beloved of Amun, son of Bastet

*mry 3st wrt [mwt] ntr*  
Beloved of Isis the Great, the God's [Mother]

The proper left side of the throne is also inscribed, but extreme wear to the surface makes it difficult to identify the content of the inscription. It is likely that it paralleled the inscription on the right side of the throne, presenting part of Osorkon II's titulary.

An additional inscription borders the throne on the front right side, starting along the seat of the throne beside the king's thigh and continuing onto the front of the throne's base to the right of Osorkon II's right leg.<sup>88</sup> The text, which is written in a column of small, crisp hieroglyphs, provides additional elements of the king's titulary:<sup>89</sup>

*ntr nfr nb t3wy (Wsirkn mry'Imn)| mry 3st wrt [mwt] ntr*  
The good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Osorkon, beloved of Amun, beloved of Isis the Great, the god's [mother]

*nsw biti nb t3wy (Wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-Imn)| s3 R<sup>c</sup> nb h<sup>c</sup>w (Wsirkn mry'Imn)|*  
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre, chosen of Amun, the Son of Re, Lord of appearances, Osorkon, beloved of Amun

As no full image of a front view of the statue has yet to be published, few additional remarks can be made about the appearance of this section of the statue, beyond the observation that the legs of the king have been badly damaged.

The rear portion of the statue is comprised of the throne's back with an extending back-pillar. The surface is inscribed in three columns, with the contents of the leftmost column now illegible due to the higher level of degradation exhibited by that side of the

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<sup>88</sup> A similar inscription would have presumably adorned the left side of the throne, but was not mentioned by Dunand suggesting that this area is damaged.

<sup>89</sup> Note that the order of the inscriptions was mislabeled by Dunand, an error that was later corrected by Chéhab without remark (Dunand 1939, 116; Chéhab 1969, 41). Nonetheless the mistake has continued to be perpetuated in later treatments of the statue's texts (e.g., Ritner 2009, 288).

statue in general.<sup>90</sup> The right column of text is written in hieroglyphs that read from left to right, presenting yet another example of Osorkon II's titulary. It reads:

*nsw biti nb t3wy (Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>t-Re [stp-n-]Imn)|*  
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre,  
[chosen of] Amun

Unlike the other texts on the statue, however, the central column presents not an element of the king's formulaic titulary, but rather a declaration of his actions as ruler.

Unfortunately much of this text is now missing, and further examination of the fragment is needed to provide a secure reading. However, the following tentative reading can be put forth:

*[...] ir h3st nb m tmm wn s3 R<sup>c</sup> nb [...]*  
[...] who makes every foreign land as that which does not exist, the Son of Re,  
Lord [...]

Similar texts are known from objects found in Egypt, including one written on the north face of an obelisk erected at Tanis by Ramesses II, which enumerates on the king's ability to subdue foreigners.<sup>91</sup>

Brandl, who was the first to recognize that the work had been re-inscribed for Osorkon II from an earlier statue, suggested that the piece originally dated to the Middle or New Kingdoms.<sup>92</sup> In light of the content of the inscription on the back side of the statue, a date in the Ramesside period is almost certain, although this option of course does not exclude the possibility that the statue had already been re-worked for a Ramesside ruler from a Middle Kingdom work. The appearance of a text speaking out against foreigners raises interesting questions regarding how the statue came to be in the

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<sup>90</sup> This damage was not intentional, but likely the result of water exposure to this side of the statue while it was still buried.

<sup>91</sup> Petrie 1885, pl. VII; *KRI* II: 408.15; *RITA* II: 235.

<sup>92</sup> H. Brandl 2012, 91.

Levant. Was the text merely deemed too difficult to remove by the artisans who re-carved the Ramesside statue on Osorkon II's behalf before it was sent to Byblos? Were they ambivalent about it? Was it meant to provide a very real example of the king's ability to act in foreign lands? While none of these questions can be answered without further evidence, it is clear that this poorly studied statue can benefit from further research.

**77. Statue Head with the *nemes*-headdress (pl. 133)**



Material: Calcite/Alabaster (Dunand)  
 Dimensions: L: 7.3 cm  
 Date of statue: Unknown  
 Archaeological Context: Levée XIII  
 Current Location: Unknown  
 Manner of examination: Published drawing  
 Bibliography: Dunand 1958, II:543 (no. 12686), fig. 620

This statue fragment, made of a stone that Dunand identified as alabaster, comes from the proper left side of a royal statue. The head preserves part of the striped *nemes* headdress, the proper left ear, and at least part of the uraeus. Dunand described the fragment as “de style égyptien,” but it is likely given the subject matter and the type of stone used that the work originated in Egypt. Based upon what is preserved, neither the pose of the king depicted nor the date of the statue can be ascertained.

**78. Shoulder Fragment with a *nemes* lappet (pl. 134)**



Material: Bluish-black stone (Dunand)  
 Dimensions: H: 11 cm  
 Date of statue: Unknown  
 Archaeological Context: Surface find  
 Current Location: Unknown  
 Manner of examination: Published photograph  
 Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1954, I:107 (no. 7505)

Cat. 78 preserves the proper right shoulder and pectoral of a statue made of dark stone.<sup>93</sup> The right lappet of a striped *nemes*-headdress remains on the front of the chest, indicating that the statue was a royal one, although too little is preserved to determine its original pose or date. In his brief publication of the fragment, Dunand identified the work as “égyptisante” rather than purely Egyptian, although he does not provide his motivations for doing so. An examination of the published photograph does not betray any details that would preclude an Egyptian origin for the piece, however.

#### **79. Rear Portion of a Sphinx (pl. 135)**



Material: Limestone (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 8 cm; L: 13.5 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV; Dunand 1958, II:614–5 (no. 13577)

Dunand excavated a handful of sculptures with leonine features.<sup>94</sup> Among them was this limestone statue representing the hind part of a recumbent lion. A *nemes* tail retained on the animal’s back indicates that the fragment once belonged to a sphinx. The lion lays on a base with a rounded back, its tail curling up around its haunch on the proper right side. The head and forepaws of the figure are missing.

<sup>93</sup> Dunand describes the material as “pierre noire bleutée” (1954, I:107).

<sup>94</sup> See Cat. 80. Another statue fragment portraying the hind part of a lion likely also comes from a sphinx (Dunand 1954, I:8 (no. 6780), 9 fig. 3).

**80. Rear Portion of a Sphinx or Lion (pl. 136)**



Material: Limestone (Dunand)<sup>95</sup>

Dimensions: H: 9 cm; L: 15.1 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Levée IV

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV; Dunand 1954, I:210 (no. 8665)

This fragment depicts the hind part of a lion reclining on a base. The statue is missing its head and forepaws and, according to Dunand's description, also its proper left side.<sup>96</sup> The animal appears in the same pose as Cat. 79, with its tail curving around its right hind leg and up onto its back. Although no iconographic features identifying it as a sphinx as opposed to a lion are retained, its similarity to other representations of sphinxes, including Cat. 79, suggest that that was the form that it originally took.

**81. Standing Male Wearing a *Shendyt*-Kilt (pl. 137)**



Material: Alabaster (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 13 cm

Date of statue: Old Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLI; Dunand 1958, II:1053–4 (no. 19037)

Although Dunand identified this small statuette of a standing male as Egyptianizing, stylistic elements suggest that an Egyptian attribution is not only possible but probable. The man stands against a back-pillar in a striding pose with his left leg advanced and his arms down at his sides, hands clenched.<sup>97</sup> He wears a pleated *shendyt*-kilt that wraps life-over-right and a short, rounded hairstyle that covers his ears, framing

<sup>95</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “calcaire jaunâtre” (1954, I:210).

<sup>96</sup> “Cette moitié est en outre brisée longitudinalement par le milieu” (Dunand 1954, I:210).

<sup>97</sup> The back-pillar is not visible in the published photograph, but was noted in Dunand's description of the fragment (1958, II:1053).

his short, round face.<sup>98</sup> The statuette is broken below the knee, but is otherwise well preserved. The treatment of the torso, with its slim waist and the bipartite division of the abdomen running up from the navel, together with the wig style point towards an Old Kingdom date for the statuette. If such a date and an Egyptian attribution are correct, the presence of the *shendyt*-kilt indicates that the man depicted is a king rather than a private individual, as that garment was exclusively the prerogative of royalty during the Old Kingdom.

**82. Standing Male Wearing a *Shendyt*-Kilt** (pl. 138)



Material: Granite or Granodiorite<sup>99</sup>  
 Dimensions: H: 14.3 cm  
 Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)  
 Archaeological Context: Surface find  
 Current Location: Unknown  
 Manner of examination: Published photograph  
 Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1954, I:56 (no. 6999)

This fragmentary statue of a standing male is broken at the hips just above the belt and at the bottom of the calves. Sections of the left arm and the lower left leg are also missing. The man stands against a back-pillar in a striding pose, with his left leg advanced. His arms hang pendant at his sides with his hands closed into fists. A fragmentary implement is visible in the right hand.<sup>100</sup> The man wears a *shendyt*-kilt that

<sup>98</sup> The published photograph is too dark to make further observations on the wig, although it is worth noting that, based on Dunand's description of the hairstyle as a "coiffure en boule avec les cheveux arrêtés net sur le front comme sur la nuque et marqués par des traits incisés rayonnant du vortex que recourent des traits perpendiculaires déterminant un fin carroyage," it seems that it was of the type that is made up of radiating rows of curls, a type which was popular during the Old Kingdom (Vandier 1958, 102). The facial features are not discernable in the published image, but were described by Dunand as "juvenile" (1958, II:1054).

<sup>99</sup> Dunand identifies the stone as "amphibolite verte légèrement bleutée" (Dunand 1954, I:56).

<sup>100</sup> It is likely that the left hand once held a kerchief or similar object as well. Dunand identifies the object in the right hand as a "*schedula*" (1954, I:56).

wraps left-over-right. It is surmounted by a belt with incised vertical lines.<sup>101</sup> What is preserved of the statue is well carved, indicating that it could have once represented a king, although the depiction of a private individual cannot be excluded. Without more of the statue preserved, it is difficult to date. Dunand's impression was that it was a "beau travail du Moyen Empire," a date which is tentatively put forth here.<sup>102</sup>

### 83. Standing Male Wearing a *Shendyt*-Kilt (pl. 139)



Material: Unknown<sup>103</sup>

Dimensions: 14.8 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: Dunand 1958, II:872–73, fig. 981 (no. 16916)

This fragment comes from a statue of a male in a striding pose. The statue is preserved from the waist to just above the knees, with additional damage to the arms. The man stands with his left leg advanced and his arms down at his sides. According to Dunand, the right hand holds a rounded object, but the nature of this implement cannot be determined from the published illustration.<sup>104</sup> The man wears a pleated *shendyt*-kilt that wraps left-over-right and is held in place by a thin belt. Dunand states that the figure is positioned against a back-pillar that is narrow yet deep.<sup>105</sup> Statues of men, both royal and private, wearing the *shendyt*-kilt are found throughout the history of Egyptian art, making

<sup>101</sup> The so-called *Bandmuster* design is common on belts in a variety of periods. For further discussion, see Evers 1929, II: 34-35, §226 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Dunand 1954, I:56.

<sup>103</sup> Dunand describes the stone as "pierre bleu verdâtre mêlée de cristaux blancs" (Dunand 1958, II:872).

<sup>104</sup> Dunand 1958, II:872.

<sup>105</sup> Dunand 1958, II:872.



it difficult to date the fragment or identify the person represented, particularly based solely upon a drawing.<sup>106</sup>

#### 84. Statuette of a Man Wearing a Striped Kilt (pl. 140)



Material: Unknown<sup>107</sup>

Dimensions: H: 7.3 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Levée XVI

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1958, II:668 (no. 14151)

This statuette depicts a man standing against a back-pillar with his right arm down at his side and his left arm bent so that his hand comes to rest palm-side down in the center of his chest.<sup>108</sup> The man, who remains anonymous due to an apparent lack of inscription on the back-pillar, wears a long wrap kilt made of horizontally striped fabric with a fringed hem.<sup>109</sup> The kilt sits just above his hips, and is wrapped in such a manner that a tab of fabric peeks out from the waistband on the proper right side. This style of garment was en vogue during the later part of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>110</sup> In addition the man wears a striated wig that is tucked behind both his ears and shoulders. Severe damage has occurred to the man's face, removing the lower portion of it as well as the

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<sup>106</sup> What's more, *shendyt*-style garments were adopted by peoples outside of Egypt, most notably the Phoenicians, so it cannot be definitively stated whether this work was Egyptian or merely Egyptianizing.

<sup>107</sup> Dunand does not comment on the type of stone, which is dark on color. Given the scale of the statuette and its close relation to other works from Egypt, it is possible that the material is serpentinite, although this cannot be confirmed without further examination.

<sup>108</sup> For other examples of this pose, see the serpentine(?) statuette of Dedunub, son of Senebet, which is variously dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (BM EA58080; Bourriau 1988, 60 (no. 47); Seipel 1992, 217 (no. 73)); an ivory statuette of a standing man (WAM 71.509; Steindorff 1976, 27–28 (no. 46), pl. XI); the statuette of Impy (Louvre E 17365; Delange 1987, 180–81).

<sup>109</sup> An inscription identifying the figure would have presumably been present on the statuette's base, which is now lost.

<sup>110</sup> Compare the statuette of Dedunub (BM EA58080; see note 108 above for further references); a serpentine statuette of a man from Abydos (Philadelphia E2916; Vandier 1958, II: pl. LXXVIII.5); a peridotite statuette of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Elephantine (Louvre E 12683; Delange 1987, 162–63).

top on the proper right side. The statuette is also broken approximately at the level of the man's knees.

Dunand identified the work as an Egyptianizing statuette. However, close parallels indicate that the statuette is in fact an Egyptian work. Although the face is too damaged to be of use in analysis of the statuette, the shoulder-length striated wig tucked behind both the ears and the shoulders, the asymmetrical pose of the arms with the right down at the side and the left resting on the chest, the soft treatment of the torso, and, most notably, the type of kilt worn all allow the statue to be dated to the very end of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty or, more likely, the 13<sup>th</sup>.

**85. Statuette of a Standing Male Re-inscribed for Harsiese (pls. 141-143)**



Material: Greywacke

Dimensions: H: 15.65 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; re-inscribed Third Intermediate Period, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty(?)

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art (68.101)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: H. G. Fischer 1969, 70; H. G. Fischer 1974, 14–18, figs. 14-17; H. Brandl 2008, 224–25 (no. U–1.4), pl. 125; Pétigny 2008, 278; “Middle Kingdom Statuette, Reinscribed for Harsiese High Priest of Memphis in the Third Intermediate Period” 2015

This statuette portrays a male standing against a thin back-pillar. The statuette is broken at approximately mid-calf level, removing its base and a portion of the front of the figure's kilt. Additional areas of loss appear on the front of the man's right hand and on his nose. The man is portrayed in a pose traditionally interpreted as one indicating respect, with his left arm bent in front of him so that the left hand rests palm-side down

upon the right breast, and his right arm down at his side with the hand placed open, palm-side down on the front of his kilt.<sup>111</sup>

The man wears a long, unbelted kilt with a trapezoidal panel in the front which provides a surface for inscription.<sup>112</sup> He also wears a shoulder-length striated wig that is un-parted and tucked behind his ears. The man's face is short, with a rounded jaw, a small, almost pursed mouth, and a small nose. Modeling of the face, particularly around the naso-labial folds, gives the cheeks a chubby appearance. The man's eyes are almond shaped and set horizontally on his face, with indication made of the irises. Cosmetic lines extend from the outer canthi, and the eyebrows are rendered in relief.

Both the back-pillar and the front of the man's kilt are inscribed in Egyptian. While such placement for inscriptions identifying a statue's owner were common during the Middle Kingdom, features in their execution betray the fact that the present inscriptions are secondary, and that they almost certainly replaced inscriptions that were previously on the work. On the front of the statuette, the lack of a waistband on the front of the kilt, in contrast with the sides where the band is clearly visible (pl. 141), indicates that this area was smoothed down to facilitate the addition of a secondary text. The front of the kilt is inscribed in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. The text provides the name of the individual for whom the statuette was reinscribed. It reads:

*Iwn-mwt.f Hr-s3-3st m3[<sup>c</sup> h]r[w]*  
The Iunmutef-priest Horsiese,<sup>113</sup> justified

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<sup>111</sup> For further examples of this pose, compare Cat. 84; a late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty diorite statuette (Louvre E 22754; Delange 1987, 194–95).

<sup>112</sup> Compare the statue of Djefaihapi from Tell Hizzin (Cat. 134).

<sup>113</sup> For other attestations of this popular name, see Franke 1984, I: 250 (no. 13).

The extreme thinness of the pillar, particularly when viewed in profile, indicates that it too has been cut back. It is also inscribed in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left, which provide additional titles for the man depicted:

*sm wr hrp hmwt wr ʿ3 Hr-s3-3st m3ʿ-[hrw]*

The *sem*-priest, great director of craftsmen, the great chief Horsiese, justified

The title “great director of craftsmen” (*wr hrp hmwt*) is that of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, indicating that the statuette was likely re-inscribed on behalf of a high official working in the Memphite region, and possibly that the original Middle Kingdom statuette originated in that region as well.<sup>114</sup> While the statuette in its original form dates to the Middle Kingdom, its reinscription dates to the Third Intermediate Period, and most probably to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, when a High Priest of Memphis named Horsiese is known to have been in office.<sup>115</sup>

#### **86. Standing Statuette of a Male** (pls. 144-145)



Material: Basalt (Porter and Moss)<sup>116</sup>

Dimensions: H: 8.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Surface Find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII; Dunand 1939, 18–19 (no. 1051); Chéhab 1969, 27; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57

This statuette portrays a standing male figure wearing an enveloping cloak. Both the upper and the lower parts of the statuette are missing, with the upper break running from the top of the proper right shoulder to the left hip, and the lower break running

<sup>114</sup> For an introduction to this title and a list of people known to have held the position of High Priest of Memphis, see Dieter Wildung 1977; el-Sharkawy 2009. Note also several fragments from Hazor (Cats. 39, 40, 144) that may come from statues (or even perhaps a single statue) of men bearing this title.

<sup>115</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art currently provides the statuette’s date as Dynasty 12–18 (“Middle Kingdom Statuette, Reinscribed for Harsiese High Priest of Memphis in the Third Intermediate Period” 2015). For further discussion of the statuette’s possible association with one of two High Priests of Memphis name Harsiese, see H. G. Fischer 1974, 17.

<sup>116</sup> Dunand identifies the stone as green amphibolite (Dunand 1939, 19).

almost horizontally at the level of the knees. The figure is wrapped in a cloak that covers the shoulders. Although the statuette is clearly Egyptian given the presence of a hieroglyphic inscription and certain stylistic elements, it is difficult to place firmly within canonical Egyptian sculpture, at least utilizing solely the published photograph. In his presentation of the figure, Dunand describes the garment as a “manteau osirien” and states that the figure holds the flagellum. This, combined with the tight stance of the legs and the placement of the arms on the chest, is reminiscent of the representation of the underworld deity Osiris. Several features visible in the photograph suggest that the representation might be better interpreted as one of a private individual, however. Most notable among these is the treatment of the garment, which appears to be a cloak that is wrapped around the shoulders rather than the all-encompassing shroud usually worn by Osiris. The edge of the garment descends from his shoulders, forming a v-shape on his chest, and the fabric’s hem continues down the center of the figure’s body beneath his clasped hands, which are placed on his chest right above left. In his left hand, Rehu[...] grasps a corner of the fabric, holding the garment closed. This is further suggested by a series of parallel incised lines near the upper break which form the remains of the right side of the man’s striated, kerchief-style wig.

The front of the garment is inscribed in five columns of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. Based on Dunand’s transcription of the text, it reads:

*im3h hr Hwt-Hr*  
The one revered before Hathor

*nbt Kbny [...]*  
mistress of Byblos<sup>117</sup> [...]

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<sup>117</sup> See Leitz 2002d, 150 for additional attestations of this epithet.

*hr [Ws]ir nb Ddw*  
and before [Os]iris, lord of Busiris,<sup>118</sup>

*ḥ3ty-ꜥ Rḥw-r[...]r*  
the noble<sup>119</sup> Rehuer...r<sup>120</sup>

*m3ꜥ-ḥrw nb im3ḥ*  
justified, possessor of reverence

The closest private parallels to the Rehu[...] statuette are Middle Kingdom works showing men in enveloping cloaks holding a corner of fabric in one hand.<sup>121</sup> In that pose, however, the left hand peeks out from under the cloak, resting open upon the man's chest. In contrast here both hands are fisted on the chest, forming an almost hybridized form between images of private individuals, those depicting Osiris, and the closely related *shabti* figurines that also rise in popularity during the Middle Kingdom. Also unusual is the placement of the inscription in several columns on the front of the garment, as the traditional location for such inscriptions is in a single column in the center of the garment's front, on a back-pillar, or on the statuette's base. The placement utilized here could indicate that the inscription was added at a later date, possibly after the lower portion of the statuette had already broken away. The invocation of Hathor mistress of Byblos further suggests that this inscription was added in preparation for the statuette's dedication in the temple of Byblos, possibly as a secondary use for the statuette.

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<sup>118</sup> For this common epithet of Osiris see Leitz 2002c, 799–800.

<sup>119</sup> It is worth reiterating here that the title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* was also adopted among the ruling elite in Byblos (Flammini 1998).

<sup>120</sup> Part of the man's name is missing. Several names begin with the Rehu element. Compare in particular Rehuerdjersen, which would fit the traces here, but is by no means the only possibility (Ranke 1935, 225 (no. 25)).

<sup>121</sup> For the combination of this pose and garment, with additional comparisons, see Dorothea Arnold 2015a.

**87. Statuette of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt (pl. 146)**



Material: Limestone (Dunand)  
Dimensions: H: 12.5 cm  
Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)  
Archaeological Context: Levée VIII, Salle D  
Current Location: Unknown  
Manner of examination: Published photograph  
Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII; Dunand 1939, 169 (no. 2464)

The information about this statuette is not sufficient to determine whether it is Egyptian or merely Egyptianizing. It has nonetheless been included here based on its Egyptian features. The limestone statue depicts a man in a striding pose with his left leg advanced. He wears a high-waisted kilt that comes to mid-calf. The hem of the kilt fabric runs down the center of the garment, and a tab indicating where the fabric has been secured at the waist can be seen on the abdomen. The man's arms are down at his sides, with his hands placed palm-side down on the front of his kilt in a common Middle Kingdom gesture. The man's face is badly damaged, with the result that no remarks can be made about his facial features. The lack of a wig on his shoulders suggests that he was represented bald, however. The man stands on a thick base, the front of which is partially missing, and against a wide back-slab with a rounded top.

**88. Statue of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt (pl. 147)**



Material: Bluish-gray stone (Dunand)<sup>122</sup>  
Dimensions: H: 15 cm  
Date of statue: Late Middle Kingdom(?)  
Archaeological Context: Surface clearance  
Current Location: Unknown  
Manner of examination: Published drawing  
Bibliography: Dunand 1958, II:872–73, fig. 981 (no. 16925)

<sup>122</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “pierre grise, légèrement bleutée, sans doute un roche verte” (1958, II:872).

Another statue representing a standing male in a long kilt is also likely of Egyptian origin. As with Cat. 87, the statue depicts a standing male in a striding pose. The head of the figure, the central portion of his right arm, the legs below the knees as well as the statue's base are all missing. According to Dunand, the unidentified male is positioned against a back-pillar that is "étroit mais épais."<sup>123</sup> The man is presented with his left leg advanced and his arms down in front of him, with his hands placed open, palm-sides down on the front of his thighs. He is bare-chested and wears a long, wraparound kilt that is secured at the waist. A tab of fabric peeks out of the waistband on the proper right side, and the hem of the kilt's fabric runs down the center of the front of the garment. The pose together with the type of garment indicate a Middle Kingdom date for the statue, with the latter portion of that period more likely given the appearance of what Dunand describes as "exaggerated proportions."<sup>124</sup>

**89. Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette(?)** (pl. 148)



Material: Basalt (Montet)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1928, 14, 252, fig. 112 (no. 949)

Montet described this statuette fragment as an "indisputably Egyptian" work.<sup>125</sup>

The fragment preserves the section between the waist and lower thighs of a statuette that once depicted a man standing against a back-pillar. The man wears a long kilt with a seam running down the center. He stands with his arms down in front of him, so that his

<sup>123</sup> Dunand 1958, II:872.

<sup>124</sup> Dunand 1958, II:872.

<sup>125</sup> Montet 1928, 14.



open hands rest palm-side down on the fronts of his thighs. This pose, together with the style of the garment, indicate a Middle Kingdom date for the statuette. When complete, it would have resembled Cat. 87.

**90. Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette** (pl. 149)



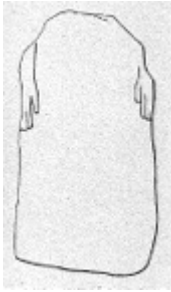
Material: gray amphibolite (Dunand)  
Dimensions: H: 8.5 cm; W: 4 cm  
Date of statue: Middle Kingdom  
Archaeological Context: Surface find  
Current Location: Unknown  
Manner of examination: Published drawing  
Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Dunand 1939, 19–20, fig. 8 (no. 1053)

As with Cat. 89, this fragment, made of a gray, basalt-like stone, comes from a statuette of a standing figure. The statuette is preserved from the waist to approximately the level of the knee. The person depicted, who is likely male, is positioned against a back-pillar and stands with his hands placed palm-side down on the fronts of his thighs. When complete, the statuette would have resembled Cat. 87, depicting a male wearing a long kilt, standing against a back-pillar with his arms down in a gesture of reverence.<sup>126</sup> This pose was particularly common during the Middle Kingdom, the time period to which this piece likely dates.

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<sup>126</sup> Statuettes depicting males in this pose were numerous at Byblos. For additional examples, which could be Egyptian or merely Egyptianizing, see a serpentine example (Dunand 1954, I:72 fig. 50, 73 (no. 7154)), one made of a green stone which Dunand indicates had traces of hieroglyphs on the back-pillar (Dunand 1954, I:78–79 (no. 7213)), or (Dunand 1954, I:279 (no. 9385)). An additional Egyptianizing example in limestone shows a bearded man with a kerchief-style wig (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII; Dunand 1954, I:522 (no. 12420)).

### 91. Lower Portion of a Standing Statue



Material: Gray stone (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 17.8 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: Levées I-V, wall(?)

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published drawing

Bibliography: Dunand 1954, I:261 (no. 9242), fig. 287

As with the preceding examples this fragment comes from a statue of a standing individual with his hands placed on the fronts of his thighs. The statue, which Dunand identifies as Egyptian, portrays a man against a back-pillar, wearing what Dunand describes as an “ample tunic.”<sup>127</sup> All that remains of the statue is the lower portion of this garment, portions of both the left and right hands of the figure, and a section of the back-pillar. As noted in the previous examples, the pose suggests a date in the Middle Kingdom.

### 92. Osirophorous Statue of Nefersekhethotep (pls. 150-153)



Material: Basalt (National Museum of Beirut)<sup>128</sup>

Dimensions: H: 35 cm; W: 8 cm; D: 14.5 cm

Date of statue: Late Period

Archaeological Context: Surface Find

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (DGA 20287)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII; Dunand 1954, I:60 (no. 7048); Montet 1954, 73–75; Jidejian 1977, figs. 179-81; Vernus 1978, 111 (no. 123);

Scandone 1984, 146, pls. XXV.11, XXVI.1-2; Elayi 1995, 15; Parlasca 2004, 2n12; Pétigny 2008, 280

This complete statue shows a standing man, identified in the inscription as Nefersekhethotep, presenting an image of the underworld deity Osiris. The man stands in a striding pose with his left leg advanced. He wears a belted, pleated *shendyt*-kilt, the central panel of which sticks out substantially. The man’s torso is flatly modeled, with a

<sup>127</sup> Dunand 1954, I:261.

<sup>128</sup> Montet previously identified the stone as granite (1954, 73).

bipartite division in the center and emphasis to the pectorals and collarbones. He has a short face with a squared jaw. He has a long, thin nose, a small, pursed mouth, and obliquely set almond-shaped eyes with rounded upper and lower lids. In profile his face is incredibly flat. He wears a plain shoulder-length wig that is flat on top and reveals his ears. The wig rests on the top of the back-pillar, from which it has not been delineated. The arms extend forward so that each hand can rest on the exterior of the Osiris figure's shoulders.

The diminutive Osiris figurine is presented on an unusually tall pedestal that is placed just to the right of Nefersekhethotep's left foot, in the negative space created between his advanced left leg and the right one. The mummiform Osiris holds the crook in his left hand and the flail in his right, with the tops of each implement resting upon a shoulder. He wears a divine beard and the *atef*-crown, which is supported by a strut connecting the back of the headdress to Nefersekhethotep's abdomen. His face has a similar square shape to Nefersekhethotep's and the same heavily lidded eyes.

A hieroglyphic inscription starts at the top of the statue's back-pillar and continues onto its base, starting on the front and winding around clockwise. The inscription reads:<sup>129</sup>

*im3h n Wsir hnty-hty ntr ʿ3 nb Km-wr hbs-diw-ntr iry htpw*<sup>130</sup>

The one revered by Osiris-khenty-khety,<sup>131</sup> the great god, Lord of Athribis,<sup>132</sup> the *hbs-diw-ntr*-priest,<sup>133</sup> keeper of offerings

<sup>129</sup> This translation is based in part upon Montet's transcription of the text, the end of which he notes is difficult to read (1954, 74).

<sup>130</sup> The phonetic value of this group of signs, which is made up of traditional offerings. Vernus read the title as *iry prt-hrw* "le préposé aux offrandes" (1978, 111, 484).

<sup>131</sup> Leitz 2002b, 559.

<sup>132</sup> Leitz 2002c, 765.

<sup>133</sup> This title, the translation of which is still unclear, is a title specific to the Osirian rites at Athribis. For further discussion, see Vernus 1978, 444–47. Vernus suggests that the orthography of the title exhibited on the Nefersekhethotep statue does not appear before the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (1978, 444).

*Nfr-sht-htp s3 P-di-3st ir nb[t] pr [i]hy[t] Hwyt T3-šrt [...] s3.f Hwn-m-3ht m3ꜥ hrw*  
 Nefersekhetotep, son of Padiet, made by the mistress of the house, the musician  
 of Khuit,<sup>134</sup> Tasherit [...] his son Hunemakhet, justified

The content of the inscription clearly indicates that it was created for a man living in Athribis, and as a result, suggests that it was manufactured in that city, as was the case for a number of other statues in this corpus.<sup>135</sup> Vernus dated the statue to the Persian period or later, owing to what he viewed as the presence of so-called buttonhole eyes.<sup>136</sup> The details of both Nefersekhetotep's and Osiris' distinctive, almost cartoon-like eyes are difficult to ascertain in the published photograph, however, and, as heavily-rimmed eyes are not uncommon in the preceding 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, a Saite date cannot be ruled out.<sup>137</sup>

### 93. Pair Statuette of Two Standing Men (pl. 154-155)



Material: Gray gabbro (Dunand)<sup>138</sup>

Dimensions: H: 12 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Levée X

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII; Dunand 1954, I:444, 476 (no. 11398)

This pair statuette depicts two men standing side-by-side. Each stands with his fistful hands down at his sides and with his left foot slightly advanced. They are displayed atop a thick base and, according to Dunand, are positioned against a back-pillar or slab.<sup>139</sup> The statuette has been reassembled from two pieces, having broken at the level of the figures' waists. Further damage has occurred to the front of the base, the exterior elbows,

<sup>134</sup> Khuit served as the primary goddess in Athribis starting from the Third Intermediate Period (Vernus 1978, 440–44; Leitz 2002e, 675–76).

<sup>135</sup> For further discussion of the statues from Athribis, see Chapter 3.4.2.

<sup>136</sup> Vernus 1978, 111.

<sup>137</sup> Compare, for instance, the Osirophorous statue of Inheretiutefankh (Cairo CG 48647; Josephson and Eldamaty 1999, 106–7, pl. 47). Elayi also suggests the possibility of a Saite date for the Byblos statue (1995, 15).

<sup>138</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “pierre grise du genre gabbro” (1954, I:444).

<sup>139</sup> Dunand 1954, I:444.

and to the faces, particularly that of the man on the proper right side. Both men are bare-chested and wear long, almost ankle-length kilts that are surmounted by belts ornamented with incised decoration.<sup>140</sup> In each example, the fabric's hem can be seen running down the center of the garment. Also occupying the front of the garment is a single column of hieroglyphic text, the signs of which are too faint to make out in the published photograph or drawings (Fig. 49), although the traces seem to suggest a formulaic inscription identifying each figure. Each man has a short, round face and wears a shoulder-length striated wig that exposes his ears. Small-scale portrayals of multiple individuals in the same statue increase in popularity during the later Middle Kingdom. Such a date for this pair statuette is further indicated by the style of the men's garments and wigs, as well as the modeling of their figures.

#### **94. Group Statue of a Man and Two Women (pl. 156)**



Material: Gray granite (Montet)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Temple Syrien

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1922, 261, fig. 17; Montet 1928, 47–8 (no. 23); Montet 1929, pl. XXXV; Chéhab, n.d., 38; Jidejian 1977, fig. 182; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57; Wastlhuber 2011, 50–1 (no. 51)

This Middle Kingdom group statue depicts a man flanked by female family members. All three figures are portrayed standing against a round-topped back-slab that rises just above their heads. Only the upper part of the statue, which is broken at the level of the figures' hips, is preserved. The man wears the typical Middle Kingdom long kilt that comes up to his natural waist. Details in the patterning on the front indicate where

<sup>140</sup> The belt patterns are difficult to make out in the photograph, but Dunand described the element as “une ceinture ornée de traits verticaux” (1954, I:444).

the hem of the fabric has been wrapped around the body and tucked into the waistband. His arms are placed down at his sides in a pose which indicates that his hands once rested on the front of his kilt in a gesture of reverence. He wears a striated wig that is shoulder length, coming to rest on either collarbone in a point. It exposes his ears, which are large. Some damage has occurred to the face and, utilizing solely the published images, it is difficult to comment on the man's facial features, beyond the observation that he has a short, round visage.

The women are depicted as mirror images of each other, at least in the portion of the statue that is preserved. They stand to either side of the male figure with their arms down at their sides. Each wears a voluminous Hathoric wig, parted in the center, which pushes the ears forward. The striated plaits of hair terminate in large curls on the chest to either side of the face. Wigs of this type were en vogue during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>141</sup> The wigs frame the women's short, round faces, the features of which cannot be made out in published photographs. Both women wear a sheath dress with wide straps, the hems of which are rendered in raised relief. Family groupings of this type, some including stela-like elements as exhibited in the Byblos piece, were popular during the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, the period to which this work also dates.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Vandier 1958, 254. The Hathoric wig becomes popular during the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty when it is worn by the queens of Senwosret II (Freed 2010, 897–99).

<sup>142</sup> Compare, for example, the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty serpentinite statuette of a man between two women (Louvre N 1604; Delange 1987, 102–3); the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty composite statuette-offering table of Senpu and his family (Louvre E 11573; Delange 1987, 144–47).

**95. Group Statuette with a Standing Woman in the Center (pl. 157)**



Material: Unknown<sup>143</sup>

Dimensions: H: 9.5 cm; W: 7.2 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII; Dunand 1954, I:66–67 (no. 7105)

As with the preceding statue, this fragment comes from the central portion of a group statuette that once depicted at least three individuals. The central figure is a woman who stands with her arms down at her sides. She has a round face and a curvy figure that emphasizes her thin waist and wide hips. She wears a heavy, slightly longer than shoulder-length wig that covers her ears, and a tight-fitting sheath dress with wide straps. The back-slab that she stands against is preserved at least to the height of her forehead. A compatriot once stood to either side of her, with his arm passing behind her. Almost the entireties of these two people's presentations are now missing, as is the rest of the statuette below the level of the woman's knees. The design of the work as a group statuette as well as the treatment of the woman's body help to date this piece to the late Middle Kingdom, likely the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Though the material is clearly a dark stone (perhaps granodiorite?) as indicated in the photo, Dunand makes no attempt to identify or describe it.

<sup>144</sup> For the placement of a female in the center of a group statue, compare a steatite triad in the Petrie Museum (UC 16650; Page 1976, 21–22 (no. 23)). For the pose showing the outer triad members embracing the central figure, compare a granite statuette in the Walters Art Museum (WAM 22.413; Steindorff 1976, 29–30 (no. 53), pl. XII).

**96. Group or Pair Statue with a Standing Male (pl. 158)**



Material: Gray stone (Dunand)<sup>145</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Levée IX

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1954, 1:415 (no. 11057)

This roughly triangularly-shaped fragment comes from a pair or group statue of late Middle Kingdom date. The fragment depicts a standing male and part of a slab protruding to his left. The figure's feet as well as all parts of his companion(s) are now missing. The man wears a long, waist-height kilt with a seem running down the front of the garment's center and a tab of fabric pulled up under the waistband in front. His short, round face, the features of which have been obliterated, is framed by a heavy, shoulder-length wig. The man's arms hang pendant, with his hands placed palm-side down on the front of his garment. The projecting stone to the left of the figure is inscribed with a single column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. What remains contains the beginning of the standard offering formula:

*ḥtp di nsw Pth-Sk[r...]*

A gift the king gives to Ptah-Sokar...

The man's pose, his garment, and the statue's composition with multiple figures all point towards a date in the late 12<sup>th</sup> or, more probably, 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

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<sup>145</sup> Dunand describes the stone as "pierre gris foncé, dure" (1954, I:415).



**97. Lower Portion of a Seated Statue(tte) (pl. 159)**



Material: Alabaster (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 40 cm<sup>146</sup>

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Levée III, Salle C

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. LII; Dunand 1939, 112 (no. 1681)

This fragment comes from a work of sculpture that once depicted an individual seated on a low-backed seat or throne. The seat is of a traditional Egyptian type, with a cushion folded over the rounded back. The figure sits with his or legs extended some distance from the front of the chair, feet placed firmly upon a rectangular base. A bump on the figure's lap is likely a representation of his or her hands placed there.<sup>147</sup> The statue has broken at the middle of the figure's waist. In his description of the work, Dunand noted that it exhibited a high-level of craftsmanship. He went on to suggest that it was a representation of Isis-Hathor.<sup>148</sup> Without further examination of the fragment it is not possible to firmly identify the figure owing to the lack of inscription and the absence of clear gender markers in the published photograph. What remains is reminiscent of Late Period goddess sculptures, however, such as Cat. 8 and Cat. 13, and it is possible that this work was once a variation of that type.

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<sup>146</sup> Dunand provides the height of Cat. 97 as 0.40 meters (1939, 112). Its image is presented with a series of small-scale objects including amulets, however, suggesting that the actual height of the object is 4 cm rather than 40.

<sup>147</sup> Alternatively, the bump could represent the removal of another figure. Compare Cat. 13.

<sup>148</sup> Dunand 1939, 112.

**98. Block Statuette** (pls. 160-161)



Material: Steatite (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 11.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Amenemhat II–Senwosret II

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut (B 1150)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. XLI; Dunand 1939, 35 (no. 1150); Schulz 1992, I: 66 (no. 012), II: pl. 5c

This small, anepigraphic block statuette depicts a man seated on a rectangular base with his legs pulled up in front of him.<sup>149</sup> The man wears a long kilt, the waistband and hem of which are indicated with incised horizontal lines. The contours of the figure's body are rendered naturalistically, with clear delineation of the legs made. His arms rest on the tops of his knees, crossed right over left, with his hands rendered hieroglyphically on his biceps. The man wears an un-parted, striated shoulder-length wig that is tucked behind his shoulder and exposes his stylized ears. His face is short and square, with a broad mouth that is straight and open in the corners. The eyes are wide open, with slightly curved lower rims and highly arching upper rims, both of which are treated plastically, as are the eyebrows. Despite its diminutive size, the sculpture is well carved, and with the exception of a crack on the front proper right corner of the base and some chips in the front of the garment and on the left elbow, very well preserved. Based on the facial features exhibited by figure, the statuette can be dated to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and more specifically to the reigns of Amenemhat II or perhaps his successor Senwosret II.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>149</sup> The lack of inscription led Schulz to propose that the statuette was once incorporated into a larger monument (Schulz 1992, I: 66n2).

<sup>150</sup> This date was also assigned to the statuette by Schulz (Schulz 1992, I: 66).

**99. Stamp Seal in the Form of a Block Statuette (pls. 162-164)**



Material: Steatite(?)<sup>151</sup>

Dimensions: H: 3.1 cm; W: 2.4 cm; D: 2.7 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Offering Deposit in the Temple aux Obélisques

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut, DGA 1761<sup>152</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. XCV; Dunand 1958, II:767 (no. 15378); Chéhab 1969, 26; G. T. Martin 1971, 31 (no. 329), pl. 43.3, pl. 47B.8-9; Jidejian 1977, figs. 163–4; Giolitto 1988, 12:34 (no. 24), pl. I.5; Schulz 1992, I: 67-68; B. V. Bothmer 2004, 131 (no. 3)

Although this object was designed to function as a stamp, it has been included here because of its sculptural qualities. The miniature statuette or figurine presents a male figure in the traditional block statue pose, seated on a rectangular base with his bent legs pulled up in front of him. It takes the form of a more schematic block statue, wherein the man's cloak-like garment completely envelops his body, with only his head and hands poking out at the top. The man wears a striated wig that comes to rest on either shoulder. He has a protruding chin, a wide mouth, squinty eyes, and incised eyebrows. The stamp portion of the seal on the underside of the figurine is inscribed in two columns of right-to-left reading hieroglyphs that provide the name and title of the owner: the overseer of the house of Osiris, Ankhnefer (Fig. 46).<sup>153</sup> The text is enclosed within a border made up of interlocking spirals.

<sup>151</sup> The National Museum of Beirut currently lists the material as faience (Afeiche 2014). Previous publications have identified it as metamorphic limestone (Dunand 1958, II:767) or soft limestone (Schulz 1992, I: 67).

<sup>152</sup> The object was previously registered in the National Museum of Beirut under the number B 8153.

<sup>153</sup> *imy-r pr Wsir ḥnh-nfr*.

**100. Lower Portion of a Block Statue Figurine (pl. 165)**



Material: “green stone” (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 3 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Levée I, Salle A

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII; Dunand 1939, 92 (no. 1344)

This diminutive figurine shows a figure seated on the ground with his legs pulled up in front of him. The head of the figure, who is presented on a base, is missing. Unlike more schematic block statues that envelop the figure’s limbs in a garment, this work clearly shows the contour of the man’s legs. His arms are extended and bent, resting on the top of his knees. Too little of the figurine is presented in the publication to ascertain a place of origin for the piece, but the appearance of other Egyptian block statues at the site (Cats. 98 and 99) has resulted in its inclusion here.

**101. Lower Portion of a Kneeling Naophorous(?) Statue (pls. 166-169)**



Material: Diorite (Renan)

Dimensions: H: 32.6 cm; W: 18 cm; D: 32 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (E 4902)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Renan 1864, 161-62, 844 (no. 91), pl. V.4; Gubel 2002a

This fragment comes from the lower portion of a naophorous statue. The statue depicts a kneeling man presenting a damaged offering, which consists of a small shrine-shaped object fronted by a round-topped stela. The statue is broken at the man’s waist, removing most of his torso, his head, and the upper portion of his arms. Additional damage has removed the front proper right corner of the base and substantial portions of

the man's offering, particularly on the right side. In addition, the surface of the statue is incredibly worn.

The man is portrayed in a traditional kneeling pose, with the weight of his body supported by his flexed feet, the toes of which fan out. His arms are bent before him so that he can hold the shrine-shaped object in front of him between his two hands, which are placed open against the sides of the offering. He wears a long pleated kilt, the front of which hangs from his legs onto the statue's base. The man is presented on a rectangular base with a back-pillar rising up in the back. The surfaces of both the base and the back-pillar are highly worn, but retain faint traces indicating that they once bore inscriptions.

Statues depicting officials presenting various types of offerings to the gods are an innovation of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty that continues in popularity through the Ramesside period and later.<sup>154</sup> Despite numerous sources of comparandae, however, it is difficult to assign Cat. 101 to a particular type. When viewed in profile from the left side, the offering presented seems to be a small, box-shaped shrine with a cavetto cornice.<sup>155</sup> Unlike other naophorous statues, which present shrines encasing a divine image, the shrine of the Byblos statue is fronted by a round-topped stela that extends the length of its front all the way to the top of the statue's base. As with the back-pillar and base, it is clear that this panel of stone was once inscribed, although the traces are too faint now to identify any of the signs. It therefore seems that the Byblos statue was designed as an unusual amalgamation of the naophorous statue with the stelephorous statue.

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<sup>154</sup> For a recent discussion of this class of statues, see Bernhauer 2010. Compare also a naophorous statue (Cat. 116) and several Osirophorous statues (Cats. 19, 58, 92) in this study.

<sup>155</sup> The cornice rises substantially from the rest of the object, creating an impression in the center of the top. This object was previously identified as an altar by Gubel.

Gubel dated Cat. 101 to the Ramesside period based on the presence of what he interprets as an altar, as well as the man's style of clothing.<sup>156</sup> Similar garments are worn by men on 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statues of kneeling males, however, many of whom have the same, extremely flat knees exhibited on the Byblos piece, so an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date cannot be excluded.<sup>157</sup>

**102. Statue of a Scribe Seated Cross-legged** (pls. 170-172)



Material: Diorite (Jidejian)<sup>158</sup>

Dimensions: H: 24.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Levée IX

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Dunand 1927, 97, pl. XXV; Dunand 1937, pl. XL; Dunand 1939, 181–82 (no. 2856); Chéhab 1969, 14, pl. II.1; Jidejian 1968, fig. 33; Jidejian 1977, fig. 81; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57; Wastlhuber 2011, 50 (no. 50)

This nearly complete statue portrays an Egyptian scribe seated upon the ground with a roll of papyrus unfurled on his lap.<sup>159</sup> The statue has sustained a number of repairable breaks, as well as a large area of loss on the front of the statue that removed the man's hands, the frontmost part of his legs as well as a portion of the statue's base. Minor patches of damage have also occurred to the man's face. The scribe is presented on a base that is rounded in the back. The man wears an unstriated shoulder-length wig that exposes his long, slender ears. He has a pointed chin, a mouth with a full lower lip that turns up slightly at the corners and a broad-based nose. Dunand's

<sup>156</sup> Gubel 2002a.

<sup>157</sup> e.g., the stelephorous statue of Nebansu (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 655; Jørgensen 1998, 74–77); a sistrophorous statue of Senenmut (Munich ÄS 6265; Bernhauer 2010, 227–28, pl. 10); the statue of Sendjehuty (Cairo CG 42123; Bernhauer 2010, 280–81, pl. 37); the statue of Iwna (Munich ÄS 6761; Bernhauer 2010, 286–87, pl. 40).

<sup>158</sup> The stone from which the statue is made has been identified as serpentine (Dunand 1927, 97), amphibolite (Dunand 1939, 181), basalt (PM VII: 388) and diorite (Jidejian 1968, fig. 33).

<sup>159</sup> An Egyptianizing scribal statue with a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription was also found at Byblos (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII; Dunand 1954, I:87 (no. 7315)).

identification of the scribe's garment as a kilt secured at the waist must refer to the long kilt that is commonly worn by men portrayed in a scribal pose. His arms are placed down in his lap, most likely in Scott's Scribal Pose A, wherein the scribe holds the papyrus roll in his left hand and a writing utensil in his right, although this cannot be confirmed due to the loss of both hands.<sup>160</sup>

The papyrus that is unrolled over the scribe's lap is inscribed with five columns of hieroglyphic inscription that is oriented towards the viewer rather than the scribe himself. The signs, which read from right to left, are written on the papyrus roll in two sections, with the scribe's right arm serving as a divider. The first section is comprised of two columns on the scribe's lap, while the remaining three columns appear on the portion of papyrus draped over his right thigh. The text reads:

*ḥtp di nsw Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt*

A gift the king gives to Hathor, mistress

*n Twnt ḥryt-ib [...]*<sup>161</sup>

of Dendera,<sup>162</sup> who is in the midst of [...]<sup>163</sup>

*di.s prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw*

that she might give an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, meat, fowl

*šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt ḥ3 m ḥt nbt*

alabaster, clothing, incense, unguent, and a thousand of everything

*nfrt w<sup>c</sup>bt dd pt [...]*

good and pure which heaven gives [...]

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<sup>160</sup> Scott 1989, xvi.

<sup>161</sup> This sign is not legible in any of the published photographs of the statue. Dunand transcribed it as a short, flat sign resembling a vessel with loop handles at either side that does not correspond to any Egyptian hieroglyphic sign.

<sup>162</sup> For this common epithet of Hathor, see Leitz 2002d, 10–12.

<sup>163</sup> Dunand translates the passage “qui demeure dans Byblos” (1939, 182). The sign he provides does not resemble either of the signs (Gardiner R5, V31) used to spell the name of that city in Egyptian, however, so the translation has been left blank here.

Statues of scribes in this pose are known from several periods of Egyptian history, most notably the Middle and New Kingdoms.<sup>164</sup> The style of wig exhibited by the Byblos scribe, together with the facial features, the treatment of the ears, and the flaccid modeling of the torso indicate that this work dates to the Middle Kingdom.

**103. Lower Portion of a Statue of a Man Seated Cross-legged (pl. 173)**



Material: Gray stone (Dunand)<sup>165</sup>

Dimensions: H: 14.8 cm; W: 11.7 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Levée XIV

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII; Dunand 1958, II:572 (no. 13069)

This statue shows a man seated on the ground with his legs crossed. Much of the man's torso and lower body are preserved, but his upper arms, shoulder and head are missing. He wears a long, high-waisted kilt that envelops his legs, providing a compactness to his lower body. His forearms and hands, the tops of which are damaged, are placed in his lap. The figure is displayed on a base, the front of which is missing. According to Dunand, no inscriptions are present on the statue. The type of garment as well as the pose point towards a Middle Kingdom date.

<sup>164</sup> Compare a limestone Middle Kingdom scribal statue in Cairo (CG 42040; Legrain 1906, I:24, pl. XXV); the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Iay (Louvre N 870; Delange 1987, 96–99; Seipel 1992, 194–95) and a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sandstone statue (CG 827; Borchardt 1930, III:115, pl. 153).

<sup>165</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “pierre grise, gréseuse” (Dunand 1958, II:572).



**104. Lower Portion of a Statue of a Kneeling Woman** (pls. 174-175)



Material: Limestone (Dunand)

Dimensions: Unknown<sup>166</sup>

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Unknown<sup>167</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1928, 57 (no. 32); Montet 1929, pl. XXXV; Borchardt 1931, col. 27

This fragment from the lower part of a statue portrays a woman kneeling with her right foot extended behind her, bottom side up, and her hands placed palm-sides down in her lap.<sup>168</sup> Breakage has removed the figure's torso and head, as well as part of the rear portion of the statue's base. That the person depicted is a woman rather than a male is evidenced by the presence of bracelets on each of her wrists, the figure's pose, and, most importantly, the contents of an inscription on the front of her garment.<sup>169</sup>

An inscription, written in a single column of hieroglyphs that read from right to left, occupies the center of the woman's skirt. Montet was only able to identify the words "Hathor, mistress of [...]" in his treatment of the statue, leading him to conclude that it depicts a priest of that goddess. Borchardt was able to expand the translation, however, identifying signs to allow for the following reading:

*ḥtp-di-nsw Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt [...] n nbt pr Ii[...]*

A gift the king gives to Hathor, mistress of [...] to the mistress of the house Ii[...]

The mistress of the house title, the most common among private women, confirms the female gender of the figure depicted.

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<sup>166</sup> Montet identifies the work as a statuette rather than a statue, but gives no additional indication of its proportions.

<sup>167</sup> The work might be the kneeling statue with hieroglyphic inscription located in Vitrine 50 in the National Museum of Beirut's catalogue (Chéhab, n.d., 38).

<sup>168</sup> It is possible that the other foot was portrayed in a similar manner, but is now lost. For a similar pose, compare the statue of Sitsnefru (MMA 18.2.2).

<sup>169</sup> While men are often shown kneeling on the ground, their feet take a more active position, with their ankles flexed, supporting the weight of the body, e.g., Cat. 101.

**105. Upper Portion of a Male Statue (pl. 176)**



Material: Granite (Dunand)

Dimensions: H: 9.5 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown<sup>170</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII; Dunand 1954, I:460

This fragment comes from the upper part of a male statue. It depicts a man wearing a high-waisted kilt and a striated wig. The wig, which does not part in the center, is shoulder length and exposes the man's ears. Damage to the face has removed the nose and also mars the mouth. His narrow eyes are set obliquely on his face, and have straight lower lids and arching upper lids. As preserved, the man's arms are down at his sides and seem to exhibit a good level of modeling in the musculature. Owing to the high position of the break at the man's waist, it is not possible to determine the form that the statue originally took. The apparent lack of a back-pillar, however, does suggest that the man was in a seated pose, either on a chair or cross-legged on the ground. The choice of garment, the style of the wig, and the treatment of the facial features indicate a Middle Kingdom date for the statue.

**106. Upper Portion of a Male Statue (pl. 177)**



Material: Diorite (Dunand)

Dimensions: 11 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Levée XII

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII; Dunand 1958, II:523 (no. 12437)

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<sup>170</sup> Dunand no. 11595.

This worn fragment comes from the upper portion of a male figure that Dunand indicates was once portrayed standing.<sup>171</sup> The fragment has broken away from the rest of the statue at the level of the man's waist. The man wears a kerchief-style wig, the pointed sections of which frame his face, tucked behind his ears. No indications of a part or of striated strands are visible on the fragment as preserved. His round face is badly damaged, with areas of loss on the nose and mouth, and only faint traces remaining of his narrow eyes and arching brows. No indication of the man's garment is visible in the published photograph, nor is it mentioned in Dunand's description of the work, indicating that the man is likely bare-chested. Based on his examination of the statue, Dunand dated it to the Second Intermediate Period through New Kingdom. The style of wig is more common in the Middle Kingdom, however, indicating that period as its more likely date of manufacture.<sup>172</sup>

**107. Head of a Male Statue (pl. 178)**



Material: Limestone (Dunand)  
 Dimensions: H: 5.9 cm; W: 10 cm  
 Date of statue: Unknown  
 Archaeological Context: Surface find  
 Current Location: Unknown  
 Manner of examination: Published photograph  
 Bibliography: PM VII: 389; Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII; Dunand 1939, 20 (no. 1054)

This limestone statue head is badly degraded, with all of the facial features obliterated. The statue is broken at the level of the neck, preserving only the head. It once

<sup>171</sup> Given the high position of the break, however, and the apparent lack of a back-pillar, a seated pose cannot be ruled out without further examination of the piece.

<sup>172</sup> Compare, for example, the unstriated kerchief-style wig of a man of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Louvre E 1176 *bis*; Delange 1987, 136–37); that worn by the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Wedjiru (Louvre E 11196; Delange 1987, 138–39). For further discussion with examples, see Vandier 1958, I: 251–52.

depicted a man wearing a striated, shoulder-length wig that reveals the man's ears. Too little of the statue is preserved to comment on its date or the form that it originally took.

**108. Portion of the Head of a Male Statue** (pls. 179-180)



Material: Gray Stone (Dunand)<sup>173</sup>  
Dimensions: H: 5.5 cm; W: 7 cm  
Date of statue: Middle Kingdom(?)  
Archaeological Context: Levée XVIII  
Current Location: Unknown  
Manner of examination: Published photograph  
Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1958, II:784 (no. 15606), 785 fig. 889

This fragment comes from a delicately sculpted statue of a male individual that was of a very high quality. The fragment preserves the proper right side of the face and the wig, and has broken away from the rest of the statuette horizontally at the top of the shoulder and diagonal to the right of the nose, removing the chin, mouth, nose and left eye in their entirety. The face is well modeled, particularly on the cheek, and the ear is naturalistically rendered. The eye, which is almond shaped and has a convex surface, has emphasized upper and lower lids carved in relief, with some hooding to the upper rim.<sup>174</sup> No indications of extended cosmetic lines are visible in the published photograph. The man wears a striated wig that reveals the ear. The style of striated wig with the chevron pattern in back as well as the naturalistic modeling of the eyes with hooded lids suggests a date in the mid to late Middle Kingdom.<sup>175</sup> Unfortunately, the break of the fragment is too high to ascertain what pose the man was represented in.

<sup>173</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “pierre gris bleu à grain très fin” (1958, II:784).

<sup>174</sup> The inner canthus of the eye has been removed with the rest of the break.

<sup>175</sup> Compare, for example a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty granite statue of Khema dated to the reigns of Amenemhat II–Senwosret II (Habachi 1985a, 43-44, pl. 39-45) or the treatment of the face on the statue of Heqaib, son of Sattjeni, dated to the reign of Amenemhat III (Habachi 1985a, 57 (no. 30), pls. 88-92). Alternatively, the treatment of the eyes and the wig style would also fit with sculpture of the Late Period. Compare a 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty quartzite statue of a priest of Bubastis (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 51-19-3; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 9-10, pl. 8).

**109. Upper Portion of a Male Statuette** (pl. 181)



Material: Schist(?) (Dunand)<sup>176</sup>

Dimensions: H: 4.8 cm

Date of statue: late Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Surface clearance

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1958, II:621 (no. 13762)

This fragment preserves the proper left side of the upper portion of a male statuette. The work depicts a man of late Middle Kingdom date who wears a cloak, the hem of which runs down diagonally from his shoulder. In addition, he wears a kerchief-style wig that exposes his ear, which is disproportionately long and rendered in low relief. Few features of the man's face remain, but what is visible suggests that he had a short, round face with a smiling expression. Too little of the statuette is preserved to identify the pose that the man was depicted in.

**110. Upper Portion of a Male Statue** (pl. 182)



Material: Granodiorite(?)<sup>177</sup>

Dimensions: H: 10.4 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI; Dunand 1954, I:60 (no. 7049)

This fragment preserves the wig, proper right ear, torso, and upper arm of a private statue. The man wears an undecorated, shoulder-length wig that extends slightly in the front and exposes the ears. When complete, the hairstyle almost certainly took the

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<sup>176</sup> Dunand describes the stone as “*pierre bleutée (schiste ?)*” (Dunand 1958, II:621). A study of the published photograph suggests that granodiorite might be a better candidate, but without further examination of the fragment it is impossible to determine the material with certainty.

<sup>177</sup> No indication of the stone type is given in the published description of Cat. 110. The photograph reveals that the stone is a dark one, perhaps granodiorite or something similar. Further examination of the fragment is required to identify the stone conclusively.

form of a kerchief-style wig that comes to a point on the chest to either side of the face.<sup>178</sup>

The man wears a kilt surmounted by a thick, undecorated belt that angles down slightly from back to front. Based upon the small percentage of the statue that is preserved, it is not possible to comment on the form that the statue originally took. The hairstyle suggests a date during the Middle Kingdom.

#### 111. Statue Fragment Inscribed with an Epithet of Hathor (pl. 183)



Material: Alabaster

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom or later

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut

Manner of examination: Published drawings

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Montet 1922, 239, fig. 2; Montet 1928, 39-40, fig. 8

An alabaster fragment inscribed with three columns of hieroglyphs was among the finds Montet recovered at Byblos. Utilizing the published line drawings, it is impossible to get a sense of the placement of the fragment on the larger work from which it came, and, indeed, Montet notes that too little of the statue was preserved to reconstruct its original form.<sup>179</sup> The arrangement of the hieroglyphic text in a series of columns suggests that this fragment was once part of a back-pillar or perhaps the lower part of a block seat, if indeed the original work was a statue at all. Montet states that the three columns are arranged in such a fashion that there is approximately one column width of space between them. The first column is highly fragmentary and cannot be reconstructed.<sup>180</sup> The second column contains the epithet *nbt nht rsyt*, “mistress of the

<sup>178</sup> Dunand, who describes the hairstyle as a *claf*, a term most frequently used to denote the *nemes*, apparently had the same impression (1954, I:60).

<sup>179</sup> Montet 1928, 39–40.

<sup>180</sup> Traces of an *f* (Gardiner I9) followed by an *r* (Gardiner D21) or the eye hieroglyph (Gardiner D4) are visible in the line drawing.

southern sycamore,” an epithet commonly associated with the goddess Hathor, who was also associated with the goddess of Byblos.<sup>181</sup> As with the first column, the final column is too fragmentary to make any sense of.<sup>182</sup> Montet dated the statue to the New Kingdom or later owing to the use of the flat *m* (Gardiner Aa13) in the inscription. Such a date would also fit with the epithet assigned to Hathor, which does not occur before the New Kingdom.

### 112. Statue of Prehotep

Material: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty(?)

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Unknown<sup>183</sup>

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: PM VII: 388; Rouvier 1899, 11; Montet 1921, 162–63; Montet 1928, 5; Chéhab 1969, 33

According to a brief, now largely inaccessible publication by Rouvier, a statue inscribed for the official Prehotep was once in the possession of Løytved in Beirut.<sup>184</sup> No details about the statue, which is said to have come from Byblos, are known, beyond the fact that Erman read the name of Prehotep on it.<sup>185</sup> The statue has traditionally been dated to the reign of Seti I based on an assumed equation of the statue owner with a well-known high official from that period. It should be noted, however, that Prehotep is a

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<sup>181</sup> For the epithet, which is attested from the New Kingdom through the Graeco-Roman period, see Leitz 2002d, 79. Montet read “Dame d’Amit du Sud dans les papyrus,” taking the tree sign (Gardiner M1) as *imꜣt* (see also PM VII: 388) and the following signs as the beginnings of the toponym *Twfy* (1928, 40). While this is certainly incorrect, I cannot provide a more sound reading of the signs provided, which consist of a flat *m* (Gardiner Aa13) followed by a viper emerging from another sign. It should also be noted that the illustration of this line varies in the two drawings provided by Montet, most notably in how much of the *nb* sign is preserved. The illustrations should therefore be used with caution.

<sup>182</sup> It contains the foreign land determinative (Gardiner N25) followed by the phrase *m-ht rdi* “after giving [...]”

<sup>183</sup> The work was formerly in the Løytved collection in Beirut.

<sup>184</sup> The statue was published in a 31-page pamphlet resulting from a conference held March 23, 1899 in Beirut. This source was not examined by the present author.

<sup>185</sup> Montet 1928, 5.

common name and that, without further examination of the statue and the titles associated with the individual, it cannot be securely dated.<sup>186</sup>

### 113. Five fragments from an Inscribed Statue (pl. 184)



Material: Greywacke(?)<sup>187</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Surface Find

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: PM VII: 389; Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV; Dunand 1939, 18 (no. 1050)

Five fragments of a statue (none of which join) were among Dunand's early finds at Byblos.<sup>188</sup> According to him, the fragments represent the base and back-pillar of a statue. Two of the five fragments are inscribed with hieroglyphs, indicating an Egyptian origin for the piece. Of the five fragments, images were only published of these two. The first, published as 1050(b), preserves part of the back-pillar of the upper portion of the statue, as evidenced by remains of a striated wig at the top. This fragment is inscribed in hieroglyphs that read from right to left, and which invoke the god Ptah, Lord of Maat.<sup>189</sup> The second fragment, published by Dunand 1050(a), likely comes from lower down on the statue's back-pillar. Its inscription contains several signs, including the preposition *hr*, and is bordered on the left side with an incised vertical line, mirroring the incised line that is preserved to the right of the inscription on the other fragment.<sup>190</sup> Without examining the remaining three fragments, it is difficult to assign a type to the statue,

<sup>186</sup> Ranke 1935, 114 (no. 20).

<sup>187</sup> Dunand identifies the material as "pierre verte" (1939, 18).

<sup>188</sup> Because Dunand does not describe or illustrate the other fragments, all five have been included here under one catalogue number.

<sup>189</sup> The inscription is highly fragmentary. For *nb m3't* as an epithet of Ptah, see Leitz 2002c, 639–42. The epithet is followed by three vertical signs, the final one of which appears to be the papyrus column (Gardiner M13).

<sup>190</sup> The inscription consists of a partial sign followed by a stroke, the preposition *hr*, a horseshoe-shaped sign (possibly the top of a tall *s* (Gardiner S29), a *h* (Gardiner Aa1) and an *r* (Gardiner D21).



although the extent of the back-pillar suggests a standing pose. Likewise, the date of the statue is difficult to ascertain, although the fine quality of the hieroglyphs points towards a later date.

#### 114. Inscribed Sculptural Fragment (pl. 185)



Material: Greywacke(?)<sup>191</sup>  
 Dimensions: Unknown  
 Date of statue: Unknown  
 Archaeological Context: Near the rampart walls  
 Current Location: Unknown  
 Manner of examination: Published photographs  
 Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV; Dunand 1939, 424 (no. 6555a); Scandone 1984, 146, pl. XXVII.1

Dunand describes this fragment, together with Cat. 115, simply as a pair of “fragments sculptés,” but the evident three-dimensionality of each fragment as visible in the published photographs suggests that they come from statue(tte)s.<sup>192</sup> Because Dunand does not explicitly state that they originated from the same object and there are no visible joins in the published photographs, Cats. 114 and 115 have been treated in separate catalogue entries here, although it is probable that they once belonged to a single work.

The irregular shape of Cat. 115 makes it difficult to identify what type of statue it comes from, or even which part of the statue it would have fit onto. Much of the fragment appears to have a rounded, convex surface onto which a single line of hieroglyphs reading left-to-right have been inscribed. The text provides the epithets of a deity whose name is now lost:

[...]t[...] *nb n it ntrw ntr ʕ3* [...]   
 all/every [...] to the Father of the Gods,<sup>193</sup> the Great God<sup>194</sup> [...]

<sup>191</sup> Dunand identifies the stone as “pierre verte, cristalline” (1939, 424).

<sup>192</sup> Dunand 1939, 424.

<sup>193</sup> This epithet is commonly used to describe several deities (Leitz 2002a, 580–82).

<sup>194</sup> The epithet *ntr ʕ3* is also used to refer to numerous gods (Leitz 2002d, 395–98).

As both of the preserved epithets are attested for numerous deities, it is not possible to identify the deity being invoked here. Based upon the present evidence, a date cannot be assigned to the fragment.

#### 115. Inscribed Sculptural Fragment (pl. 186)



Material: Greywacke(?)<sup>195</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Near the rampart walls

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV; Dunand 1939, 424 (no. 6555b);

Scandone 1984, 146, pl. XXVII.2

As discussed above, Cat. 115 likely comes from the same work as Cat. 114. The fragment has one undamaged, straight edge, but all other surfaces are broken, precluding an identification of the type of statue from which it comes, and consequentially its date. A single column of hieroglyphs reading from left-to-right appears on the side of the fragment with the finished edge. It reads:

*niwty n iry-p<sup>ḥ</sup>t ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup>* [...]   
 belonging to the city,<sup>196</sup> to the hereditary prince and noble [...]

The text therefore provides part of the titulary of the person once depicted by the statue, which is comprised of titles that are among the most common for Egyptian officials throughout pharaonic history. The inscription may contain the beginning of the so-called “Saite formula,” although no indication of a *ntr* sign at the top of the column is visible.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>195</sup> See note 191 above.

<sup>196</sup> Hannig 2006, I:1203; *Wb.* V: 212.

<sup>197</sup> Scandone 1984, 146. This formula, attested since the New Kingdom, is used to consecrate a statue, invoking the city god. For further discussion of the formula, see De Meulenaere 1995; Jansen-Winkeln 2000.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

From a stratigraphic perspective the archaeological remains from Byblos are notoriously difficult to interpret, a result of the continuous reuse of architectural elements over a period of millennia combined with the deficient archaeological methods of its excavators.<sup>198</sup> As Joukowsky noted, “the topography is so complicated that Chalcolithic and Roman remains ... can be found at the same level.”<sup>199</sup> The primitive excavation methods utilized by Montet, which were only marginally improved upon over the course of several excavation seasons by Dunand, fall far short of modern archaeological standards, with the result that it is often difficult to pinpoint where a specific object was found within the site either horizontally or vertically.<sup>200</sup> In addition, the ever-evolving terminology used to identify individual structures by different missions can complicate the grouping of materials found in the same area over time. Furthermore, most finds relevant to the present study come from levels that Dunand himself identified as surface layers. In many cases, therefore, an object’s tie to a particular structure is tangential at best. As a result of these complications, the archaeological contexts of the statue fragments from Byblos will only be summarily treated here.

Although a high proportion of the Egyptian statuary finds from Byblos come from surface levels, many can generally be associated with one of three religious structures based upon their location on the site: the *Enceinte Sacrée*, the Temple of Ba‘alat Gebal, and the *Temple en L*. The *Enceinte Sacrée* is located just west of the sacred water source

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<sup>198</sup> See, for instance, Saghih’s attempt to reconstruct the third millennium levels at Byblos (1983).

<sup>199</sup> Joukowsky 1997, 393. As a further example, see Saghih’s table of Egyptian royal names found at Byblos, which assigns objects inscribed for the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty kings Pepi I and/or Pepi II to most levels from surface clearance down through Levée XXXII (1983, 99, table 8).

<sup>200</sup> During even the most advanced phase of archaeological research at Byblos, Dunand excavated only in strict 20 cm levels without regard for archaeological strata, and attributed most finds only to a 100 sq. m. area without noting associated structures. For an overview of the methods of excavation and publication under Montet and Dunand, see Dunand 1939, 7; Saghih 1983, x–xi.

(referred to as either a spring, pool or lake) at the center of the site.<sup>201</sup> This religious precinct, which in most periods is represented by a temple surrounded by an enclosure wall, was the first religious structure erected at Byblos, with the earliest phases dating to the *Énéolithique Récent* (ca. 3300 BCE). Successive re-buildings of the structure continued through at least the Middle Bronze Age. Three of the Egyptian statue fragments in this corpus (Cats. 66, 77, and 79) come from this area of the site and can plausibly be associated with the religious structure, although it should be noted that two of them (Cats. 66 and 79) come from contexts which were classified by Dunand as surface layers (Chart 1).

Cat. No.	Dunand No.	Square	Levée(s) <sup>202</sup>
66	13658	8/11	Fouilles de Surface, De la Levée XI à la Levée XV (26.00-25.00)
77	12686	7/12	XIII (25.60-25.40)
79	13577	6/13	Fouilles de Surface, De la Levée XI à la Levée XV (26.00-25.00) <sup>203</sup>

Chart 1. Egyptian statuary finds from the vicinity of the *Enceinte Sacrée*, Byblos.

At least nine of the Egyptian statuary finds from Byblos come from the environs of the Temple of the goddess Ba‘alat Gebal, a deity frequently associated with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Chart 2).<sup>204</sup> The structure, which was christened the “temple Syrien” by Montet and as a series of “bâtiments,” most notably “bâtiment II,” by Dunand, has documented architectural use from the Early Bronze Age through the Middle Bronze,

<sup>201</sup> The *Enceinte Sacrée* is located primarily in *station* 16 and the lowermost part of *station* 23 on the site plan. For further discussion of this area of the site, see Dunand 1973, 235–46; Dunand 1958, II:481, 653–54, 899–900; Saghih 1983, 29–39; Sala 2007; Lauffray 2008, 37–41, 79–82, 197–201, 325–30.

<sup>202</sup> Dunand excavated in strict levels of 20 cm each, which he numbered with Roman numerals from I to LII. The absolute level of each Levée is given in meters above sea level. For a chart showing the elevations of each level, see Lauffray 2008, 9.

<sup>203</sup> For the classification of levels below 28.00 meters above sea level as surface layers, see Dunand 1954, 1:460n1.

<sup>204</sup> The temple is primarily located in *station* 24 of the current plan of the site. For its location, see Lauffray 2008, 8 fig. 2, 282 fig. 150b; Saghih 1983, plan II. For the importance of the temple to Egyptian relations with Byblos in the Old Kingdom, see Espinel 2002.

although evidence suggests that the area was the site of religious structures into Roman times, when the extant architecture was leveled and the earlier contexts sealed with a flagstone pavement.<sup>205</sup>

Cat. No.	Montet or Dunand No.	Structure	Square or Trench	Levée(s)
94	23	Temple Syrien	---	---
72	26	Temple Syrien	---	---
104	32	Temple Syrien	---	---
73	27	Temple Syrien	---	---
74	28	Temple Syrien	---	---
111	18	Temple Égyptien <sup>206</sup>	---	---
76	1741	Bâtiment II <sup>207</sup>	19	IV (27.40-27.20)
87	2464	Bâtiment II <sup>208</sup>	19	VIII (26.60-26.40)
102	2856	Bâtiment II(?)	19	IX (26.40-26.20)

Chart 2. Egyptian statuary finds from the vicinity of the Ba‘alat temple, Byblos.

Notably, several of the finds associated with the Ba‘alat temple belong to statues representing the kings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. Six additional fragments of Egyptian statuary, two of which come from 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal statues as well, were found in roughly the same area of the tell during the removal of the modern house of Fouad el-Hossamy (Chart 3).<sup>209</sup> Dunand attributed the mix of this material to Crusader building activity at the site, which disturbed contexts in many areas of Byblos.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Montet 1928, 29–59; Dunand 1939, 79–87, 288–308; Saghih 1983, 40–51, fig. 13, pls. X–XVII; Jidejian 1968, 17–20; Lauffray 2008, 109–14, 225–31, 355–73.

<sup>206</sup> This alabaster fragment (Cat. 111), which Montet identifies as coming from a statue, was found “à la surface” in the area which identified as the “Temple Égyptien” (Montet 1928, 40; Montet 1929, pl. XXI). From the outset it was unclear whether one or two structures were represented by the “Temple Égyptien” and the “Temple Syrien”; subsequent research indicates that they are both part of the Ba‘alat complex (Montet 1928, 29; Dussaud 1930).

<sup>207</sup> Dunand states that the statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) was found to the east of Salle D (1939, 116). For a plan of this level, see Dunand 1937, pl. CCVI.

<sup>208</sup> Dunand gives the findspot of Cat. 87 as Salle D (1939, 169).

<sup>209</sup> For the location of this structure, see Dunand 1939, 4n1, 15; Dunand 1937, pl. CCII. The same structure is apparently also identified as the house of Ibrahim el-Hossamy in some instances.

<sup>210</sup> Dunand 1939, 15.

Cat. No.	Dunand No.	Square or Trench	Levée(s)
69	1048	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---
70	1048	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---
86	1051	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---
90	1053	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---
107	1054	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---
113	1050	Location of Fouad el-Hossamy's House	---

Chart 3. Egyptian statuary finds from the vicinity of Fouad el-Hossamy's House, Byblos.

Another temple complex, which Dunand called the *Temple en L* for its bent shape, was constructed opposite the Ba'alat temple during the Early Bronze Age.<sup>211</sup> During the Middle Bronze Age, it was replaced by the *Temple aux Obélisques*.<sup>212</sup> Several of the Egyptian statuary finds excavated at Byblos come from the area of the site occupied by this temple, including a miniature block statue (Cat. 99) which was found in one of its offering deposits (Chart 4).

Cat. No.	Dunand No.	Square or Trench	Levée(s)
63	13377	11/19	XV (25.20-25.00)
65	7099	13/20	Fouilles de Surface (surface-28.00) <sup>213</sup>
80	8665	12/19	IV (27.60-27.40)
84	14151	12/20	XVI (25.00-24.80)
93	11398	13/19	X (26.20-26.00)
95	7105	13/22	Fouilles de Surface (surface-28.00)
96	11057	12/20	IX (27.40-27.20)
99	15378	11/20	<i>Dépôt d'offrandes</i> <sup>214</sup>
103	13069	12/20	XIV (25.40-25.20)
106	12437	12/20	XII (25.80-25.60)
108	15606	12/19	XVIII (24.60-24.40)

Chart 4. Egyptian statuary finds from the vicinity of the *Temple en L*, Byblos.

<sup>211</sup> Jidejian 1968, 20–21; Dunand 1954, I:27–41, 272.

<sup>212</sup> Dunand 1958, II:640–41 figs. 767, 644–52.

<sup>213</sup> All objects found at an elevation higher than 28.00 m. above sea level were assigned to the surface clearance level (Dunand 1954, I:52).

<sup>214</sup> A group of 445 objects, which Dunand identified as one of several offering deposits at Byblos, was found in the pro-cella of the *temple aux obélisques*. For further discussion of this context, see Dunand 1958, II:741–42. For the placement of the find within the temple, see Dunand 1958, II:640–41, fig. 767.

Two additional finds, both of which were excavated during Dunand's early excavations at Byblos, come from stratified contexts of an unclear function. A single figurine fragment, that of a miniature squatting figure (Cat. 100) was excavated to the west of the Crusader castle in Dunand's Trench 11.<sup>215</sup> The other piece, the lower part of a seated figure (Cat. 97), was found in Levée III of Dunand's Trench 39 to the south of the Ba'alat temple complex.<sup>216</sup>

Dunand classified a number of other fragments as coming from surface clearance levels (Chart 5). Several of these come from the southern portion of the tell, including an Old Kingdom statue (Cat. 81) and several Middle Kingdom statues (including Cats. 88, 105, and 109). Notably, two of the fragments, a partial statue of a standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 83) and a partial sphinx's head (Cat. 64), come from the same square. It should further be noted that these squares are generally in the area of the *Enceinte Sacrée* and the palace, although the significant amounts of archaeological disturbance on the site, particularly by the Crusaders, does not allow the fragments to be associated with either of those structures even tentatively.

Four additional surface fragments come from the northeastern portion of the Tell, just east of the Crusader castle: a Middle Kingdom private statue (Cat. 110), a statue of a male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 82), the bust of Niuserre (Cat. 62), and an Osiraphorous statue (Cat. 92). A Middle Kingdom block statue (Cat. 98) was also found during surface clearance in the vicinity of the Crusader castle. Similarly, a royal statue fragment (Cat. 78) comes from fill in the Crusader castle's moats. Two additional pieces (Cats. 114 and 115), which Dunand recorded under a single number, were also found in unstratified

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<sup>215</sup> Dunand identifies the location of the fragment as "Salle A" (Dunand 1939, 92).

<sup>216</sup> The fragment is said to come from "Salle C," but Dunand does not indicate which building it is associated with, nor do structures for Square 39 appear in the published plans (Dunand 1939, 112).

contexts near the ramparts.<sup>217</sup> The frequent appearance of Egyptian objects in surface levels suggests a long history of interest in them on the parts of the local inhabitants. As they were churned up in successive building projects, it is likely that they were kept at the surface for some time because of their ascribed cultural importance.

Cat. No.	Dunand No.	Square or Trench	Levée(s)
62	7395	10/29	Démolition des murs de la fouille de surface (surface-28.00)
64	16917	9/6	Fouilles de Surface (25.00-24.00)
78	7505	---	Fouille au-dessus des Remparts <sup>218</sup>
81	19037	5/9	Fouilles de la Surface à la Levée XXV (cote 23.00)
82	6999	9/26	Fouilles de Surface (surface-28.00)
83	16916	9/6	Fouilles de Surface (25.00-24.00)
88	16925	9/9	Fouilles de Surface (25.00-24.00)
91	9242	14/13	Démolition des murs de la Levée I à la Levée V
92	7048	11/26	Fouilles de Surface (surface-28.00)
98	1150	---	Déblaiements de surface – between the colonnade and the Crusader castle
105	11595	4/11	Fouilles de Surface de la Levée V à la Levée X (27.00-26.00)
109	13762	10/13	Fouilles de Surface (26.00-25.00)
110	7049	11/26	Fouilles de Surface (surface-28.00)
114	6555	---	Les Remparts
115	6555	---	Les Remparts

Chart 5. Egyptian statuary finds from surface levels and other stratified contexts at Byblos.

A number of additional fragments, among them the most famous of the Egyptian statuary corpus from Byblos, were found before formalized archaeological missions commenced work at the site. In the early 1860s when Renan visited Byblos as part of his Mission de Phénicie, he recovered a naophorous statue (Cat. 101) from one of the “houses in the interior of the city.”<sup>219</sup> Virolleaud, the advisor of the High Commissioner

<sup>217</sup> Dunand 1939, 424.

<sup>218</sup> The fragment was found “dans les terres de comblement des fosses sud et est du château” (Dunand 1954, I:106).

<sup>219</sup> Renan 1864, 161. This is presumably one of the modern houses that Dunand later removed as part of his surface clearance.



for Archaeology, discovered a fragmentary private statue (Cat. 89) in 1921 before Montet's arrival at the site.<sup>220</sup> The fragment was reportedly found on the surface against the Crusader tower. A number of other sculptural fragments appeared in various private collections or on the antiquities market during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These include the statuette of Harsiese (Cat. 85) as well as two works that were previously part of the Løytved collection: the famed throne base bearing the name of Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) and the figure of Prehotep (Cat. 112).<sup>221</sup> The bust of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) and two related fragments likely coming from the same statue (Cats. 71, 75) were first noted by Wiedemann, who saw them during a visit to Naples.<sup>222</sup> Their discovery in Byblos has been presumed from the Phoenician reference to Ba'alat inscribed on the bust.

### *Summary*

The coastal city of Byblos enjoyed a long and prosperous relationship with Egypt, one that lasted the entire length of pharaonic history. This special connection is reflected in the number and quality of Egyptian objects found at the site. Among them are at least 54 statues or statue fragments; these pieces form the largest percentage (38%) of Egyptian statues from Levantine contexts for any site examined in this study. The sheer number of statues likely represents only a fraction of what was once displayed in Byblos' temples, and indeed it would not be surprising if a surplus of statues from Byblos were later dispatched to other sites in the region, and as a result now appear in other sections of this catalogue. Because of the close connections between the two polities, it is likely that

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<sup>220</sup> Montet 1928, 14, 252.

<sup>221</sup> Julius Løytved, who served as the Danish consul in Beirut from 1886-1897, was an avid collector of ancient and Islamic artifacts (Buhl 1977b).

<sup>222</sup> Wiedemann 1884, 553.

many statues were brought to Byblos directly, and not sent at later dates to be reused. However, the insufficient nature of the archaeological data associated with the statues makes it impossible to comment on when and how the statues were used in the city.

### 2.2.1.5 – Arwad

#### *The Site*

Arwad, also known as the Island of Ruad and Aradus, is a 16 ha island located 2.5 km off the coast of Syria, opposite of Tartus.<sup>1</sup> Occupation of the island, which is the largest in a chain of islands extending southward towards Tripoli, is thought to date as early as the Neolithic period, although continuous presence at the site to modern times has removed all remains pre-dating the Roman period.<sup>2</sup> No known references to Arwad appear in Egyptian sources, but the city is mentioned frequently in the Amarna Letters.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, Egyptian finds from the site are rare, consisting of a fragmentary 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty offering table inscribed for a certain Penamun<sup>4</sup> and the lower portion of a Late Period naophorous statue.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a brief introduction to the site, see Badre 1997a; Briquel-Chatonnet 2002.

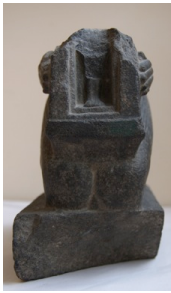
<sup>2</sup> Badre 1997a, 218.

<sup>3</sup> The city, which is called Arwada in the Akkadian sources, appears in EA 98, 101, 104, 105, and 149 (Moran 1992, 171, 174–75, 177–79, 236–37).

<sup>4</sup> Gubel 2002d, 27 (no. 1).

<sup>5</sup> The Egyptian finds from Arwad are listed in PM VII: 393. A partial uraeus frieze was also discovered by Renan, but appears to be Egyptianizing rather than Egyptian (Gubel 2002d, 30–31). In addition, Savignac reported seeing a small obelisk with hieroglyphic inscriptions at the site, but no full publication of the object was ever made (see Scandone 1984, 139, with further references).

**116. Naophorous Statue of Wahibre-schedjtawy (pls. 187-190)**



Material: Basalt or microdiorite (Gubel)

Dimensions: H: 22.5 cm; W: 13.5 cm; D: 21.5 cm

Date of statue: Late Period, late 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (E 4901)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 393; de Rougé 1862, 235–36; de Rougé 1863, 194–95; Renan 1864, I: 26–28, 84 (no. 87); II: pl. VI; Pierret 1873, 18 (no. 31); de Rougé 1911, 213–15; Leclant 1968, 28n74; Vernus 1978, 102–3 (no. 107); Scandone 1984, 139; Yon and Caubet 1993, 54–5 (no. 7), pl. II; Elayi 1995, 15; Pressl 1998, 287–88 (no. 26.2); Gubel 2002d, 30 (no. 4); Pétigny 2008, 280–81

This statue, made of a fine-grained black stone, depicts a kneeling male figure holding a small naos on his lap. The statue has been broken at the level of the man's hips, leaving only his legs, the statue's base, and the lower three-quarters of the naos shrine. The front of the inscribed base is also missing, as is part of the proper right foot. The man wears a knee-length kilt made of vertically-pleated fabric, likely the *shendyt*. His hands are placed flat against the sides of the naos, and his legs are tucked up tightly beneath him, with the toes of his feet splayed out to provide balance. The small shrine that he holds is recessed in the middle, revealing an image of a standing deity. Although much of the deity's body is damaged above the knees, the mummiform treatment of the legs and feet indicate that the god is Osiris.

The statue's owner is positioned against a back-pillar that is inscribed in two columns of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. The text presents a version of the so-called Saite Formula, allowing some portions of the now missing inscription to be restored.<sup>6</sup> As preserved, the text reads:

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the Saite Formula, see De Meulenaere 1995; Jansen-Winkel 2000.

[...] *tw ḥm-ntr (Psmṯk)|-nfr*  
[...] the *ḥm-ntr*-priest Psamtek-nefer<sup>7</sup>

[...] *fiwny pw m3ṯ-t-ḥrw nb im3ḥ*  
... He is a Heliopolitan, true of voice, possessor of reverence.<sup>8</sup>

In the primary treatment of the text, Vernus restores the inscription as follows: "... [le dieu local du] [prophète [d'Horus- Ḥnty-ḥt]y, Nfr-Psmṯk [est placé derrière lui, face à son ka, devant] lui ; c'est un héliopolitain, juste de voix, possesseur d'*im3ḥ*."<sup>9</sup>

Additional inscriptions identifying the statue's owner run in a band around the base of the statue. These texts, which would have once started in the middle of the base's front and worked outwards, meet on the back of the statue beneath the back-pillar. The text on the proper right side of the statue, written in hieroglyphs that read from left to right, reads:

[...] *m ḥb nb rṯ nb dt ḥtmw-biti ḥry sṯ3 nb n nsw ḥbs-diw (W3ḥ-ib-Rṯ)|-shd-t3wy nb im3ḥ*  
[...] at every daily festival forever. The sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the master of every secret of the king, the *ḥbs-diw*-priest<sup>10</sup> Wahibre-sehedjtawy,<sup>11</sup> possessor of reverence.

The text on the proper left side of the statue is written in right-to-left reading hieroglyphs and says:

[...] *ḥtm ḥry sṯ3 šsp w3b nsw ḥbs-diw ḥm-ntr Ḥr-ḥnty-ḥti (W3ḥ-ib-Rṯ)|-shd-t3wy nb im3ḥ*  
[...] sealbearer [of the King of Lower Egypt], master of the secrets of *šsp*,<sup>12</sup> royal *wab*-priest, *ḥbs-diw*-priest, the *ḥm-ntr*-priest of Horus-khenty-khety,<sup>13</sup> Wahibre-sehedjtawy, possessor of reverence.

<sup>7</sup> For this name see Ranke 1935, I: 136 no. 20. If honorific transposition is being utilized here, the name may also be read Nefer-Psamtek. For more on this personage, see discussion below.

<sup>8</sup> For the rare incorporation of *nb im3ḥ* into the Saïte Formula, including this statue as an exemplar, see Jansen-Winkel 2000, 94 ff., 118 (no. 193).

<sup>9</sup> Vernus 1978, 102.

<sup>10</sup> For the *ḥbs-diw* title, see Vernus 1978, 444–47. The same title can be found on the Osirophorous statue from Petra (Cat. 19).

<sup>11</sup> The man's name incorporates the royal name Wahibre, which is both the prenomen of Psamtek I and the nomen of Apries.

In addition to the statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy discovered in Arwad, another statue apparently belonging to the same individual was found in Athribis.<sup>14</sup> That statue provides additional genealogical information, indicating that Nefer-Psamtek, who appears on the back of the Arwad statue, was Wahibre-sehedjtawy's father. In turn, a Nefer-Psamtek (whom Vernus equates with Wahibre-sehedjtawy's father) is represented in a statue now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection.<sup>15</sup> It is inscribed with both the prenomen and nomen of Apries, providing a chronological anchor point for the Arwad statue. As a result, Vernus dates the statue to the second half of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, or perhaps the very beginning of the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> Such a date also fits well from a stylistic point of view.<sup>17</sup>

That the statue originated in Athribis can be seen in the invocation of Horus-khenty-khety, whose cult center is at the site, as well as Wahibre-sehedjtawy's title *ḥbs-diw*, which is unique to that place. The discovery of another statue of the same individual at Athribis further supports this connection.

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<sup>12</sup> The correct reading of this title is unclear, in part due to the lack of a determinative. In his publication of the statue, Vernus translated this passage "le secrétaire du vêtement," although he suggested that it should be read *ḥry sšt3 (n) sšp nswt*, noting a similarity to the Old Kingdom title *shd sšw sšp nswt* (Vernus 1978, 102, 103 n. a; Jones 2000, II: 965 (no. 3559)). If such a reading is correct, the *nsw* in *w3b nsw* may be playing double duty (Vernus 1978, 103 n. a).

<sup>13</sup> Horus-khenty-khety's cult center was at Athribis (Leitz 2002e, 279–80). For further discussion of Khenty-Khety and his relationship with Athribis, see Vernus 1978, 367–416.

<sup>14</sup> Vernus 1978, 101 (no. 106). The statue is now in the Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (2/65). See also Leclant 1968, 28n74.

<sup>15</sup> MMA 10.130.1008a-c (Vernus 1978, 100–1 (no. 105)).

<sup>16</sup> Vernus 1978, 103. Gubel notes that Leclant, von Bothmer, and de Meulenaere prefer a date in the first half of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, perhaps under Psamtek I or Necho (Gubel 2002d, 30; Leclant 1968, 28n74).

<sup>17</sup> Compare, for instance, the kneeling naophorous statue of Padebehu dating to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Brooklyn Museum 60.11/Vatican Museum; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 65–6 (no. 56), 51 (fig. 123), 53 (figs. 130–1)); that of Horwedja dating to the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cleveland Museum of Art 3955.20; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 72–3 (no. 61), 58 (figs. 143–5)); or the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Peftuaneith (British Museum EA83).

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Wahibre-sehedjtawy's naophorous statue was discovered by Renan during his archaeological investigations on the Island of Ruad in April of 1861.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, Renan provided little information about the method or results of his study, focusing primarily on his difficulty in acquiring permission to carry out work in the still-inhabited town. He does state that his explorations were constrained to (presumably modern) house walls and “quelques carrefours,” and it is apparently from such contexts that the statue comes.<sup>19</sup> Renan goes on to report that the assemblage of finds from the island of Arwad prove that its ancient inhabitants had burials (sépultures) on the island rather than solely on the mainland as had previously been assumed, but it is unclear whether there was any independent architectural or similar archaeological evidence beyond the types of finds (lamps, debris from a terra cotta sarcophagus, potsherds) to confirm or refute the presence of such contexts. The cursory nature of Renan's presentation of the archaeological contexts therefore does not allow for a concrete interpretation of Cat. 116's context, although reuse in the walls of a modern house seems most probable. Similarly, little can be said about its date of arrival in the Levant beyond the observation that it must have post-dated the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, although it may have been dispatched at the same time as other Athribite statues in this corpus.<sup>20</sup>

### *Summary*

Ernest Renan discovered the lower part of a naophorous statue during his work at Arwad in 1861. The statue is inscribed for a priest of Horus-khenty-khety named

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<sup>18</sup> Gubel 2002d, 30. For Renan's description of his work at the site, see Renan 1864, 19–42.

<sup>19</sup> Renan 1864, 25.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 3.4 below.

Wahibre-sehedjtawy. Elements of the inscription together with the identification of another statue inscribed for the same individual indicate that the Arwad statue, which dates to the later 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, originated in Athribis.



### 2.2.1.6 – Plain Between Tartus and Amrit

#### *The Site*

A statue fragment was reportedly discovered between the cities of Amrit (ancient Marathus) and Tartus (ancient Antardus). Along the Mediterranean coast opposite the Island of Arwad in modern-day Syria. The Phoenician cities are located on the Plain of ‘Akkar approximately 5 km from each other. Both cities are home to substantial Persian period remains and served as important stops for maritime trade.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Statuary*

##### **117. Block Statue with Inscribed Base** (pls. 191-195)



Material: Granite<sup>2</sup>

Dimensions: H: 21.6 cm; W: 14 cm; D: 15 cm

Date of statue: Third Intermediate Period–early Late Period

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Louvre (E 4899)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: de Rougé 1862, 236; de Rougé 1863, 195; Brugsch 1863; Renan 1864, 56–57; de Rougé 1911, 215; Scandone 1984, 139–40; Gubel 2002d, 38 (no. 17)

This statue fragment comes from the lower portion of a naturalistic block statue. The figure, presumably a male, sits on a thick base with his bent knees pulled up in front of him. The contours of the body where the thighs meet up against the abdomen can be seen on both the right and left sides of the statue. His head, the front of his torso, and his legs are missing.

The back of the statue’s base is inscribed in a peculiar arrangement of short hieroglyphic columns that read from right to left. The inscription reads:

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to Amrit, see Gubel 2002d, 44; Saliby 1997. Information on Tartus can be found in Gubel 2002d, 36.

<sup>2</sup> The material has previously been identified as green basalt (Gubel 2002d, 38).

[...] B3[s]tt nb(t) Hnw hwt-ntr nt B3stt nb(t) ʕnh-t3wy  
[...] Bastet, mistress of *Henu*,<sup>3</sup> of the temple of Bastet, mistress of Ankh-tawy<sup>4</sup>

Prior treatments of the statue have focused primarily on the text, but have provided only abbreviated discussions of what is preserved. De Rougé focused solely on the latter part of the inscription, which he translates “du temple de la déesse «Bubastis, dame de la vie des deux régions».”<sup>5</sup> As Brugsch noted, the importance of this inscription lies in the association of Bastet with Ankhtawy, a part of the Memphite necropolis.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore likely that the statue was originally set up in the Memphite region.<sup>7</sup>

Based upon what remains of the statue, it is difficult to date it stylistically, as the block statue was a form that was utilized during several periods of pharaonic history. The statue has sometimes been dated to the 22<sup>nd</sup>–23<sup>rd</sup> Dynasties owing to the invocation of Bastet, a deity who was particularly popular with the kings of that period.<sup>8</sup> However, given Bastet’s association with a particular local in this instance, this need not be the case. The statue should therefore be dated more generally to the Third Intermediate Period through the early Late Period.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The meaning of “Mistress of *Henu*” is unclear owing to a lack of determinative. Bastet is sometimes referred to as the “mistress of the box,” with *hn* receiving the box determinative (Gardiner Q6). For further references to and discussion of this title, see Leitz 2002d, 92; Goyon 1968, 40–44.

<sup>4</sup> For this title, including additional examples of its use as an epithet of Bastet dating back as early as the Old Kingdom, see Leitz 2002d, 30.

<sup>5</sup> de Rougé 1863, 195; de Rougé 1911, 215. He had previously rendered the passage “du temple de la déesse Bubastis douée de la vie des deux régions” (de Rougé 1862, 236).

<sup>6</sup> Brugsch 1863. For further references to this region of Memphis, see Altenmüller 1975.

<sup>7</sup> Compare a 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue invoking Bastet mistress of Ankhtawy, for which Bothmer suggests a “reasonably certain” provenance in Memphis (Walters 22.198; *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 56 (no. 49), pl. 45).

<sup>8</sup> Scandone 1984, 139–40.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Gubel, who dates the statue to the Third Intermediate Period or 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Gubel 2002d, 38). Following a period of popularity during the Third Intermediate Period, the use of the block statue form waned during the later 26<sup>th</sup> (*Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, 95).

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Renan presents the statue as part of a discussion of materials coming from the plain between Tartus and Amrit. He describes its provenance as follows: “De cette même plaine est sorti très-probablement un curieux fragment égyptien en basalte vert, qu’un des fouilleurs de Tortose vendit à M. Gaillardot.”<sup>10</sup> Because the object was not formally excavated, no further interpretations about its context can be made, although it is worth noting that an Egyptian statue fragment of roughly the same date was also found at the related site of Arwad (Cat. 116).

### *Summary*

A single piece of Egyptian sculpture was found on the plain between Tartus and Amrit in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The block statue, which likely dates to the Third Intermediate Period or 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, is inscribed with a text mentioning Bastet, mistress of Ankhtawy. It is therefore likely that the statue comes from the Memphite region of Egypt. Because it was not formally excavated, no firm statement about when the statue arrived in Syria or how it was used there can be made.

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<sup>10</sup> Renan 1864, 56.

### 2.2.1.7 – Ugarit

#### *The Site*

Ugarit is a city located approximately 10 km north of Latakia, slightly inland on Syria's Mediterranean coast.<sup>1</sup> As the capital of the like-named kingdom that prospered during the second millennium BCE, Ugarit served as an important stop for both maritime and overland trade. The site of Ugarit is comprised of three parts: the tell, known by the modern name of Ras Shamra, which measures over 20 ha; its port at Minet el-Beida; and the Late Bronze Age settlement of Ras Ibn Hani to its south. Following the chance discovery of a vaulted tomb in the late 1920s, Ras Shamra/Ugarit was excavated almost continuously to present day by French and Syrian archaeologists. The first excavations were undertaken by Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, who worked at the site from 1929-1939 and 1948-1970. He was succeeded by Henri de Contenson (1971-1974), Jean Margueron (1975-1977), and Marguerite Yon (since 1978).<sup>2</sup> Decades of archaeological research at Ras Shamra and its related sites has revealed occupation from the Neolithic period (level VC, dating to the seventh millennium BCE) through the Late Bronze Age (level I), when the city was destroyed in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, possibly at the hands of the Sea Peoples.<sup>3</sup>

Ugarit (Egyptian *ʾIkrit*) appears in Egyptian texts starting during the New Kingdom, when it is found in the topographical lists of Amenhotep III,<sup>4</sup> Horemheb,<sup>5</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to the site, see Yon 1997; Yon 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Work at Ras Ibn Hani was undertaken by Jacques Legarce and Adnan Bounni from 1975 to 1995. Preliminary reports of the Ugarit's excavation results appear in several volumes of *Syria, Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, and *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Larger reports can be found in the seven-volume *Ugaritica* as well as the Ras Shamra–Ougarit series.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of the site's periodization, see Yon 1997, 258.

<sup>4</sup> Ugarit appears in Amenhotep III's topographical list from Soleb, Column IV N5, β5 (Givón 1964, 246; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 223; Schiff Giorgini 2002, 125). For discussion of an earlier possible reference to Ugarit under the name *ʾIk3ty* during the reign of Amenhotep II, see *Urk*. IV: 1312.7-16; Morris 2005, 167–69.

Ramesses II.<sup>6</sup> In addition, Ramesses II mentions Ugarit in his account of the Battle of Qadesh.<sup>7</sup> The city is also referenced in multiple Amarna Letters and served as the source of at least two.<sup>8</sup> Further textual evidence for interactions between Egypt and Ugarit can be found in a handful of cuneiform tablets dating to the Ramesside period.<sup>9</sup>

Numerous finds of an Egyptian or Egyptianizing nature have been excavated at Ugarit.<sup>10</sup> Among these is an unusually large and representative sample of Egyptian stone vessels, with notable examples including those inscribed for Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Horemheb, and Ramesses II, as well as a fragmentary vessel inscribed in Egyptian style for the Ugaritic ruler Niqmadu.<sup>11</sup> Additional finds of note include a carnelian bead with the cartouche of Senwosret I,<sup>12</sup> an Amenhotep III marriage scarab,<sup>13</sup> and a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stela showing a certain Mamy worshiping before Baal-Zaphon, who is identified in the hieroglyphic inscription.<sup>14</sup> The site is also the source of several Egyptian statues and statuary fragments representing individuals of varying social status. The precise number and nature of the Egyptian statue

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<sup>5</sup> The toponym appears on the base of a statue inscribed for Horemheb at Karnak (Simons 1937, 135–6 no. a12).

<sup>6</sup> The city appears in Ramesses II's topographical lists at Aksha temple (*KRI* II: 211 no. 9) and at Amara West (*KRI* II: 215 no. 9).

<sup>7</sup> *KRI* II: 111.15, 145.15, 927.12; Kuentz 1928, 214.6, 342.46; Edel 1979, 84.

<sup>8</sup> The ruler of Ugarit is the author of EA 45 and 49, and likely also EA 46–48, which are fragmentary (Moran 1992, 188n1). Translations of these letters can be found in Moran 1992, 117–21. In addition, the city is mentioned in letters from other polities: EA 1, 89, 98, 126, and 151 (Moran 1992, *passim*).

<sup>9</sup> For a list of letters sent from Egypt to Ugarit, see Matoñán 2015, 48n117. Further comments on RS 88.2158, which deals with the topic of Egyptian artisans, can be found in Chapter 1 above. A cuneiform letter written by the governor of Ugarit to an Egyptian official stationed in Aphek, where the letter was discovered, is also of interest (Singer 1983).

<sup>10</sup> For a list of some of the Egyptian finds, see PM VII: 393–5. Recent syntheses of the interactions between Ugarit and Egypt as evidenced by the archaeological finds can be found in Caubet and Yon 2006; Matoñán 2015.

<sup>11</sup> For an overview of the stone vessel assemblage at Ras Shamra, which has been interpreted as evidence “that Ras Shamra acted as the primary agent for importing this material into the northern Levant,” see Sparks 2007, 251–55. Recent studies of select royal vases include B. Lagarce 2008; Lagarce-Othman 2013. A recent treatment of the Niqmadu vase with further references can be found in E. Fischer 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Schaeffer 1962, 214–15, fig. 20.

<sup>13</sup> B. Lagarce 2008, 265.

<sup>14</sup> Louvre AO 13176. For a recent study of this stela with further references, see Levy 2014.

fragments discovered at Ras Shamra/Ugarit is difficult to determine, in large part because of their sparse publication in preliminary reports. Fourteen works are included in this study, although it is clear that several additional fragmentary pieces were discovered and remain to be studied.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **118. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (pls. 196-197)**



Material: Greywacke(?)<sup>16</sup>

Dimensions: H: 27 cm; W: 19 cm; L: 67 cm (reconstructed)<sup>17</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal

Current Location: National Museum of Damascus (DO 30)<sup>18</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 393; Schaeffer 1933, 120, pl. XV.4; Schaeffer 1934a, 114n2; Montet 1938, 181; Schaeffer 1939a, 11, pl. I.3; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:21, III.2, pl. III.2; Schaeffer 1962, 223, fig. 25; Ward 1979, 802–3; Givon 1981, 57; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 34; Fay 1996b, 66 (no. 38), pl. 88e-f; Wastlhuber 2011, 56–7 (no. 57)

<sup>15</sup> For instance, after the second season of excavations Schaeffer recounts having found “les fragments de différentes statues de style égyptien, en granit, en pierre vert ou en grès,” but does not elaborate further on their appearance with the exception of Cat. 120 (Schaeffer 1931, 9; Diringier 1934, 394–95; PM VII: 394). A fragment of a statuette purported to retain the hands and part of a hieroglyphic inscription is also mentioned in passing in an overview of finds from the 1937 season of excavations, although no indication of its material or style is given (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 49 no. RS 9.014). In addition, statues that have previously been identified as Egyptian, such as the basalt torso of a woman now in the Louvre (Louvre AO 17227), do not upon further inspection appear to be Egyptian in origin (PM VII: 393; Schaeffer 1939a, pl. II.3; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:20 figs. 12, 22; Wastlhuber 2011, 58 (no. 60)).

<sup>16</sup> Fay 1996b, 66.

<sup>17</sup> Fay 1996b, 66.

<sup>18</sup> Field nos. RS 4.416 and RS 5.201 (Matoian 2015, 39–40n41).

### 119. Fragmentary Sphinx

Material: Greywacke(?)

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal

Current Location: National Museum of Damascus(?)

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: PM VII: 393; Schaeffer 1934a, 114n2; Schaeffer 1939a, 11;

Schaeffer 1939b, 1:21; Schaeffer 1962, 223; Fay 1996b, 66 (no. 38), pl. 88e-f

See also bibliography for Cat. 118 above.

Much confusion has surrounded the sphinx (or sphinxes) that Schaeffer excavated at Ras Shamra/Ugarit, which appear in this catalogue as numbers 118 and 119. The sculptures were extremely fragmented when discovered, with the result that the find was initially reported as the remains of a single sphinx.<sup>19</sup> However, subsequent restoration efforts revealed that pieces of two sphinxes of similar scales were present.<sup>20</sup> According to Porter and Moss, both the Louvre and the National Museum of Aleppo received a sphinx from Ugarit, but later attempts to track the statues down in those museums were unfruitful.<sup>21</sup> Helck therefore theorized that in fact only one sphinx had been found; this suggestion has been generally accepted in subsequent scholarship.<sup>22</sup>

As part of her study on Middle Kingdom sphinxes, Biri Fay was able to track down at least one of the Ras Shamra sphinxes in the National Museum of Damascus.<sup>23</sup> This heavily restored the sphinx wears the *nemes*-headdress, with at least the tail and most of the horizontally striped proper left lappet preserved. The vertically striated front of the mane can still be seen on the proper left side of the chest, descending below the *nemes*. The sphinx wears a *wesekh*-collar that is comprised of six rows plus a string of

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<sup>19</sup> Schaeffer 1933, 120.

<sup>20</sup> "...lors de la reconstitution des fragments aux ateliers du Musée des Antiquités Nationales de Saint-Germain, par les soins de M. Champion, il est apparu qu'ils appartenaient à deux sphinx absolument pareils et se faisant pendant" (Schaeffer 1934a, 114n2).

<sup>21</sup> PM VII: 393.

<sup>22</sup> Helck 1976, 104n39. This was followed by other scholars, e.g., Ward 1979, 802–3; Givon 1981, 57.

<sup>23</sup> Fay 1996b, 66. This is likely the sphinx assigned to Aleppo in Porter and Moss.

drop beads. The collar is incised on the sphinx's chest, and runs under the *nemes*-lappet. An inscription on the center of the sphinx's chest reads *nsw-bitī* (*Ni-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>*), the prenomen of Amenemhat III. Additional text is inscribed between the sphinx's forepaws.<sup>24</sup>

According to Fay's examination, "the front right paw included in the modern reconstruction does not belong to this sphinx. Cuticles are delineated on the left forepaw, whose break joins the body; no cuticles are shown on the right forepaw. Remains of a line of inscription in front of the right forepaw does not continue in front of the left forepaw."<sup>25</sup> This indicates that Schaeffer's assertion that **two** fragmentary sphinxes were discovered is correct, but that they were later amalgamated via reconstruction into a single sculpture. The two largest fragments, one of which includes the chest and the other of which retains the left forepaw and a partial inscription, join, indicating that they must have come from the same sphinx (Cat. 118). Little can be ascertained about the second sphinx (Cat. 119), beyond the observation that it must be made of the same or similar material and on roughly the same scale. These features point towards it also belonging to Amenemhat III, although this cannot be confirmed without further examination.

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<sup>24</sup> The text is difficult to decipher using published photographs. Scandone Matthiae reads "Ra signore di *R-ḥtp-ib*" (1984, 184). No *nb* sign appears to be present in the text, however, and, to my knowledge, *R-ḥtp-ib* is an otherwise unattested toponym. A more sound reading might be *R<sup>c</sup> r ḥtp-ib R<sup>c</sup> m [...]*, "Re, in order to make happy the heart of Re in [...]," but this can only be put forth tentatively without further examination of the statue.

<sup>25</sup> Fay 1996b, 66.



### 120. Fragments of a King's(?) Statue

Material: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom<sup>26</sup>

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: PM VII: 394; Schaeffer 1931, 9; Diringer 1934, 394–95

Little information was provided about this fragmentary statue that was discovered in the Temple of Baal near the proposed altar. In his preliminary report, Schaeffer announces the discovery of a statue “de grandeur nature. Elle représentait un personnage masculin d’un fort beau style du Nouvel Empire; il en reste une partie du khaft, le torse, une partie du bras gauche et un genou.”<sup>27</sup> This description follows a listing of a number of Egyptian statue fragments of a variety of stones including granite, green stone, and sandstone. Which of these stones Cat. 120 is made from is not specified, however. The apparent presence of the *nemes* headdress (khaft) indicates that the fragments once represented a king.

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<sup>26</sup> Schaeffer 1931, 9

<sup>27</sup> Schaeffer 1931, 9.

### 121. Seated Statue of a Princess (pls. 198-200)



Material: Basalt (Schaeffer)<sup>28</sup>

Dimensions: H: 35 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, mid-late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, south of the High Priest's library

Current Location: Aleppo Museum (7378 or M8387=A4417)<sup>29</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 394; Schaeffer 1932a, 20–21, pl. XIV.1; Schaeffer 1932b; *Illustrated London News* 1932, fig. 2; Montet 1938, 180–81; Schaeffer 1939a, 10–11, pl. I.2; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:20, pl. III.1; Ward 1961, 131n2; Schaeffer 1962, 212–15, fig. 19; Weinstein 1974, 51; Perdu 1977, 70 (no. 2), 81–82; Ward 1979, 801–2, 805; Fay 1988, 73, pl. 29b; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 30; Fay 1996a, 137 no. 7, fig. 24; Fay 1996b, 46; Gill and Padgham 2005, 56; Yon 2006, 130–31 (no. 12); Wastlhuber 2011, 55–6 (no. 56)

One of the most frequently cited pieces of Egyptian sculpture unearthed at Ugarit is this fragmentary statue of a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty princess. Although the lower part of the statue is well-preserved, the upper portion, including the head, is missing, with only a small percentage of the torso remaining. Schaeffer attributed the fragmentary state of the statue to deliberate mutilation.<sup>30</sup> The woman is portrayed seated on a low-backed seat with a projecting back-pillar. The proper right side of the seat (and presumably also the left) is decorated with banded borders on the main part of the seat, but not along the base.<sup>31</sup> The princess is seated with both of her hands placed open, palm-side down in her lap. She wears a tight-fitting dress that is ankle-length. The garment is made of a fabric decorated with vertical pleats running the length of the dress (as preserved) in sets of three. Garments made from this type of pleated fabric are relatively rare within the Egyptian

<sup>28</sup> Since its discovery, the stone from which the statue is made has been identified as a polished basalt. Given the Middle Kingdom date of the statue and the relatively rare use of basalt for statuary during that period, however, it is possible that another stone such as granodiorite was actually used.

<sup>29</sup> Field no. RS 3.336.

<sup>30</sup> “Les épaules et la tête manquent, un violent coup les ayant anciennement fait voler en éclats, mutilation intentionnelle (*sic.*) sans doute. Nous avons retrouvé plusieurs fragments à quelque distance de la statuette” (Schaeffer 1932a, 20).

<sup>31</sup> For this type of decoration, see Evers 1929, II: 52–3, §§367, 370.

repertoire, with datable examples clustering in the later part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the dress, the princess also wears an intricately decorated bracelet on each wrist, the patterns of which are difficult to make out in the published photographs.

A single column of hieroglyphs reading from right to left is inscribed along the top of the statue's base to the right of the princess' foot. The inscription, which is bordered on either side by a single vertically-incised line, provides the titulary of the woman depicted. It reads:

*s3t-nsw nt ht.f Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt ʕnh.ti*

The king's daughter, of his body, Khnumet-nefer-hedjet, may she live!

According to Schaeffer, an identical inscription appears on the opposite side of the statue.<sup>33</sup> Despite the fact that the statue is clearly labeled with the identity of the person that it depicts, who this princess was has been the subject of much debate. This is due in large part to the disagreement surrounding the princess' identification as *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt* ("united with the beautiful White Crown"), a phrase which is usually a title rather than a proper name. Schaeffer identified the woman as Khnumet-neferhedjet, the queen of Senwosret II.<sup>34</sup> In a later study of the title, however, Brunton argued that *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt* was used by Egyptian royalty exclusively as a title and never as a name; thus the name of the princess depicted in the Ras Shamra statue remains unknown.<sup>35</sup> Subsequent scholarship on the statue has failed to reach a consensus on the status of *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt*,

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<sup>32</sup> Fay 1996a, 134. For examples of women wearing this type of pleated dress, compare the so-called "Abydos Princess" (Cairo JE 36359; Fay 1996a); an ivory torso of 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date (Louvre E14597; Delange 1987, 173–74); a late Middle Kingdom wooden statuette of a woman (Moscow 4769; Fay 1996a, 137 no. 10, fig. 26).

<sup>33</sup> Schaeffer 1932a, 20. The placement of the second inscription can be seen in published photographs, but the signs cannot be discerned.

<sup>34</sup> e.g., Schaeffer 1932a, 20.

<sup>35</sup> Brunton 1949, esp. 102 no. 25. Sabbahy suggests that the woman depicted is Itweret, a daughter of Amenemhat II (1996, 350).

however, with some identifying the phrase as the princess' name and others arguing that her name is not provided on the statue, although the former seems more likely.<sup>36</sup>

From the time of its discovery, Schaeffer (following the analysis of Montet) identified the statue as belonging to Khnumet, a princess whose burial was found in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat II at Dahshur.<sup>37</sup> She has therefore often been identified as a daughter of that king, which would provide the statue with a mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date. A position as the daughter of Amenemhat II was further suggested by Perdu, who noted a cylinder inscribed for a *s3t-nsw Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt* that also bears the cartouche of that king, which could represent the same princess.<sup>38</sup> Stylistic features of the statue, most notably the pleated garment, point to a slightly later date, however, in the reign of Amenemhat III or later.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> For the identification of the princess as Khnumetneferhedjet, see Perdu 1977, esp. 70, 81-82; Schmitz 1976, 199–200 (no. 24); Fay 1996b, 46. See also E. Lange 2007, 92. For the interpretation of *Hnmt-nfr-ḥdt* on the statue as a title rather than a name, see Ward 1961, 131n2; Weinstein 1974, 51; Ward 1979, 801, 806; Sabbahy 1996; Sabbahy 2003, 241.

<sup>37</sup> Schaeffer 1932a, 20. See also Yon 2006, 131. Particular weight has been given to the equation of the princess represented in the Ras Shamra statue with that buried in the pyramid complex at Dahshur, especially since that burial was a double burial with the princess Ita, whose sphinx was found not far from Ras Shamra in Qatna (Cat. 135).

<sup>38</sup> Perdu 1977, 69–70. See also Fay 1996b, 46, who notes that “it cannot be shown that this princess is the same as the lady mentioned on the cylinder seal.”

<sup>39</sup> Fay 1996b, 46. The later date of the statue need not exclude the possibility that the princess was a daughter of Amenemhat II, however. See, for instance, Sabbahy 2003, 241–43.

## 122. Group Statue of Senwosretankh (pls. 201-204)



Material: Granite (Louvre)

Dimensions: H: 18.5 cm; W: 16 cm; D: 13 cm<sup>40</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Acropolis

Current Location: Louvre (AO 15720; AO 17223)<sup>41</sup>

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: PM VII: 394; Schaeffer 1933, 114, pl. XV.2; Schaeffer 1934a, 113–14, pl. XIV.1-2; Schaeffer 1934b, 323, fig. 2; Montet 1934; Diringer 1934, 388–90, 393, fig. 1; Breasted 1935; Montet 1936; Friedrich 1937, 341, pl. XXXIII.1; Schaeffer 1939a, 11–12, pl. II.1-2; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:22, pl. V; J. A. Wilson 1941, 231, 235; Ward 1961, 130–31; Schaeffer 1962, 217, figs. 21-23; W. S. Smith 1965, 14–15, fig. 24; W. S. Smith 1969, 279; Ward 1979, 803–5; Givon 1981, 57; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 34, fig. 10b; Caubet and Hein 1994; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57; Wastlhuber 2011, 57 (no. 58)

Among the more celebrated private statues from the Levant is this triad representing the vizier Senwosretankh and two female family members. The top of the statuette, which has been reassembled from two fragments, has broken away, with the result that the torso and head of the vizier are now missing. The statue depicts a man seated on a block-shaped seat. He is flanked by two women, each of whom is portrayed standing and at a smaller scale than the man. The group is presented on a T-shaped base, which allows for the projection of Senwosretankh's seat in the center.

Senwosretankh wears a long, wrapped garment, the hem of which runs down the center of his body. The place where the fabric overlaps creates a downward point at the garment's center. Both of the vizier's hands are placed open, palm-side down on his lap. On the proper right side of the seat, a vertical inscription written in right-to-left reading hieroglyphs identifies the statue's owner as

<sup>40</sup> Caubet and Hein 1994, 125.

<sup>41</sup> Field nos. RS 4.466, 5.144, 5.144A.

*imy-r niwt<sup>42</sup> t3ty Sn-wsrt-ꜥnh*

The Overseer of the Pyramid-town and Vizier,<sup>43</sup> Senwosretankh<sup>44</sup>

The opposite side of the seat is inscribed with a column of hieroglyphs reading left to right that says

*ms.n Tti m3ꜥt-hrw nb im3h*

Born of Teti,<sup>45</sup> justified, possessor of reverence.<sup>46</sup>

The three figures are positioned against a shared back-slab that rises to the bottoms of the women's wigs.<sup>47</sup> It is inscribed with five columns of hieroglyphs, each separated by a vertical register line.<sup>48</sup> The tops of the first and last columns are missing.

The rightmost column is written in hieroglyphs that read from left to right. It reads:

*[...n]bw n hswt m-h3t smrw*

[...] gold of honor<sup>49</sup> in front of the courtiers

The remaining four lines read in the opposite direction, i.e. from right to left, and contain a traditional offering formula.

*hꜥp di nsw Pth-Skr di.fprt-hrw t hnꜥt k3w 3pdw šs mnꜥt*

A gift the king gives to Ptah-Sokar that he might give invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, meat, fowl, alabaster and clothing

*n k3 n imy-r niwt t3ty t3yty Sn-wsrt-ꜥnh*

to the *ka* of the Overseer of the Pyramid-town, the vizier, the shrouded one,<sup>50</sup> Senwosretankh

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<sup>42</sup> It is unclear whether or not the pyramid sign (Gardiner O24) should be read as *mr* or simply as a determinative (Hannig 2006, I: 216).

<sup>43</sup> For further examples of this combination of titles, see Ward 1982, 31 (no. 225).

<sup>44</sup> For a transcription, see Montet 1934, 132 (B1). Additional examples of this name can be found in Ranke 1935, I: 279 (no. 4).

<sup>45</sup> For this name, which is attested for both males and females, see Ranke 1935, I: 384 (no. 4).

<sup>46</sup> A transcription of this text can be found in Montet 1934, 132 (B2).

<sup>47</sup> Traces at the middle of the slab indicate that it may have risen higher behind the head of Senwosretankh.

<sup>48</sup> For a transcription of the text with proposed reconstructions of the lacunae, see Montet 1934, 132 (A).

<sup>49</sup> This reward, bestowed by the king, is only rarely attested during the Middle Kingdom. For further examples, see Hannig 2006, I: 1266. Initially Senwosretankh's receipt of the gold of honor was taken as evidence that he served the king abroad, likely in Ugarit (Breasted 1935, 319). While the gold of honor was often awarded for distinguished military service abroad, however, this was not always the case (Ward 1979, 804).

<sup>50</sup> Ward 1982, 181 no. 1563; Hannig 2006, II: 2649.

*ms.n Tti m3<sup>c</sup>t-hrw mh ib n<sup>51</sup> nsw m nd-hr.f*  
born of Teti, justified, who fills the heart of the king with his greetings,

[...]r<sup>52</sup> *m sh.wy-Hr whm 3nh nb im3h*  
[...] in the Hall of Horus, repeating life, possessor of reverence

The woman to the left of Senwosretankh stands in a striding pose with her right leg advanced and both arms down at her sides.<sup>53</sup> She wears a mid-calf-length tight-fitting sheath dress with wide straps and a tripartite wig that reveals her ears. The figure, which has been reassembled from two fragments, is identified by an inscription on the top of the statue's base in front of her feet that reads

*Hnwt-sn mst n Prt*  
Henutsen,<sup>54</sup> born of Peret<sup>55</sup>

A second inscription, located on the side of the back-slab behind the figure, reads

*Hnwt-sn mst n Prt m3<sup>c</sup>t-hrw nbt im3h*  
Henutsen, born of Peret, justified, possessor of reverence

The woman on Senwosretankh's right is represented as a mirror image of Henutsen, with her left rather than her right leg advanced. She wears the same garment and wig, and has the same short, round face with damaged facial features. The inscription on the top of the statue's base before her feet identifies her as

*S3t-Imn mst.n Hnwt-sn*  
Sitamun,<sup>56</sup> born of Henutsen

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<sup>51</sup> The *n* is written after the *nsw* sign.

<sup>52</sup> Montet tentatively restores the initial phrase in this line as *iri hrw* "qui fait entendre la voix," arguing that the lion sign (Gardiner E23) is almost certainly part of the writing of *hrw* and that the small space left by the lacuna can only fit a short word such as the verb *iri* (Montet 1934, 131n3). Breasted later suggested that the lacuna be restored with *H3rw* (Syria) creating parallelism indicating Senwosretankh's service both in the Levant and in Egypt (Breasted 1935, 319–20). As both Montet and Ward note, however, *H3rw* is not an attested toponym during the Middle Kingdom, precluding its use here (Montet 1936, 203; Ward 1979, 804).

<sup>53</sup> The advancement of the right rather than the left foot breaks with tradition in order to add an element of symmetry to the statue.

<sup>54</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 244 no. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 134 no. 18.

<sup>56</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 286 no. 6.

The inscription on the side of the back-slab behind Sitamun has been restored by Montet to read

[*S3t-Imn mst*].*n Hnwt-sn m3t-hrw nb im3h*  
Sitamun, born of Henutsen, justified, possessor of reverence

Although no statement in any of the statue's inscriptions explicates either woman's relationship to Senwosretankh, the fact that Henutsen is the mother of Sitamun would seem to indicate that the vizier is flanked by his wife on his left and their daughter on his right.<sup>57</sup> Such family groupings are common in statues of the Middle Kingdom. The relationships present on the statue can likely be further solidified with a stela currently in Florence that almost certainly represents the same family.<sup>58</sup> The limestone stela is inscribed for the vizier Se(n)wosretankh, who is the son of a certain Teti, together with his wife Henutes and daughter Sitamun. The likely connection between the two monuments was first noted by Breasted and has generally been accepted in subsequent scholarship.<sup>59</sup>

Group statues depicting families, including examples with the family head seated, became increasingly popular in the later part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>60</sup> The style of the garments as well as the women's facial features further point towards a date in the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Indeed, based on the style of his monuments and his position within

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<sup>57</sup> Schaeffer's identification of the women as Senwosretankh's wife and mother-in-law is less likely (1939a, 11; 1939b, I:22).

<sup>58</sup> Florence 2579 (Bosticco 1959, 44 no. 39, pl. 39).

<sup>59</sup> Breasted 1935, 320; Valloggia 1974, 131–32; Ward 1979, 804–5. Montet expressed reservations, especially regarding the figure identified as *Hnwt.sn* on the statue and *Hnwt.s* on the stela, who seem to be assigned different mothers (1936, 203). The congruence of the names and titles of the other individuals makes it highly unlikely that two separate families are represented, however, and, as noted by Ward, the differences could be attributed to the poor quality of execution on the stela (Ward 1979, 805n42).

<sup>60</sup> Compare, for example, the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty limestone statuette of Nefertum seated between his standing daughters (Louvre E11576; Delange 1987, 148–50), or the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of a seated man with two smaller figures (Berlin 4435; Evers 1929, II: pl. 95). See also the royal example of Amenemhat III seated between two princesses (Cairo JE 43104; Evers 1929, II: pls. 99–100). Family statues had previously been popular during the Old Kingdom.



the bureaucracy, it has been suggested that Senwosretankh served under Amenemhat III or perhaps a later monarch.<sup>61</sup> What role Senwosretankh played at Ugarit, if any, is unknown, however. Some believe that he lived at Ugarit as an ambassador or messenger working on behalf of the Egyptian king,<sup>62</sup> while others have suggested that he travelled to Ugarit only briefly, perhaps to deliver the princess' statuette (Cat. 121).<sup>63</sup> It is of course also possible that the statuette arrived in Syria independent of Senwosretankh.

**123. Statuette of a Kneeling Man** (pls. 205-206)



Material: Limestone (Schaeffer)<sup>64</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal(?)

Current Location: Aleppo Museum

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 393; Schaeffer 1939b, I:21, pl. IV; Wastlhuber 2011, 57–8 (no. 59)

This statuette represents a man in a kneeling position. In his publication of the statuette, Schaeffer identified it as an Egyptian statue of the same period as the Amenemhat III sphinx, but provided no additional information.<sup>65</sup> An examination of the published photographs reveals that the statuette is badly damaged, particularly in the front where much of the sculpture is missing and the stone of what remains is severely pockmarked. That the figure was kneeling with his legs bent beneath him can be seen by the appearance of his heels at the back of the statue. The man wears a shoulder-length wig and has his arms bent upwards in front of him, as indicated by the angle of bend in

<sup>61</sup> Valloggia 1974, 131–32; Valloggia 1976, 223.

<sup>62</sup> e.g., Schaeffer 1934a, 114; J. A. Wilson 1941, 235.

<sup>63</sup> Ward 1961, 131.

<sup>64</sup> Schaeffer identifies the stone as “Calcaire,” while Wastlhuber states that it is “Kalzitalabaster” (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. IV; Wastlhuber 2011, 57).

<sup>65</sup> Schaeffer 1939b, I:21. This is presumably the same statue described as representing “a scribe, in a sitting attitude” (Schaeffer 1939a, 11). No indication of the man’s position or titles can be gleaned from the statue in its current state of preservation, however.

his proper right elbow. The face is badly worn, with the result that no comments about its shape or features can be made. Traces on the back of the statue, which is not supported by a back-pillar, indicate that the man was likely wearing a kilt that sits just beneath his natural waist.

Seemingly based on its archaeological relationship with other Middle Kingdom statuettes excavated at the site, Schaeffer dated it to the same period.<sup>66</sup> However, as a survey of Middle Kingdom poses reveals, statues depicting men kneeling with their legs bent under them, as opposed to in the more common cross-legged position of this period, are rare. Indeed, the pose, when considered together with the use of limestone for the statue's production, has more in common with statues of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>67</sup> With so little preserved it is difficult to firmly date the statuette, however.

**124. Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette (pl. 207)**



Material: Black stone

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal(?)

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: PM VII: 393; Schaeffer 1934a, 113; Schaeffer 1939a, 11, pl. II.3; Schaeffer 1939b, 1:21–22, fig. 11; Wastlhuber 2011, 58 (no. 61)

This fragment preserves most of a statuette of a standing male figure. The man's head as well as his legs and the base of the statuette are missing. He stands against a back-pillar, and wears a long wrap kilt that is tied at his waist. The man's hands are placed palm-side down on the front of his kilt in a gesture of reverence. Schaeffer

<sup>66</sup> Schaeffer 1939b, I:21. This was followed by Wastlhuber, who assigns it to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty on stylistic grounds (2011, 28).

<sup>67</sup> Compare, for instance, the statue of Neferrenpet (Louvre A 79; Vandier 1958, pl. CLX.4) or that of Seti (Brooklyn Museum 37.263E; Vandier 1958, pl. CLXI.2).

described the statue as “a priest, with fair round belly.”<sup>68</sup> However, as Wastlhuber notes, nothing in the individual’s costume identifies him as a priest and, as the statue is anepigraphic as preserved, no titles can be assigned to the man.<sup>69</sup> In fact, standing statues of male officials with a variety of titles are known from the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, the period to which this statue also dates.<sup>70</sup>

### 125. Statuette of a Seated Male (pls. 208-209)



Material: Steatite with Egyptian Alabaster base<sup>71</sup>

Dimensions: H: 14.91 cm<sup>72</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom, Late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Maison aux Albâtres, Room BD

Current Location: Unknown<sup>73</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: de Contenson et al. 1974, 8, 14–16, pl. II.3 ; Leclant 1974, 221; de Contenson et al. 1975, 37, 41–43, 56 pl. II.3; de Contenson 1978, 162, fig. 16; J. Lagarce and du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, 161–62, fig. 10

This diminutive statuette depicts a male seated upon a low-backed seat with a projecting back-pillar. The work has been reassembled from two pieces, as the head was found some meters from the rest of the statuette.<sup>74</sup> The anepigraphic statuette, which is made of a soft, black-colored stone with a scratched surface, has been set on a rectangular based made of calcite (Egyptian alabaster). The figure’s seat is executed in the traditional manner, with a low, rounded back and a projecting footrest. This footrest is rounded in

<sup>68</sup> Schaeffer 1939a, 11.

<sup>69</sup> Wastlhuber 2011, 58. For the lack of inscription on the statue, see Schaeffer 1951b, 20.

<sup>70</sup> Compare, for example, the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of the priest Amenemhatankh (Louvre E11053; Delange 1987, 69–71); an anepigraphic 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of chlorite-schist (Louvre E 11571; Delange 1987, 142–43); an anepigraphic 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of diorite (Louvre E 20185; Delange 1987, 187).

<sup>71</sup> The statuette’s stone has also been tentatively identified as chlorite (J. Lagarce and du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, 162).

<sup>72</sup> de Contenson et al. 1974, 14.

<sup>73</sup> Field no. RS 34.209.

<sup>74</sup> de Contenson et al. 1974, 14.

front. An uninscribed back-pillar rises from the center of the chair's back to the top of the man's shoulders.

Proportionally, the man is slightly too large for the chair's seat, with the result that his legs extend some distance from it. The man is shown seated, with his right hand placed palm-side down in his lap and his left arm bent up in front of him. In his left hand he holds a large, stylized lotus blossom. He is clad in a knee-length kilt that is wrapped right side over left. It is made of a horizontally-pleated fabric. A small, un-pleated triangular panel hangs down on the underside of the kilt in the center. The kilt is held up by a wide banded belt or sash that comes up to the waist in the back. The man, whose face is completely missing, also wears a striated wig that comes to a point on the top of his shoulder. The wig is shorter in the back than the front, and is executed so that each individual curl ends with three incised horizontal lines.

Since its discovery, a number of rare features present on the statuette have raised the question of whether the statuette should be identified as Egyptian or Egyptianizing. These features include the type of kilt worn by the man and the lotus flower that he holds. This style of wrap kilt with pleated main sides and a central triangular panel is elsewhere attested in Egyptian sculpture, however, particularly during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The garment is sometimes referred to as the military or soldier's kilt (Vandier 1958, I: 493). See, for instance, the limestone seated statuette of a male from Amarna (Cairo JE 53249; Frankfort 1929, 149, pls. XX-XXI); an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty wooden statuette of a standing male (Berlin 14134; Frankfort 1929, 149, pls. XX-XXI); another 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty wooden statuette of a standing male (Berlin 4667; Vandier 1958, 2: pl. CXXXVIII.1). Compare also a more elaborate version of the kilt on an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty wooden statuette from Thebes (Berlin 10269; Grimm, Schoske, and Wildung 1997, 47 (no. 33)).

## 126. Priestly Statue

Material: Black stone<sup>76</sup>

Dimensions: H: 7.5 cm; W: 9 cm; D: 8.5 cm<sup>77</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: in a house on the eastern portion of the tell

Current Location: National Museum of Damascus (DO 3777)<sup>78</sup>

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: Schaeffer 1951a, 15–16; Schaeffer 1951b, 19–20; Pohl 1952, 363–64; W. S. Smith 1952, 44; Leclant 1953, 104–5; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 80

This damaged statue, made of black stone, represents an Egyptian official in what Schaeffer described as “l’attitude accroupie traditionnelle.”<sup>79</sup> No image, either in photograph or illustration, of the statue has been published, nor has a transcription of its text been provided. According to Vandier, the inscription indicates that the man depicted is a priest, perhaps the High Priest of Heliopolis, and that he likely lived during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, probably during the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>80</sup>

## 127. Head of a Male Statuette (pls. 210-212)



Material: Granite or granodiorite<sup>81</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom<sup>82</sup>

Archaeological Context: Unknown<sup>83</sup>

Current Location: Louvre, AO 17233

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: Schaeffer 1962, 217, fig. 24; “Tête égyptienne” 2015

<sup>76</sup> The stone is described by Schaeffer as a “pierre noirâtre, étrangère au pays” (Schaeffer 1951b, 20).

<sup>77</sup> Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 80.

<sup>78</sup> Field no. RS 14.002.

<sup>79</sup> Schaeffer 1951b, 20. The most likely interpretation of this statement is that the statue represented the man seated on the ground, in a manner similar to the statue of Heqaib from Gezer (Cat. 14), the statue from Ta’annek (Cat. 27), and the statue from Tel Dan (Cat. 55). See also Vandier 1958, 231–35. A block statue is also a possibility.

<sup>80</sup> Schaeffer 1951b, 20. As no image or translation has been published, it is unclear what information led Vandier to this conclusion.

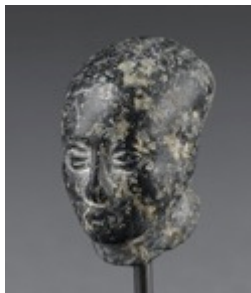
<sup>81</sup> The Louvre website currently identifies the material as steatite.

<sup>82</sup> The Louvre website currently dates the statue to the New Kingdom.

<sup>83</sup> Schaeffer states that the statue head was found “à l’emplacement choisi pour le sondage de 1959,” but does not elaborate upon its find contexts. The Louvre’s records indicate that the fragment was found on the acropolis during the 1933 season of excavations.

This head comes from a statue of a male official. The statue is broken just below the tops of the shoulders, with the exterior portions of the shoulders also missing. Additional damage is present on the proper right side of the statue, affecting the wig and right ear, as well as on the front of the face, resulting in the loss of most of the nose. The man wears a slightly longer than shoulder-length striated wig with bangs that has been tucked behind both his shoulders and his ears. The man has a thick neck and a short, round face. His eyes are irregularly treated, with the left eye having a straight lower lid, deep inner canthus, and arched upper lid; while the right eye is more almond-shaped. Schaeffer, who identified the bust as depicting an Egyptian personage of the Middle Kingdom, tentatively associated it with Senwosretankh.<sup>84</sup> The two works do not match stylistically, however. Furthermore, the treatment of the facial features suggest that Cat. 127 is slightly earlier than the statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122).

**128. Head of a Bald Male Statuette** (pls. 213-214)



Material: Porphyry (Louvre)

Dimensions: H: 2.4 cm; W: 1.5 cm; D: 1.84 cm<sup>85</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Acropolis<sup>86</sup>

Current Location: Louvre, AO 15767<sup>87</sup>

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: Schaeffer 1933, pl. XV.2; Schaeffer 1962, 215, fig. 21; Caubet 1994; Wastlhuber 2011, 59 (no. 62); “Tête de personnage égyptien” 2015

This small statuette head of a bald male official is made of a black stone with inclusions identified as porphyry by the Louvre.<sup>88</sup> The head has broken off from the rest

<sup>84</sup> Schaeffer 1962, 220, fig. 24.

<sup>85</sup> Caubet 1994.

<sup>86</sup> The head is listed as coming from “non loin de la statuette de Chnoumet, à la même profondeur” (Schaeffer 1962, 215).

<sup>87</sup> Porter and Moss incorrectly give the accession number as AO 11233, possibly through confusion with Cat. 127, which has the accession number AO 17233. The mistake is repeated by Wastlhuber (2011, 59).

of the statuette at the neck on a diagonal. In part as a result of the stone's hardness, the man's facial features appear somewhat crude. The almond-shaped eyes, of which the right is larger than the left, are rendered with plastically treated eyeballs, slightly hooded upper lids and bulging lower lids. The nose, the tip of which is missing, is long and narrow, while the mouth is small with a pursed appearance. The ears are carved flat against the sides of the head in high relief.

Given the location of the break, it is impossible to determine the pose that the man was depicted in, although it should be noted that standing statuettes of bald men, whose shaved heads are usually associated with priestly roles, are particularly common during the later Middle Kingdom.<sup>89</sup> The heavy treatment of the eyes further suggests a date in the late 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

#### 129. Inscribed Statuette Base (pl. 215)



Material: Steatite(?)<sup>90</sup>

Dimensions: L: 10.7 cm; W: 6.8 cm; Th: 2.3 cm<sup>91</sup>

Date of statue: New Kingdom(?)

Archaeological Context: House of Yabninu, Room 203

Current Location: National Museum of Damascus (DO 5208)<sup>92</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs and drawings

Bibliography: Schaeffer 1957, 61–62, pls. V–VI; Schaeffer 1962, 133–35, fig. 101; Leclant 1964, 391; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 226

<sup>88</sup> “Tête de personnage égyptien” 2015. The stone was previously identified tentatively as steatite (Caubet 1994). Porphyry is rarely used for sculpture this early, however, suggesting that another stone such as granite or granodiorite is more likely.

<sup>89</sup> Compare, for example, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Dedunub (British Museum EA 58080; Bourriau 1988, 60 no. 47); the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Imeny (Louvre AF 460; Delange 1987, 219); the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Mesehi (Royal Museum of Scotland 1952.158; Bourriau 1988, 65–66 no. 51); the granite statuette of an unidentified man (Walters Art Museum 22.364; Steindorff 1976, 27 no. 44, pl. XI.44).

<sup>90</sup> Schaeffer 1962, 133.

<sup>91</sup> Schaeffer 1962, 133.

<sup>92</sup> Field no. RS 19.186.

Pieces of gray stone tentatively identified as steatite and inscribed with hieroglyphs were among the Egyptian objects found at Ras Shamra-Ugarit. According to Schaeffer, these fragments, almost certainly from the base of a statuette, come from an object that is rectangular in shape with rounded corners.<sup>93</sup> The front and side sections of the base are preserved, but the backside was not recovered. All three preserved faces of the base are inscribed, and it is evident from the direction of the signs that two inscriptions were present. These inscriptions started in the center of the base's front and worked their way around to the back, where they likely met. Both inscriptions share the first signs, *ḥtp-di*, which serve as the beginning of the traditional offering formula. The first inscription reads:

*ḥtp-di-nsw Bꜥr(?)*<sup>94</sup> *ntr ntry* [...] *n* [...] *ntr dit ꜥ m-ḥnw psdt-ntr di.fꜥḥ*[w]  
 A gift the king gives to Baal(?)<sup>95</sup> the divine god<sup>96</sup> [...] of the divine [...], who  
 places the arm among the Ennead, so that he might give a [long] life[time]

The inscription in the other direction, written in left to right reading hieroglyphs, reads:

*ḥtp-di-nsw* [...] *di.fndm-ib snb* [...]  
 A gift the king gives [...] that he might give happiness and health [...]

Each of the inscriptions would have presumably ended with the name and titles of the person who commissioned the statuette. The invocation of a local deity (likely Baal) in the inscription suggests that the base was manufactured in the Levant rather than Egypt.

A hole drilled into the base indicates where the statuette, possibly made in a different

<sup>93</sup> Schaeffer 1957, 61.

<sup>94</sup> The deity's name is written with a single sign representing a seated male deity wearing a tall crown, which is reminiscent of the White Crown, with a long strand hanging down from it. Two small horn-like projections appear on the front of the crown. The deity also has a beard. The lack of phonetic complements makes it impossible to identify the deity by name, although his Asiatic appearance has led to the suggestion that he represents Seth, Baal, Resheph or Mika (Schaeffer 1957, 61). Given the presence of a temple of Ba'al in Ugarit, Ba'al is perhaps the most likely reading. This interpretation has been adopted by Morris 2015a, 331 (fig. 4), 336.

<sup>95</sup> See previous note.

<sup>96</sup> For the epithet *ntr ntry*, see Leitz 2002d, 432–34. The epithet is used for a number of different gods starting from the New Kingdom.



material, was affixed. According to Schaeffer, the position of the hole near the back of the base suggests that the statuette portrayed a kneeling individual.<sup>97</sup> The statuette base was dated to the New Kingdom, possibly the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, by Schaeffer based on the appearance of the unnamed deity in the inscription and the work's archaeological context.

### 130. Statuette of Ibi-iaw

Material: Unknown

Dimensions: H: 17 cm<sup>98</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom<sup>99</sup>

Archaeological Context: Royal Zone, the Pillared Building

Current Location: Unknown<sup>100</sup>

Manner of examination: Published description

Bibliography: Leclant and Clerc 1985, 408; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 355;

Caubet and Yon 2006, 88; Matoïan 2015, 41

Only sparse information has been published about this fragmentary stone statuette excavated in 1984 during the forty-fourth season of excavation at Ras Shamra/Ugarit.<sup>101</sup>

The statuette depicts a male figure positioned against an inscribed back-pillar. According to Leclant and Clerc, the back-pillar is inscribed for the Prophet of Horus Ibi-iw.<sup>102</sup>

### 131. Torso with Inscribed Back-Pillar (pl. 216)



Material: Granite<sup>103</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: New Kingdom<sup>104</sup>

Archaeological Context: Acropolis, Temple of Baal

Current Location: Unknown<sup>105</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: PM VII: 394; Schaeffer 1929, 294, pl. LIX.4; Bordreuil and Pardee 1989, 23

<sup>97</sup> Schaeffer 1957, 61.

<sup>98</sup> Leclant and Clerc 1985, 408n14.

<sup>99</sup> Caubet and Yon 2006, 88.

<sup>100</sup> Field no. RS 84.2001.

<sup>101</sup> According to Matoïan, the piece is currently being studied by B. Lagarce (2015, 41n47).

<sup>102</sup> Leclant and Clerc 1985, 408. As comparandae for the name, they cite Ranke 1935, I: 19 (no. 4).

<sup>103</sup> Schaeffer 1929, 294.

<sup>104</sup> Schaeffer 1929, 294.

<sup>105</sup> Field no. RS 1.[091].

This fragmentary statue, excavated during Schaeffer's first excavation season at Ras Shamra, was described by him as a "beau torse égyptien en granit, sur l'épine dorsale duquel se lisent encore quelques hiéroglyphes."<sup>106</sup> No image or translation of the text was ever published, but Montet, based on his study of the statue, dated the text to the New Kingdom.<sup>107</sup> This single published photograph of the statue, which was pieced together from multiple fragments, suggests that it depicted a standing male wearing a pleated kilt, likely the *shendyt*.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The archaeological data that Schaeffer provided regarding the numerous Egyptian statuary fragments from Ras Shamra/Ugarit is generally vague. The situation is further complicated by the slow doling out of archaeological data over extended periods of time, in some cases decades, primarily in the form of preliminary reports.<sup>108</sup> To date, all of the Egyptian sculpture finds from Ugarit come from the main tell of Ras Shamra. Their findspots represent all of the tell's primary archaeological areas, including the "Royal Zone" and its environs, located on the northwest portion of the tell; the residential quarter; and the Acropolis, located in the tell's northeastern quadrant, which is home to Ugarit's main temples.<sup>109</sup>

Two of the statues in this corpus come from structures in the "Royal Zone": the inscribed statuette base (Cat. 129) and the statuette of Ibi-iaw (Cat. 130). The inscribed base (Cat. 129) was unearthed during the 19<sup>th</sup> season of excavations at Ugarit, in the fall

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<sup>106</sup> Schaeffer 1929, 294.

<sup>107</sup> Schaeffer 1929, 294.

<sup>108</sup> Ward 1979, 801. In addition, some of the excavation archives were lost during World War II, complicating the study of early seasons' results (Yon 2006, 27).

<sup>109</sup> For a plan of the zones, see Yon 2006, vi fig. 1.

of 1955. The piece was discovered in ashes on what was determined to be the original floor of the *secrétariat* of the large structure now known as the House of Yabninu.<sup>110</sup> The building, previously referred to as either the *Petit Palais* or the *Palais Sud*, is located just south of the Royal Palace on the northwestern portion of the tell. It was the source of numerous finds, including an archive belonging to an individual named Yabninu, who, among other things, oversaw commercial interactions between Ugarit and outside polities including Egypt ca. 1200 BCE.<sup>111</sup>

The statuette of Ibi-iaw (Cat. 130) was found in 1984 during a sounding in the Pillared Building (*le bâtiment aux piliers*). This structure, previously identified as the royal stables, was constructed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>112</sup> It is part of the so-called “Royal Zone” and was likely utilized “for assemblies and banquets related to the ceremonies held in the temple,” which is to its southwest and likely served as a royal chapel.<sup>113</sup>

Just to the east of the Royal Zone lies the residential quarter. A seated statuette (Cat. 125) was discovered in this area of the tell in the *maison au albâtres*, a large domestic building so-named for the discovery of ca. forty Egyptian alabaster vessels there.<sup>114</sup> The statuette was found in Room BD, the southwestern-most room in the structure. It was associated with three Mycenaean rhyta and a copper alloy Baal figurine, leading to the interpretation that the statuette was utilized in a high-ranking Ugaritic official’s small domestic shrine.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Schaeffer 1957, 61. For descriptions of the structure, see Courtois 1990; Yon 2006, 51–54.

<sup>111</sup> Yon 2006, 54.

<sup>112</sup> For an overview of the structure, see Yon 2006, 46–49.

<sup>113</sup> Yon 2006, 49.

<sup>114</sup> For an introduction to this structure see Yon 2006, 66–68.

<sup>115</sup> J. Lagarce and du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, 161–62.

To date, the majority of the Egyptian sculptural finds from Ras Shamra/Ugarit come from the acropolis. These include the sphinx fragments (Cats. 118, 119), the princess' statue (Cat. 121), the statuette of Senwosretankh and his family (Cat. 122), and several additional statuary fragments (Cat. 123, 124, 127, 128, 131).

The fragments of the sphinx (or sphinxes) of Amenemhat III (Cat. 118, 119) were discovered during the fourth season of excavations (1932) in the courtyard of the Baal temple.<sup>116</sup> The highly fragmented statues were strewn about the area, the context of which dates to the Late Bronze Age.<sup>117</sup> A recent study of the Ras Shamra temples suggests that the sphinx (or sphinxes) had originally been associated with the Middle Bronze Age temple, with which they are contemporary, and continued to be used into the LB as an item of prestige.<sup>118</sup> At least two other Egyptian sculptures, the kneeling man (Cat. 123) and the standing male (Cat. 124), are said to have come from the vicinity of the sphinx fragments.<sup>119</sup> Additional fragments associated with the Baal temple include the New Kingdom torso with inscribed back-pillar (Cat. 131), which was excavated during the first season of excavations (1929),<sup>120</sup> and the pieces of a possibly royal statue (Cat. 120) excavated inside the temple proper.<sup>121</sup> Worth noting here is Morris' recent suggestion that Ugarit was home to an Egyptian-assisted temple of Amun at Ugarit during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, akin to the Hathor/Ba'alat temple at Byblos.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Locus AM. For further discussion, see Ward 1979, 802–3; Callot 2011, 52–53, 90–92, 163 fig. 39.

<sup>117</sup> See the plan provided by Callot with descriptions in Tableau II for the distribution of fragments (Callot 2011, 52–53, 163 fig. 39).

<sup>118</sup> Callot 2011, 90–92.

<sup>119</sup> Schaeffer states simply that the fragments come “au voisinage” of the sphinx pieces (1939b, 1:21). For the location of the standing statuette (Cat. 124), see also Schaeffer 1934a, 112–13.

<sup>120</sup> Schaeffer 1929, 294. The “importante construction détruite par un incendie” was later identified as the temple of Baal (Callot 2011, 23–25).

<sup>121</sup> Schaeffer 1931, 9. These presumably include the fragments listed as numbers 1 and 6 by Callot (Callot 2011, 50, 163 fig. 39).

<sup>122</sup> Morris 2015a, 327–31.

Another group of Egyptian statue fragments was excavated to the south of the High Priest's Library over the course of several seasons. Among these was the statuette of a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty princess (Cat. 121).<sup>123</sup> The statue is associated with level II, which has been dated to a period roughly contemporary with the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>124</sup> The statuette of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) also comes from this area.<sup>125</sup> In addition, the head of a bald man (Cat. 128), is said to have been unearthed not far from the princess' statue and at the same depth.<sup>126</sup> The other male statuette head discovered at the site also comes from the acropolis, although its precise findspot is unknown.<sup>127</sup>

The Heliopolitan priestly statue (Cat. 126) was discovered during the fourteenth season of excavations at Ras Shamra (1950) in a house located in a trench located on the eastern side of the tell. No date for the context is given, although Schaeffer does note that this area has a layer dating to the end of the second millennium, as well as a second level dating to a period contemporary with the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.<sup>128</sup>

### *Summary*

Numerous pieces of Egyptian statuary have been excavated at the site of Ras Shamra/Ugarit over the course of several decades of archaeological research. The statues, many of which have only been summarily published, date to both the Middle and New

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<sup>123</sup> Locus CH (Courtois 1974, fig. 1).

<sup>124</sup> Ward 1979, 802.

<sup>125</sup> Ward 1979, 803. The first fragment was found during the fourth season of excavations (1932), while the rest of the statue was found in the same area the subsequent season (Schaeffer 1933, 114; Schaeffer 1934a, 113).

<sup>126</sup> Schaeffer 1962, 215.

<sup>127</sup> Schaeffer describes the head as coming from "l'emplacement choisi pour le sondage de 1959" (Schaeffer 1962, 217). Three *sondages* were undertaken in 1959, all on the necropolis, although it is unclear from which of these areas the statuette head originated. For a summary of the *sondages*, see (Courtois 1962).

<sup>128</sup> Schaeffer 1951b, 19. For a brief overview of this area, known as the East Terrace, see Yon 2006, 122.

Kingdoms. Based on published accounts, it is not possible to determine the true number of Egyptian statues represented in the Ras Shamra archaeological remains. This study includes fourteen fragmentary statues, many of which come from the tell's acropolis, including at least nine statues from the temple of Baal and its environs. Other statuary fragments come from domestic contexts, including possible household shrines in the homes of very high-ranking individuals. Although most the archaeological contexts of most of the fragments cannot be firmly dated based on the published information, it seems that most were in use during the city's final phase of occupation during the Late Bronze Age.

### 2.2.2 – *The Beqa‘a Valley*

#### 2.2.2.1 – Kamid el-Loz

##### *The Site*

Kamid el-Loz is located in the southern part of Lebanon’s Beqa‘a Valley, at a strategic intersection of the road leading to the Phoenician coast with that coming from the Jordan Valley.<sup>1</sup> The roughly 7 ha site has remains from the Early Neolithic through the Roman periods, with a sizeable Late Bronze Age occupation. Archaeological work at the site was conducted as a joint project of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz and the University of Saarbrücken from 1964-1965 under the direction of Arnulf Kuschke and Rolf Hachmann. The University of Saarbrücken continued excavations from 1964-1981, until civil war in Lebanon forced the close of archaeological fieldwork in the region.<sup>2</sup> Since 1997, renewed excavations have been undertaken at the site by the Institute of Near Eastern Archaeology of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg.<sup>3</sup>

During antiquity, Kamid el-Loz was known by the name Kumidi, an appellation that appears in Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom, most notably in the topographical lists of Thutmose III.<sup>4</sup> Kumidi also appears several times in the Amarna Letters.<sup>5</sup> In addition, Helck suggests that “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun, the town which is in the Valley of Cedars,” which appears in Ramesses II’s Qadesh poem, should be identified

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<sup>1</sup> For an introduction to the site, see Badre 1997b.

<sup>2</sup> An overview of the archaeological results can be found in Hachmann 1989. More detailed reports can be found in the Kāmid El-Lōz series published in the Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde.

<sup>3</sup> Heinz 2010.

<sup>4</sup> A list of Egyptian references to Kumidi can be found in Ahituv 1984, 127–28. For the city’s appearance in the Thutmose III lists, see *Urk.* IV: 781 (nos. 7-8).

<sup>5</sup> EA 198 is authored by the ruler of Kumidi (Moran 1992, 276). The city is also mentioned in EA 116, 129, 132, and 197 (Moran 1992, *passim*). Additional Akkadian texts from this period shed further light on relations between Egypt and Kumidi and include letters attributed to Amenhotep III. See Hachmann 2012, with further references.

with Kumidi/Kamid el-Loz.<sup>6</sup> Egyptian finds from the site include numerous Egyptian and Egyptianizing stone vessels (some with hieroglyphic inscriptions)<sup>7</sup> and the ever-ubiquitous scarabs and sealings.<sup>8</sup> In addition, a single, fragmentary piece of Egyptian stone sculpture was discovered.

### *The Statuary*

#### **132. Upper Part of a Male Statue** (pl. 217)



Material: Basalt-like stone (Miron and Miron)<sup>9</sup>  
 Dimensions: H: 11.3 cm; W: 9.6 cm; D: 5.6 cm<sup>10</sup>  
 Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty  
 Archaeological Context: In the forecourt of the Late Bronze temple  
 Current Location: The National Museum of Beirut (DGA 24406)<sup>11</sup>  
 Manner of examination: Published photographs and drawings  
 Bibliography: Miron and Miron 1983, 159 (no. 99), 173; Metzger 1993, I: 34-5, Abb. 2, 143 (no. 49)

This fragment preserves the upper part of a statue depicting a male of Middle Kingdom date. The statue is made of a grayish-black stone with a pocked surface that has been described as “*basaltähnliche*.”<sup>12</sup> The statuette is broken at the level of the waist, and additional damage has occurred on the face, with the nose and mouth now missing. The man has a square face, with a strong, broad chin and almond-shaped eyes. He wears a plain, shoulder-length wig that comes to rest on his chest in two points. The wig is tucked behind the man’s large, naturalistically rendered ears, which are pushed forward slightly.

<sup>6</sup> Helck 1971, 198; Helck 1980, 871. For an opposing view, see B. Lagarce 2010, 63–65; for the text, see *KRI* II: 14 §35. Helck notes that a similar designation in the Akkadian texts likely also refers to Kamid el-Loz.

<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the stone vessel assemblage from Kamid el-Loz, see Sparks 2007, 261–62. A brief study on the inscribed vessels can be found in Edel 1983. See also Lilyquist 1996.

<sup>8</sup> Kühne and Salje 1996, 129–62; Boschloos 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Miron and Miron 1983, 159; Metzger 1993, 143. Given the Middle Kingdom date of the statue, another stone, such as granodiorite, is more likely.

<sup>10</sup> Metzger 1993, I: 143.

<sup>11</sup> Field number KL 78:300. I would like to thank Anne-Marie Afeiche, curator at the National Museum of Beirut, for providing additional information about this object.

<sup>12</sup> Miron and Miron 1983, 159.



The figure is bare-chested, with a curved line on his chest indicating his pectorals. No traces of the garment that he once wore are preserved.

The apparent lack of a back-pillar suggests that the figure was not represented standing, but rather seated on a block-like seat or, perhaps, seated on the ground with his legs crossed.<sup>13</sup> The style of the wig, when considered in combination with the shape of the face and the naturalistic rendering of the large ears, indicates that the statue dates to the later 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties.<sup>14</sup> According to the published reports on the statue, damage on the head as well as a sheen present on the torso suggest that the piece was reused as a pestle in later periods, although such a suggestion cannot be confirmed without further examination.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The Kamid el-Loz statue fragment was excavated in the forecourt of the LB temple during the 1978 field season.<sup>16</sup> It was found just south of Wall 7, which is the southeastern wall of the easternmost room in the three-roomed temple dated to *Bauschicht* T3. The floor in this area has been described as ash inlaid with gravel, which was perpetually renewed.<sup>17</sup> Other *aegyptiaca* was also found in the environs of the Late

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<sup>13</sup> For examples of officials wearing this wig seated on chairs, compare: the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty granodiorite statue of Sehtepib Senaib from Kerma (Boston, MFA 14,721; Dietrich Wildung 1984b, 179 (no. 154)); the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty diorite statue of Nebit (Louvre E 14330; Delange 1987, 72–75). For the latter type, see: the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Gebu (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 27; Vandier 1958, pl. XCII.7); a limestone 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue from Kahun (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E253; Vandier 1958, pl. XCIII.253).

<sup>14</sup> Compare, for instance, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty greywacke statuette of a man (University College, London UC 8711; Page 1976, 44 (no. 47); Bourriau 1988, 59–60 (no. 46)); the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sandstone statuette of Neferkare-Immeru (Louvre A 125; Delange 1987, 66–68); or the statue of Khentykhetemsaf-seneb, also dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cairo CG 408; Connor 2014, 64–65, fig. 7).

<sup>15</sup> Miron and Miron 1983, 159; Metzger 1993, 143.

<sup>16</sup> For a plan indicating the fragment's findspot, see Metzger 1993, II: pl. 164. The statuette was unearthed in square IG16 at an elevation of 11.46 meters Metzger 1993, I: 143.

<sup>17</sup> Metzger 1991, 204.

Bronze temple, the majority of which has been interpreted as heirloom pieces that were likely retained in the temple area because of their symbolic and/or material value.<sup>18</sup>

### *Summary*

One piece of Egyptian stone statuary was unearthed during the German excavations at Kamid el-Loz (ancient Kumidi). The statue fragment, which depicts a private individual, dates stylistically to the Middle Kingdom. It was discovered in the forecourt of a temple of Late Bronze Age date. The statue may have arrived at the site not long after its manufacture, as interest in *aegyptiaca* exists there already in the MB, although a later arrival is also possible.<sup>19</sup> The presence of Egyptian material at Kamid el-Loz is not surprising given the site's important role in ancient trade networks.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Boschloos 2013, 211–12, 214.

<sup>19</sup> There was a marked increase in an interest in Egyptian objects during the LB Egyptian presence at the site (Boschloos 2013, 217).

<sup>20</sup> For further discussion of Kamid el-Loz's role in regional trade, see Artzy 2006, chap. 4.

#### 2.2.2.2 – Tell Hizzin

##### *The Site*

Tell Hizzin is a ca. 2.8 ha site in the Beqa‘a Valley of Lebanon, located some 11 km southwest of Baalbek.<sup>1</sup> Maurice Chéhab excavated it between 1949 and 1950 following the reported discovery of a statue of the Egyptian king Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133) on the surface of the site.<sup>2</sup> Finds from Hizzin suggest that it was occupied from the Early Bronze Age through the Iron Age II.<sup>3</sup> Due to the cursory nature of archaeological research at the site, however, its relations with Egypt remain poorly understood, although its location in the Beqa‘a Valley (a crossroads of ancient Syrian trade routes) hints at its probable importance.<sup>4</sup> Connections between Hizzin and Egypt are clearly evidenced by the site’s appearance in Egyptian textual sources. Galling proposed that the site was known to the Egyptians already during the Middle Kingdom, identifying it with the *Hsswm* of the Execration Texts, a theory that has been largely discounted by other scholars.<sup>5</sup> It has, however, been generally accepted that the *Hty* of Thutmose III’s topographical list, which appears in the Amarna Letters as *Hasi*, should be identified with Hizzin.<sup>6</sup> Because the final publication of the site was never finalized, the extent of Egyptian and Egyptianizing finds from Tell Hizzin remains unknown, with the primary

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<sup>1</sup> Marfoe 1995, 241; Marfoe 1998, 165; Genz and Sader 2008, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Genz and Sader 2008, 183–84. Chéhab’s results were never fully published, appearing only as preliminary reports (Chéhab 1949; Chéhab 1983, 167). For an attempt to reconstruct the results, see Genz and Sader 2008; Sader 2010.

<sup>3</sup> Genz and Sader 2008, 187–93. A small number of finds dating to the Roman, Medieval and Ottoman Periods were also found, but do not seem to represent an occupation at Tell Hizzin during those times.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Sader 2015, 123–24.

<sup>5</sup> Galling 1953, 90; Posener 1940, 96 no. F6. See also Kuschke 1958, 86; Helck 1971, 61; Genz and Sader 2008, 193; Ahrens 2015b, 213n101.

<sup>6</sup> For the toponym *Hty* in Thutmose III’s list, see Kuschke 1958, 86; Helck 1971, 61; Genz and Sader 2008, 193; Ahrens 2015, 213n101. The rulers of *Hasi* are the authors of three Amarna Letters: EA 175, 185 and 186 (Moran 1992, 260–61, 265–68).

examples being an Egyptianizing scarab of Levantine manufacture and two works of Egyptian statuary.<sup>7</sup>

### *The Statuary*

#### **133. Lower Portion of a Standing Statue of Sobekhotep IV (pls. 218-219)**



Material: Diorite (Galling)<sup>8</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown<sup>9</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Sobekhotep IV

Archaeological Context: Surface find

Current Location: Unknown<sup>10</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Chéhab 1949; Chéhab, n.d., 55; Galling 1953, 88–90; Montet 1954, 76; Leclant 1954, 78; Leclant 1955, 315–16; von Beckerath 1964, 250 (no. 29); Chéhab 1968, 5, pl. VIa; Chéhab 1969, 28, pl. IV.2; Helck 1975b, 37 (no. 47); Chéhab 1983, 167, pl. XV.2; W. V. Davies 1981, 26 (no. 28); Parlasca 2004, 3; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57; Genz and Sader 2008, 184–85, fig. 5; Ahrens 2015b, 203–6, figs. 4-8; Sader 2015, 123, fig. 7

The fragment that first piqued Chéhab's interest in the site of Tell Hizzin preserves the lower portion of a royal statue with a base inscribed for the 13<sup>th</sup>-Dynasty king Khaneferre-Sobekhotep IV. The work, which is made of a dark black stone sometimes identified in publications as diorite, once depicted the ruler in a standing, striding position with his left foot advanced. The statue is broken at the level of the mid-thigh and exhibits significant fracturing in what is preserved, including the loss of the front of the proper left leg. Indications of the garment that the king once wore do not

<sup>7</sup> The high quality of the statues, which is a reflection of the high status of the persons that they represent, would suggest the presence of a larger body of Egyptian material culture at the site, however. For a recent treatment of Egyptian and Egyptianizing material from Tell Hizzin, see Ahrens 2015b.

<sup>8</sup> The type of stone is not certain. As Ahrens notes, photographs suggest diorite, anorthosite gneiss or schist as the most likely candidates (2015b, 203).

<sup>9</sup> Owing to the treatment of the hieroglyphic inscription, Ahrens estimates that “the statue would not have exceeded 30-50 cm in total” (2015b, 203).

<sup>10</sup> The statue, together with the statue of Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) is included in Chéhab's description of the objects in Vitrine 80 (Chéhab, n.d., 55). In their study of the Tell Hizzin material, however, Genz and Sader indicate that the current whereabouts of the statues are unknown (2008, 186–87). See also Ahrens 2015b, 201n2.

remain, but the careful rendering of the toes and toenails demonstrate the high level of detail and craftsmanship that the statue once exhibited.<sup>11</sup>

The monarch is positioned against a deep back-pillar which, based upon the published information, does not appear to have been inscribed. An inscription is present on the upper face of the thick, rectangular statue-base, however, where it has been incised into the surface of the stone in front of the king's right foot. The inscription, which is enclosed in an incised rectangular box, is comprised of three columns of hieroglyphs oriented towards the statue's viewer, the first two of which read from right to left, while the final column reads from left to right. The text contains the king's titulary, reading:

*nṯr nfr nb t3wy (H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-R<sup>c</sup>)*

The Good God, the Lord of the Two Lands, Khaneferre

*s3 R<sup>c</sup> mr.f (Sbk-ḥtp)*

The Son of Re, whom he loves, Sobekhotep

*mry R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3ḥty*

beloved of Re-Horakhty

One feature of the inscription that has often been remarked upon in light of the statue's discovery at Tell Hizzin is the invocation of the solar deity Re-Horakhty, whose primary cult center of Heliopolis (Egyptian *Iwnw*) was likely the location in which the statue was intended to be displayed at its time of commission.<sup>12</sup> This veiled reference to Heliopolis has been argued to have special significance in light of the importance of the solar cult in the nearby Lebanese city of Baalbek, which was also known by the name of Heliopolis in the Hellenistic period.<sup>13</sup> Without further information about the statue's archaeological context, and in particular about the date of that context, however, it is impossible to say

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<sup>11</sup> Ahrens posits that the king once wore a short kilt, the edge of which he was able to identify on a photograph of the statue, and the *nemes*-headdress (2015b, 203).

<sup>12</sup> For citations of contemporary archaeological evidence at Heliopolis, see Ahrens 2015b, 204n19.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Montet 1954, 76; Fraser 1955, 137n28; Parlasca 2004, 3.

whether the inscription's reference to Ra-Horakhty had any effect on its being chosen as an appropriate piece for the site of Tell Hizzin, although based on the present evidence such an explanation seems unlikely at best.

**134. Lower Portion of a Statue of the Nomarch Djefaihapi (pls. 220-222)**



Material: Gray stone (Chéhab)<sup>14</sup>

Dimensions: Unknown<sup>15</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Senwosret I

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: National Museum of Beirut(?)<sup>16</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photograph

Bibliography: Chéhab, n.d., 55; Chéhab 1968, 4, pl.IIIc; Chéhab 1969, 22, pl.IV.1; Gill and Padgham 2005, 57; Genz and Sader 2008, 185–86, fig. 7; Ahrens 2015b, 206–10, figs. 9–12

Another significant Middle Kingdom find from Tell Hizzin is a similarly fragmentary nomarchal statue inscribed for Djefaihapi, presumably the well-known nomarch Djefaihapi I who governed the 13<sup>th</sup> Upper Egyptian nome under Senwosret I.<sup>17</sup> When complete, the statue portrayed the male official standing against a back-pillar in a striding pose with his left foot advanced. Only the section of the statue from Djefaihapi's waist to mid-calf was recovered during Chéhab's investigations at the site. When unearthed, this segment had broken into at least four fragments, dividing the statue up vertically. The consistent pattern of the breaks, particularly when viewed from the statue's proper left side, raises questions as to whether the statue might have been

<sup>14</sup> Chéhab 1969, 22. Ahrens suggests diorite, greywacke, or granite as possibilities (Ahrens 2015b, 206). Granodiorite may be a more likely candidate.

<sup>15</sup> Based on photographs, Ahrens estimates that the height of the statue would not have exceeded 40–50 cm, which may be supported by Chéhab's identification of it as a statuette rather than a statue (Ahrens 2015b, 206–7).

<sup>16</sup> See note 10 above.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of evidence for Djefaihapi I, see Favry 2004, 75–76. Although a series of men named Djefaihapi fulfilled the role of nomarch during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the statue is generally assigned to the first nomarch of that name, who served under Senwosret I. For a list of the nomarchs, see Favry 2004, 50–53. It should be noted that, based solely upon what has been published, no identifying markers in the inscription identify which of the nomarchs is represented. See also Zitman 2010, 38.

dismantled intentionally, perhaps so that the stone could be reused for building purposes (pl. 222). Deliberate mutilation is further suggested by the removal of the right arm, which once hung pendant against Djefaihapi's right side. The lack of traces of an arm on the opposite side of the statue indicate that the left arm was placed in a different position, likely against the chest, and perhaps with the hand holding an implement of some kind.<sup>18</sup> Djefaihapi wears a long, mid-calf length kilt with a central trapezoidal panel. Such garments were commonly worn by high officials of the Middle Kingdom, including other high-ranking men from the Assiut region.<sup>19</sup>

While the statue's back-pillar does not appear to have been inscribed, a single column of hieroglyphs bounded on either side by an incised line is present on the front of Djefaihapi's kilt. The inscription, which provides a traditional offering formula and the name of the man depicted, is written in right-to-left reading hieroglyphs (pl. 220). Although some sections of the inscription are missing at the junctures of the four breaks in the statue mentioned above, the text can be rendered as follows with some confidence:

*ḥtp di nsw [Ws]ir nb t3 ʿnh ḥs<sup>20</sup> mr.f ḥ3ty-ʿ Hp[-Dfβ]<sup>21</sup>*  
 A gift the king gives to [Osi]ris, lord of the land of the living,<sup>22</sup> the praised one  
 whom he loves, the hereditary prince [Djefai]hapi

The statue almost certainly comes from Assiut, where Djefaihapi lived and was buried.<sup>23</sup> This is supported by Osiris' epithet *nb t3 ʿnh*, which refers to a necropolis of

<sup>18</sup> Compare Cat. 85 from Byblos, in which the man depicted also wears a similar garment.

<sup>19</sup> Such a garment is a frequent costume choice on wooden statues of the period, but is less common in stone sculpture such as this piece. Compare, for example, the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Mesehti from Assiut (Eton College, ECM 7; Bourriau 1988, 33–4 (no. 23), pl. III.1); the late 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuette of Hetepi (Louvre E 123; Delange 1987, 108–10); or the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statuettes of Nakhti from Assiut (Louvre E 11937, E 12002; Delange 1987, 151–55).

<sup>20</sup> Ahrens reads *ḥs[f]* here (2015b, 207).

<sup>21</sup> Ahrens further supplies the formulaic *nb im3ḥw m3ʿ ḥrw* to complete the inscription (2015b, 207). His translation in its entirety reads “A royal offering of Osiris, Lord of the ‘Land of Life,’ may he (Osiris) praise (or: bless) and (may he) love him, the Hereditary Prince, Djefai<-hapi, possessor of honor/justified>” (Ahrens 2015b, 207).

<sup>22</sup> For the epithet *nb-t3-ʿnh*, see Leitz 2002c, 769.

Assiut.<sup>24</sup> The discovery of the statuette outside of Egypt is particularly noteworthy given the presence of a statue of the same individual in Kerma.<sup>25</sup> The constellation of places and objects connected to Djefaihapi in three different regions (Assiut, Kerma, and Tell Hizzin), suggest that the statues were removed from his tomb at a later date.

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

The precise archaeological contexts of the Sobekhotep IV statue fragment (Cat. 133) are not known, as the statue was not discovered during the course of formal excavations.<sup>26</sup> According to Chéhab, the work was brought to his attention by an antiquities dealer who stated that the statue had come from Tell Hizzin.<sup>27</sup> He later wrote that through his soundings at the site he was able to “confirmé la provenance de cette pièce,” although no additional information about the possible type or date of the context were given.<sup>28</sup>

The find contexts for the statue of Djefaihapi are not much more explicit. According the Chéhab, the statue came to light as “une découvert fortuite,” which he followed up upon with “un sondage, fait à l’endroit présumé de la découverte.”<sup>29</sup> This sounding produced more pieces of the same statue, but Chéhab did not provide further

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<sup>23</sup> See Reisner 1918.

<sup>24</sup> Ahrens 2015b, 208.

<sup>25</sup> Boston MFA 14.724 (Reisner 1975, 509 figs. 343, 513–6).

<sup>26</sup> Indeed, it was the discovery of the statue that instigated the site’s excavation.

<sup>27</sup> Chéhab 1949, 109.

<sup>28</sup> Chéhab 1969, 28n2. The piece was not found in one of these soundings, as indicated by Williams, however (1975, 1095).

<sup>29</sup> Chéhab 1969, 22. According to the museum catalogue, the initial piece was “trouvé par les paysans avant les fouilles” (Chéhab, n.d., 55).



information about the sounding, its location within the site, the archaeological contexts that it revealed, or a proposed date for the statue's context.<sup>30</sup>

### *Summary*

Two statues are reported to have come from Tell Hizzin in eastern Lebanon. Unusually for materials from the present corpus, both represent people who are known from independent sources. The first, the discovery of which served as the impetus for archaeological research at the site, is inscribed for the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Sobekhotep IV. The second, which came to light through a mixture of chance discovery and archaeological investigation, is said to represent the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty nomarch of Assiut Djefaihapi I. As the final excavation report was never published, virtually nothing is known about either statue's archaeological context or date, although a subsequent study of the material remains suggest that the site was occupied during the Middle Bronze Age, the period contemporary with the Middle Kingdom statues' production.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, inscriptional evidence present on both statues suggests that each was originally designed for use in Egypt, arriving in the Levant at some later date.

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<sup>30</sup> In their reinvestigation of the Hizzin material Genz and Sader note that the statue came from below the burned level that covered much of the Tell, but provide no additional information (2008, 185).

<sup>31</sup> Genz and Sader 2008, 187–89.

### 2.2.3 – *The Orontes Valley*

#### 2.2.3.1 – *Qatna*

##### *The Site*

Qatna (Tell Mishrife) is a 100 ha site located in the eastern part of Syria's Wadi Zora, some 18 km northeast of Homs.<sup>1</sup> The city was founded in the third millennium BCE and served as an important Bronze Age trade center until the fourteenth century, when it was destroyed, probably at the hands of the Hittites.<sup>2</sup> Its importance to trade was routed in its strategic location at the crossroads of north-south trade routes passing through the Orontes and Beqa'a Valleys and the east-west route leading from Mari towards the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup> Tell Mishrife was first excavated by Comte Robert du Mesnil du Buisson in 1924 and from 1927-1929.<sup>4</sup> Subsequent excavations have been undertaken since the 1990s by Syrian, Italian and German teams.<sup>5</sup>

Qatna (Egyptian *Ḳdn3*) appears in the topographical lists the New Kingdom kings Amenhotep II,<sup>6</sup> Amenhotep III,<sup>7</sup> Seti I,<sup>8</sup> Ramesses II,<sup>9</sup> and Ramesses III.<sup>10</sup> Thutmose III also states that he visited Qatna during his eighth campaign to the Levant in regnal year

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<sup>1</sup> Assaf 1997, 35. For introductions to the site, see Assaf 1997; Klengel 2000; Helck 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence suggests that the city was reoccupied at a later date by the Arameans, regaining its importance as a trade center during the Neo-Babylonian period.

<sup>3</sup> Sparks 2007, 260.

<sup>4</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a. Preliminary reports of the work can be found in several volumes of the journal *Syria* between 1926 and 1930, as well as in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* between 1927 and 1930/31.

<sup>5</sup> The teams are headed by the Directorate General of Antiquities, the Universität Tübingen, and the Università degli Studi di Udine. For recent studies, see Pfälzner 2011; Pfälzner and Al-Maqdissi 2015.

<sup>6</sup> The city is listed on the fragmentary list from the fifth pylon at Karnak (*Urk.* IV: 1338 no. 17; Simons 1937, 129 no. 17).

<sup>7</sup> Soleb IX β1 (Giveon 1964, 250; Schiff Giorgini 2002, 134; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 231).

<sup>8</sup> Qatna appears in Seti I's Karnak lists (*KRI* II: 28 no. 31, 31 no. 30).

<sup>9</sup> The toponym is included in Ramesses II's lists at Aksha temple (*KRI* II: 211 no. 10), at the Amara West temple (*KRI* II: 215 no. 10), on a statue base from Luxor temple (*KRI* II: 184 no. 16).

<sup>10</sup> Qatna is listed below on of the Sea Peoples scenes at Medinet Habu (*KRI* V: 35 no. 7).

33.<sup>11</sup> The city is further mentioned on a stela of Amenhotep II, who encountered a group of Asiatics from Qatna while on campaign.<sup>12</sup> In addition, Akizzi, the ruler of Qatna, is the author of several Amarna Letters.<sup>13</sup>

Interconnections between Egypt and Qatna are likewise evidenced by the presence of several Egyptian finds at the site.<sup>14</sup> Among them are numerous stone vessels, including a fragmentary gabbro vessel inscribed for Senwosret I and a porphyry vessel inscribed for the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty princess Itakayet.<sup>15</sup> Many scarabs were also discovered, as was a clay sealing bearing the prenomen of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.<sup>16</sup> In addition, four pieces of stone sculpture have been excavated or reportedly come from the site.

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<sup>11</sup> *Urk.* IV: 188.15. For further discussion of this campaign, see Redford 2003, 220–28.

<sup>12</sup> *Urk.* IV: 1311.5.

<sup>13</sup> EA 52–55 (Moran 1992, 123–28). Akizzi may also be the author of the fragmentary EA 56, and he is mentioned in EA 57 (Moran 1992, 128–29).

<sup>14</sup> PM VII: 392 represents only a small percentage of Egyptian works from the site. For recent discoveries, including a faience hippopotamus, see Ahrens 2012.

<sup>15</sup> For an overview of the stone vessel assemblage, see Sparks 2007, 260–61. The inscribed vessels are treated in Roccati 2002; Ahrens 2010.

<sup>16</sup> The scarabs are treated in Ahrens 2003; Boschloos 2012; Boschloos 2015. For the sealing, see Ahrens, Dohmann-Pfälzner, and Pfälzner 2012.

**135. Sphinx of Princess Ita** (pl. 223-226)



Material: Greywacke<sup>17</sup>

Dimensions: H: 26 cm; W: 58 cm; L: 161 cm<sup>18</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat II(?)

Archaeological Context: Palace, Hall C

Current Location: Louvre (AO 13075)

Manner of examination: In person (in case)

Bibliography: PM VII: 392; Moret 1927; du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 10–1, 16–7, XII; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 30, 34, 73; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935b; Parrot 1947, 57–58; W. S. Smith 1965, 15, fig. 25; Fay 1996b, 30–32, 64, 44–45, fig. 13, pls. 58-60, 66.i; Thalmann 1999, 112, 120 fig. 8; Gubel 2006; Pfälzner 2009, 167–68; Ahrens 2011a, 28–29, fig. 4; Ahrens 2011b, 298–99, fig. 6; Wastlhuber 2011, 52–3 (no. 53)

This sphinx portrays a 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal princess. The work, which has been heavily restored, was discovered in more than 400 fragments on the floor of the Late Bronze Age palace.<sup>19</sup> It depicts the princess in a recumbent pose on a base that is flat in the front and rounded in the back. The leonine portion of the composite figure is naturalistically rendered, with attention paid to details such as the claws and musculature. Unusually, the lioness' tail curves around behind the animal, coming to rest on the statue's base beside the right hind leg, as opposed to its more traditional position curving up onto the feline's back.

<sup>17</sup> Discrepancies in the identification of the stone arise from the discoloration that occurred when it was burned in the conflagration of the structure it was discovered within. The Louvre website currently identifies the material as sandstone; Fay identifies the stone as schist (1996b, 30).

<sup>18</sup> Dimensions are based on reconstruction.

<sup>19</sup> Although the number of fragments is usually reported as ca. 400 in the literature, the Louvre catalogue following the statue's restoration reports 522 pieces (Parrot 1947, 58). So many fragments were found, in fact, that du Mesnil du Buisson raised the possibility that two sphinxes rather than one are represented (1935b, 62n10).

The sphinx wears a striated tripartite wig with incised trapezoidal sideburns.<sup>20</sup> In addition, she wears a beautifully carved broad collar that passes between the lappets of hair in the front. The necklace is comprised of five rows of beads, the first four of which are tubular, and the final row of which is drop-shaped. Despite the fact that most of the face has been restored, some comments can be made about the princess' facial features from the original fragments that remain. Her eyes have flat lower lids with gently arching upper lids and deep inner canthi. Her eyebrows are plastically treated, and extend at a uniform width in line with her cosmetic lines.<sup>21</sup>

The top of the base between the princess' paws is inscribed with a single line of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. They read:

*iryt-p<sup>5</sup>t s3t nsw nt ht.f mrt.f It nbt im3h*

The Hereditary Princess, the King's Daughter, of his body, beloved of him, Ita,<sup>22</sup> possessor of reverence.

Since its discovery, the statue has been associated with the princess Ita whose tomb was discovered at Dahshur.<sup>23</sup> Ita is generally believed to be a daughter of Amenemhat II. This would fit well with the appearance of the sculpture, which Fay dates on stylistic grounds to late in the reign of Senwosret I, possibly during the period of co-regency with his son Amenemhat II.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Compare a female sphinx head of the Middle Kingdom from Rome (Brooklyn 56.85; Fay 1996b, 28–30, pls. 55–57). Unfortunately, the center of the wig has been fully restored, so no comment can be made concerning whether or not the princess wore a uraeus or, if she did, what form it took.

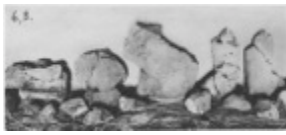
<sup>21</sup> For a more detailed description of the sphinx's physiognomy, see Fay 1996b, 30–32.

<sup>22</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 49 no. 3.

<sup>23</sup> This connection was made already by Moret (1927, 116). For further discussion, see Ahrens 2011a, 28–29. See also discussion of the statue of a princess from Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Cat. 121).

<sup>24</sup> Fay 1996b, 32.

### 136. Fragments of a Kneeling King's Statue (pl. 227)



Material: Egyptian Alabaster

Dimensions: Unknown

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Palace, Hall C

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 392; du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 10, 17 (no. 6), pls. xiv.1, vi.6; W. S. Smith 1965, 15; Ahrens 2011a, 28; Ahrens 2011b, 298–99; Wastlhuber 2011, 53–54 (no. 54)

Numerous fragments of an Egyptian alabaster statue were also discovered during the 1927 season of excavations at Qatna. According to the excavator, the fragments come from a half life-size statue of a kneeling male portrayed “assis sur ses talons, les bras tendus en avant dans la position de l’offrande” with “anatomie très exacte.”<sup>25</sup> Published photographs of the fragments indicate that the individual was wearing the *nemes*, identifying this as an image of a king.<sup>26</sup> The statue’s base measures 29 cm in width, with a preserved depth of 32 cm and a height of 19 cm.<sup>27</sup> Additional fragments of varying sizes were discovered in the vicinity of the base. While many are difficult to place, du Mesnil du Buisson was able to assign several to one of three categories: limbs, torso, and headdress. The entire right knee, which is bent, was identified, as was part of the left. Both elbows together with other portions of the arms were also found. Of particular interests was the discovery of the right hand, which du Mesnil du Buisson described as follows: “... phalanges très longues, ongles bien marqués. Le main est fermée sur un objet qui paraît être le bord d’une tablette. Les ongles devaient être en dessus, d’après la position des bras.”<sup>28</sup> One of the torso fragments, which includes part of the abdomen,

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<sup>25</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson was noncommittal about the headdress, describing the figure as “coiffé du kleft ou de la perruque” (1928, 17).

<sup>27</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 17.

<sup>28</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 17.

retains part of a vertically striated belt.<sup>29</sup> The headdress fragments are also striated, in keeping with the depiction of the *nemes*-headdress.

Although the statue is horribly fragmented, the photos and description provided by du Mesnil du Buisson permit some tentative comments about the statue's form to be made. Kneeling poses for the king are restricted to images of him (or her) presenting offerings, often wine jars. Indeed, Ahrens has noted that the king was probably presenting *nw*-pots.<sup>30</sup> Other types of offerings, such as an offering table, would also be possible given the description of the held object as a "tablette," although such statues are not elsewhere known to pre-date the New Kingdom.<sup>31</sup>

### 137. Upper Portion of a Male Statue (pl. 228)



Material: Serpentine<sup>32</sup>

Dimensions: H: 12.5 cm; W: 8.5 cm; D: 6 cm<sup>33</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, Late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unknown<sup>34</sup>

Current Location: Unknown

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 392; du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, pl. VI, 45-6; Scandone Matthiae 2000, 188n11; Ahrens 2011b, 298n36;

Wastlhuber 2011, 54–5 (no. 55)

<sup>29</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 17. The description suggests that the belt exhibits the *Bandmuster* motif (Evers 1929, §227.3).

<sup>30</sup> Ahrens 2011a, 28. Compare a kneeling statue of Senwosret III (CG 42013; Legrain 1906, I:10, pl. VII); the statue of an unidentified Middle Kingdom ruler (CG 42031; Legrain 1906, I:18–19, pl. XIX); a granite statue of Sobekhotep V (Berlin ÄM 10645).

<sup>31</sup> Compare, for example, a limestone statue of Amenhotep III (BM EA21979) or a limestone statue of Ramesses II (BM EA96).

<sup>32</sup> According to Professor J. Orcel, "l'examen microscopique a permis de déterminer la nature exacte de la roche: c'est une serpentine ou plutôt une périclorite en voie de serpentisation complète" (du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 45n2).

<sup>33</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson gives the measurements as "12 cm. 5 de hauteur, 85 cm. De largeur, et 6 cm d'épaisseur," but the 85 must surely be a miswriting of 8.5 (du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 45).

<sup>34</sup> Wastlhuber describes the find context as follows: "Im Bereich der Stadtmauer, nahe dem östlichen Tor, fand sich der Torso einer männlichen Statuette ... in der Nordwestmauer vermauert" (Wastlhuber 2011, 54). In fact this information pertains to another statue discovered at the site, for which du Mesnil du Buisson provides the Egyptian statue with fringed garment as a comparison (du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 47 (no. 16)). See also PM VII: 392, where the same error is made.

This fragment consists of the torso and part of the head of a male figure. The man's face, the top of his head, and the lower portion of his body have all been lost. The man wears a striated, wavy wig that comes to two points on either side of his face. He also wears an enveloping cloak-like garment with a fringed hem. The garment is wrapped in such a way that it passes over the man's left shoulder and down the front of his torso, covering his left arm, which is bent up so that the hand rests upon his right breast. The remainder of the garment runs diagonally across the figure's back, passing under his right arm as it wraps around to the front of his torso. The man's left arm, most of which is now missing, is bent at a roughly ninety-degree angle, indicating that the statue portrayed the man in a seated as opposed to standing pose. In the back, a shallow, irregularly-shaped back-pillar rises to the base of the man's wig. The back-pillar is inscribed with the beginning of a *hṭp-di-nsw* offering formula; unfortunately damage to the lower portion of the preserved back-pillar has removed the remainder of the text, including the name of the deity invoked and that of the individual portrayed by the statue.

In addition to the areas of breakage already mentioned, several deep gouges can also be seen on the statue, notably on the front of the hand and the side of the proper right arm. This led du Mesnil du Buisson to the conclusion that the statue had been violently attacked in antiquity, at least in part with a sharp instrument such as an axe.<sup>35</sup> He further suggested that the statue fragment had subsequently been utilized as a building stone, owing to the presence of lime mortar on the surface of statue and in its breaks.<sup>36</sup>

As noted above, the bend in the man's right arm indicates that in its original form the statue portrayed him sitting. Two poses are possible given the placement of his left

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<sup>35</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 45.

<sup>36</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 45.



hand on his chest: either he was seated on a low-backed seat,<sup>37</sup> or he was represented sitting on the ground with his legs tucked up beneath him,<sup>38</sup> although the former option is more likely given the presence of a back-pillar. In past treatments of the statue fragment, particular focus has been given to the man's fringed garment. Du Mesnil du Buisson was of the belief that, while similar "manteaux" were known from 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt, the fringed edge incorporated into the Qatna fragment was a unique element, leading him to look for parallels in Near Eastern art. His interpretation of the garment as a "plaid asiatique" further led him to the hypothetical proposition that the statue was the gift of a Middle Kingdom king to the court at Qatna, perhaps given on the occasion of the Ruler of Qatna's death.<sup>39</sup> The identification of so-called Asiatic elements in the statue has been followed in subsequent references to it.<sup>40</sup> Comparison with other canonical Egyptian statues demonstrates that this need not be the case, however, and that, in fact, the statue conforms quite well with other private statuary of the Middle Kingdom. Fringed cloaks can be seen on numerous late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statues.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, a similar manner of wrapping this style of garment around the body where the cloth passes over the left

<sup>37</sup> Compare, for example, the late 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty group statue of Nefertum and his children (Louvre E 11576; Delange 1987, 148–50); the late Middle Kingdom statue of Senwosret son of Sabes (Musée Royal de Mariemont B.496; Derriks and Delvaux 2009, 58–59); or the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty quartzite statue of Ankhrekh (British Museum EA1785; Strudwick 2006, 106–7), who also wears a fringed garment.

<sup>38</sup> Compare the late Middle Kingdom statue of Iabou (Louvre E 10974; Delange 1987, 131–32); that of Wadjiru (Louvre E 11196; Delange 1987, 138–39); or the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty statue of Senpu (Louvre E 27253; Delange 1987, 214–16). See also the statue of Khety, who wears a fringed garment (Cairo CG 480; Borchardt 1925, II:62, pl. 80)

<sup>39</sup> The association with the ruler's death is based largely on the presence of a funerary offering formula on the back of the statue. For further discussion of possible Asiatic influence in the statue, see du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, 45–46.

<sup>40</sup> Scandone Matthiae 2000, 188n11; Wastlhuber 2011, 54–55.

<sup>41</sup> Compare in particular the serpentinite statue of An, which portrays the individual seated in the same pose exhibited on the Qatna statue fragment (Musée Royal de Mariemont B.495; Derriks and Delvaux 2009, 56–58). For additional examples of the fringed cloak, see a limestone statue of a seated male with fringed cloak dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (MMA 30.8.73; Vandier 1958, pl. LXXVIII.4; Dietrich Wildung 1988, 121–2 (no. 44)); the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty seated quartzite statue of Ankhrekh (British Museum EA1785; Strudwick 2006, 106–7); the statuette of Khety (Cairo CG 480; Borchardt 1925, II:62, pl. 80); a fragmentary steatite statuette of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Petrie Collection UC 16880; Page 1976, 106 (no. 125)). The female equivalent of this garment can be seen on the statue of the Nurse Sit-Snefru from Turkey (MMA 18.2.2).

shoulder but under the right arm, which for du Mesnil du Buisson was yet another obstacle to identifying the statue as purely Egyptian, can also be seen in other statues of the period.<sup>42</sup> The undulating striated wig, with its pointed front sections, is also well-attested during the later Middle Kingdom.<sup>43</sup> There is therefore no reason to identify the fragment as coming from anything other than a purely Egyptian statue of Middle Kingdom date.

**138. Seated Statue of Anu (pl. 229)**



Material: Greywacke

Dimensions: H: 12.8 cm<sup>44</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1970.184.2)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: “Lower Part of the Statue of Anu” 2015

This fragment preserves the lower portion of a seated statuette inscribed for a man named Anu. The statuette has broken at the top of the figure’s hips, removing the head and torso, with further loss to the lower proper left side and the front of the base. Additional portions of stone have been removed from the back right corner of the chair. Anu wears a long garment, the seam of which can be seen running down the center of his lap and legs. His hands are placed open, palm-side down in his lap. He sits on a backless block-shaped seat. Both the left and right sides of the seat are inscribed. The surface of the proper right side of the chair base is inscribed with a single column of hieroglyphs that turns near the bottom to run horizontally towards the front of the statue. The text, which is severely damaged, contains a *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula. A *ḥtp-di-nsw*

<sup>42</sup> Compare, for instance, a sandstone seated statue (Cairo CG 42041; Legrain 1906, I:24–25, pl. XXV), or the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty limestone statue of Idy seated cross-legged (Louvre E 17332; Delange 1987, 178–79).

<sup>43</sup> For further discussion of this wig type with additional examples, see Connor 2014, 65–6, 68n18.

<sup>44</sup> “Lower Part of the Statue of Anu” 2015.

inscription adorns the proper left side of the seat as well, but is also heavily damaged. Seated statues of male officials wearing long garments with seams running down the center are a common feature of Middle Kingdom sculpture, and it is to that period that this work dates.<sup>45</sup>

### *The Archaeological Contexts*

Of the four Egyptian statues reported to have been found at Qatna, only two come from formally excavated contexts. Both the sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) and the kneeling king's statue (Cat. 136) were discovered in what du Mesnil du Buisson identified as the holy of holies of the goddess Nin-Egal's temple.<sup>46</sup> Renewed research at the site, and particularly into its monumental architecture, has revealed that the three structures that du Mesnil du Buisson identified at the site, namely the palace, the temple, and the high place, are actually all part of the same gigantic Bronze Age palace.<sup>47</sup> The statues come from the northeastern part of the room now designated Halle C or the pillared hall.<sup>48</sup> This room, which measures approximately 37 x 37 meters, is so-named for the four basalt column bases discovered in the middle of it. Its position and structure suggest that it was utilized as the palace's audience hall.<sup>49</sup> The numerous statue fragments were found scattered on the floor in the section of Hall C just outside of Room P, a small structure (identified by du Mesnil du Buisson as the holy of holies), which apparently

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<sup>45</sup> Compare, for example, the statue of Seniankh (Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 61; (Seipel 1992, 202 (no. 65)); the statue of Amenemhat son of Sattjeni (Habachi 1985a, 57-8, pls. 93-5); the statue of Demi (Habachi 1985a, 78-9, pls. 132-35a).

<sup>46</sup> For a plan indicating the location of the finds, see du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pl. VII. See also du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pls. VI.6, IX.2 for photographs of the findspots.

<sup>47</sup> Novák 2004; Pfälzner 2009.

<sup>48</sup> For a plan of the structure, see Pfälzner 2009, 166.

<sup>49</sup> Pfälzner 2009, 168.

served as the palace shrine of Nin-Egal.<sup>50</sup> It is therefore possible that the statues were associated with a religious context during their period of use. The palace itself was constructed during the transition from MB I to MB II, indicating that it is possible for the statues to have been brought or sent from Egypt as royal gifts during the Middle Kingdom. The statues were discovered in the final, Late Bronze phase of the structure, however. It was at this point during the fourteenth century destruction of the city that they were smashed and subsequently burned. Their presence in the palace's destruction layer indicate that they were still in use during this phase.<sup>51</sup>

Almost nothing is known about the contexts of the other two Egyptian statues reported to come from Tell Mishrife. The inhabitants of the local town brought the fragment of the male statuette wearing a fringed cloak (Cat. 137) to the excavators' attention.<sup>52</sup> As a result, no information about its precise findspot is known. Even less is known about the statue of Anu (Cat. 138), which likewise does not come from formally excavated contexts.<sup>53</sup>

### *Summary*

Four works of Egyptian statuary are reported to come from the site of Tell Mishrife (ancient Qatna). Two are royal works of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty: a sphinx of a princess, and a kneeling statue of a king. Both come from the audience hall of the Late Bronze Age palace, but may have been on display for a considerable period of time. The

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<sup>50</sup> Pfälzner 2009, 168. The base of the king's statue was believed to be in situ when it was found (du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 17).

<sup>51</sup> Ahrens 2011a, 28.

<sup>52</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson describes the statue as having been "recueillie par les habitants de Mishrifé" (1935a, 45).

<sup>53</sup> According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's records, the piece was purchased in 1970 in Beirut from a seller who stated that the statue had come from Mishrifa (Qatna), Syria ("Lower Part of the Statue of Anu" 2015).

other two statues, also of Middle Kingdom date, represent private individuals. The local inhabitants brought one to excavators in the 1920's, and the other found its way onto the antiquities market in the 1970s. Their contexts are therefore unknown. Clear evidence of a Middle Bronze Age occupation at the site indicates that the statues could have arrived in Qatna at a time contemporary with their manufacture, although a latter appearance is also possible.

## 2.3 – Statues of Uncertain Provenance

### 139. Lower Portion and Base of a Block Statue

Material: Granite or granodiorite

Dimensions: H: 8.9 cm; D: 16.8 cm

Date of statue: Unknown

Archaeological Context: Unknown (Israel)

Current Location: Rockefeller Archaeological Museum (S.2669)

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: Unpublished

This fragment preserves the lowermost portion and base of an Egyptian block statue. The statue was carved from a fine-grained micaceous black stone, likely granodiorite. Only the buttocks, back, and the rear portion of the figure's proper right foot are preserved. He (or she) sits on what was once a rectilinear base; the base now exhibits significant areas of loss, particularly to the rear corners and the front. No evidence that the base was ever inscribed is preserved, but a back-pillar rising from the base does bear an inscription. This inscription is divided into two columns of hieroglyphs that read from right to left. The columns are bordered by a single line, with an additional line separating the two columns. Wear and encrustations on the surface make the inscription difficult to read. Nonetheless, the following tentative reading can be put forth:

[... *hr*]<sup>1</sup> *h3wt n* [...]<sup>2</sup>  
[... upon] the altar<sup>3</sup> of [...]

[...] *Wsir-nht* [...]<sup>4</sup>  
[...] Osiris-nakht<sup>5</sup> [...]

Based upon what is preserved, it therefore seems that some sort of offering formula is present. The bottom of the first column may refer to offerings coming forth from an

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<sup>1</sup> The presence of a logographic stroke combined with the curved shape of the break suggest a reading of the preposition *hr* here.

<sup>2</sup> The marks following the *n* are unclear, but could be a series of three plural strokes.

<sup>3</sup> *Wb.* III: 226.

<sup>4</sup> The sign or signs here are incredibly difficult to read.

<sup>5</sup> Ranke 1935, I: 85 no. 1.

offering table, a common element of *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae. The end of the second line may contain the statue owner's name, signaled by the presence of Osiris' name, although the signs following the name do not seem to be the seated man determinative (Gardiner A1) or *m3ꜥ-hrw* that would be expected.

The statue was once of extremely high quality, as indicated by the delicate carving and smooth finish on the proper right ankle. The same detail of carving is not exhibited by the shallow inscription, however, and could indicate reworking. With so little of the statue preserved, it is difficult to assign a date, although the style and content of the inscription could point towards the later end of the spectrum, possibly the Third Intermediate Period or later. It is not known what site or city in Israel the statue came from. According to the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum's register, a "fragment of [a] basalt stele with hieroglyphic inscription" of unknown provenance was accessioned under the number 2669 (the accession number presently attached to the statue fragment) on June 26, 1930.<sup>6</sup>

#### 140. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (pl. 230)



Material: Diorite (Scandone Matthiae)

Dimensions: H: 17 cm; W: 13.8 cm; L: 32 cm<sup>7</sup>

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom, 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III

Archaeological Context: Unknown (Syria)

Current Location: National Museum of Aleppo (no. 6450)<sup>8</sup>

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: PM VII: 395; Ploix de Rotrou 1932, 75:no.384, 76:fig. 45; Fay 1996b, 66:no.37, pl. 88c-d; Scandone Matthiae 1989b; Sourouzian 1996, 747; Wastlhuber 2011, 59

<sup>6</sup> I would like to thank Alegre Savariego for bringing this piece to my attention, and for providing me with this information.

<sup>7</sup> Scandone Matthiae 1989b, 125.

<sup>8</sup> Scandone Matthiae 1989b, 125. Fay gives the museum number as 384, which is the number assigned to the object in Ploix de Rotrou's catalogue (Fay 1996b, 66; Ploix de Rotrou 1932, 75).

Among the numerous Middle Kingdom sphinxes discovered in the Levant is this unprovenanced example inscribed for Amenemhat III. The sphinx, which is missing its head as well as both of its front paws, rests on a thin base. The lower portions of two horizontally striped *nemes* lappets lie on the front of the sphinx's chest, and a *nemes* tail can still be seen running down the middle of its back indicating that, as with other contemporary examples, the figure's head was once adorned with the *nemes* headdress. A broad collar that terminates in a set of eight drop-shaped beads peeks out from between the *nemes* lappets. The sphinx's mane, indicated by a series of vertical, incised lines, adorns its leonine chest and back, forming a double-lunette shape on the animal's back. In the front the two sides of the mane frame an inscription incised onto the front of its chest in hieroglyphs written from right to left that provide the prenomen of Amenemhat III:

*ntr nfr (N-m³t-R³)*<sup>9</sup>  
The Good God, Nimaatre.<sup>10</sup>

Although the sphinx is frequently cited as coming from Neirab (a town just south of Aleppo), Scandone Matthiae's research into the object indicates that this is not necessarily the case.<sup>11</sup> According to the museum's register which she consulted, "le sphinx n'aurait pas été découvert à Neirab: celui-ci nous apprend seulement que la pièce se trouvait dans un ancien bâtiment d'Alep même, avant son entrée au Musée." The

<sup>9</sup> The bottom portion of the cartouche is now missing.

<sup>10</sup> For additional sphinxes inscribed for Amenemhat III see Fay 1996b, 66–68. Of particular interest are other examples excavated in the Levant: Cat. 38 from Hazor, Cat. 118 from Ugarit, and possibly also Cat. 64 from Byblos.

<sup>11</sup> For the identification of the sphinx's provenance as Neirab, see, e.g., PM VII: 395; W. S. Smith 1965, 15n49; Weinstein 1974, 53n22; Helck 1976, 104; Fay 1996b, 66.



statue's presence in a Syrian repository makes a Syrian provenance for the sphinx likely, although the precise site from which it came cannot be determined.<sup>12</sup>

**141. Upper Portion of a Female Statuette** (pls. 231-232)



Material: Greywacke (MMA)

Dimensions: H: 10.3 cm

Date of statue: Middle Kingdom–early New Kingdom

Archaeological Context: Unknown (possibly Qatna)

Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (67.226)

Manner of examination: In person (in museum case)

Bibliography: H. G. Fischer 1968, 91; “Upper Part of Statuette” 2015

This greywacke statuette depicts a standing private woman. The bottom of the statuette has broken away, creating a triangular shape to the bottom of the preserved fragment, with diagonal breaks running from the woman's biceps to just below her bellybutton. The thin-waisted woman wears a tight-fitting sheath dress with broad straps; the edge of the dress' body is clearly indicated by a horizontal line incised just below the breasts. She wears a voluminous striated wig that is just longer than shoulder length and flares out at the bottom. The wig, which covers her ears, is parted in the center by a deep channel from which striations radiate producing a chevron pattern. She has a fleshy, oval face with hooded, almond-shaped eyes. The front of the face has suffered damage that removed both the nose and the mouth. The quality of modeling on the petite figure is quite high, notably in the treatment of the torso, which is divided vertically by a line extending up from the bellybutton.

The woman stands against a back-pillar that rises to the bottom of her wig. The pillar is shallowly inscribed on all three surfaces in vertical lines of hieroglyphs. The inscription on the back presents a *hṯp-di-nsw* offering formula. The inscriptions on the sides of the back-pillar require more study, but include the feminine title *nbt pr* “mistress

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<sup>12</sup> Scandone Matthiae notes that the statue probably comes from Aleppo or its environs (1989b, 128).

of the house.” On each side of the back-pillar a circular element in raised relief also descends from the woman’s head, perhaps representing part of her hairstyle.

The statuette’s provenance is unknown, although it is reported to have come from the site of Qatna in Syria.<sup>13</sup>

**142. Lower Portion of Scribal Statue of Djehuty (pls. 233-235)**



Material: Granite (Yoyotte)

Dimensions: H: 20 cm; W: 18 cm; D: 20 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III

Archaeological Context: Unknown (possibly Byblos)

Current Location: British Museum (EA 69863)

Manner of examination: Published photographs

Bibliography: Yoyotte 1981; Christie, Manson & Woods 1986, 47 (no. 185); Bordreuil and Gubel 1987, 318–19; Lilyquist 1988, 15–16, 59; Lilyquist 1998, 25; Pétigny 2008, 278

This statue is the only known work of three-dimensional sculpture to represent the famed general of Thutmose III whose military prowess and ingenuity were celebrated in *The Taking of Joppa*.<sup>14</sup> The statue, which is preserved only from the waist down, depicts the overseer of northern foreign countries seated cross-legged on the ground in a scribal pose. In it, Djehuty wears a knee-length kilt that exposes his lower legs. He has a papyrus outstretched on his lap, with his left hand (now lost) holding the roll over his left thigh, and his right hand (now severely damaged) angled, eternally frozen in the act of writing. The papyrus unfurled upon Djehuty’s lap is inscribed with an autobiographical text, as was customary for New Kingdom scribal statues. This hieroglyphic text is divided into columns that read from left to right and are oriented as if they have just been penned by

<sup>13</sup> The MMA website previously listed the provenance as either Qatna or Byblos.

<sup>14</sup> Wente 2003a; Bryan 2006, 103–4.

the statue.<sup>15</sup> Because its length exceeds the space afforded by the papyrus on Djehuty's lap, the text continues onto the front and right sides of the thick base upon which he sits.<sup>16</sup>

The text reads:

*dmd b3kw šsp inw inw n b3w ḥm.f m ḥtrw nt[y] nw rnpt m-ꜥ wrw*  
Collecting the *b3kw*-taxes, receiving the *inw*-gifts that were brought to the power of his majesty as yearly taxes from the rulers (lit. "great ones")

[...] *Rtnw šhnt m imw*<sup>17</sup> *r t3-mry*  
[...] of Retjenu, causing [them] to go south in boats to Egypt (lit. "the beloved I and")

[...] *imy-r ʿ3 n ḥ3st mḥtt sš nsw Dḥwty m3ꜥ-ḥrw*  
[by] the overseer of the portal of northern foreign countries, the royal scribe Djehuty, justified.

The topic of the inscription (namely the collection of foreign taxes) is especially apropos given the statue's erection in a Levantine city. The inscription on the proper left side of the base reads from right to left and provides the names of Djehuty's parents:

*ir.n s3b Imn-ms ms[.n] Isi-snb*<sup>18</sup>  
engendered of the judge Amenmose, born [of] Isi-seneb

A back-pillar inscribed with two columns of text rises from the base.<sup>19</sup> The text, which is broken at the top, reads:

*[ḥtp di nsw Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Kb]n*<sup>20</sup> *nb[t] pt t3wy di.s prrt*  
[A gift the king gives to Hathor mistress of Byblo]s mistress of heaven and the two lands,<sup>21</sup> that she might give that which comes forth<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> That is to say that they are oriented towards the statue rather than the viewer. The text is written in such a way that the space occupied by Djehuty's hand is skipped.

<sup>16</sup> The base is squared in the front but rounded in the back. The text is inscribed in a single line of hieroglyphs that read from right to left and is bordered on the top and bottom by a single incised line.

<sup>17</sup> No phonetic compliments are provided for the boat sign (Gardiner P1), so another word for boat is also possible here.

<sup>18</sup> The reading of the mother's name remains unclear (Yoyotte 1981, 51n36).

<sup>19</sup> Although back-pillars are a rarely present on scribal statues before the Late Period, some examples are known (Yoyotte 1981, 45).

<sup>20</sup> As Yoyotte surmises, this *n* followed by the hill-country determinative (Gardiner N25) is almost certainly the end of the "mistress of Byblos" (*nbt Kbn*) title that Hathor sometimes bears (1981, 46).

[... n] *k3 n imy-r h3swt mḥtt sš nsw Dḥwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*  
[to] the *ka* of the overseer of northern foreign countries and royal scribe Djehuty,  
justified.

Jacques Aubert was the first to acknowledge the statue, which he encountered in the possession of a Lebanese owner in Paris.<sup>23</sup> These owners subsequently told Lilyquist that the statue “probably [came] from Syria as [did] most of the objects one used to find in Lebanon before the war.”<sup>24</sup> Gubel, on the other hand, had it on good authority that the statue had been discovered by chance at the site of Byblos in the 1960s.<sup>25</sup> This is supported by the apparent reference to Hathor of Byblos in the inscription. In any event, it is generally accepted that the statue was not part of Djehuty’s now dispersed burial assemblage from Egypt.<sup>26</sup> This raises the question of where the statue had been set up. The likely reference to Hathor of Byblos would seem to support the assertion that the statue had been erected in a temple in that city. Given Djehuty’s known activities in the Levant during his lifetime, it seems probable that he himself dedicated the statue. It would therefore serve as further evidence of contemporary statue deposition in the Levant during the New Kingdom.

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<sup>21</sup> The epithet *nbt pt t3wy* is attested for the goddess Hathor (Leitz 2002d, 51). Examples are known from the New Kingdom and the Late Period.

<sup>22</sup> The top of the next line is broken, but would have completed the formula indicating the goddess’ gift of items coming forth from her offering table.

<sup>23</sup> Yoyotte 1981, 41.

<sup>24</sup> Lilyquist 1988, 15.

<sup>25</sup> Bordreuil and Gubel 1987, 319. In support of a Levantine origin for the work, Lilyquist notes that it has (calcareous?) surface deposits of a type observed by her “on objects from Sidon and Tyre” (1998, 25).

<sup>26</sup> Lilyquist 1988; Reeves 1993. This is due both to the fact of the statue’s apparent discovery in the Levant, and the traditional use of scribal statues during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, which are usually set up in public places where they can be viewed.

### 143. Upper Portion of a King's Statue (pl. 236)



Material: Egyptian Alabaster

Dimensions: H: 25 cm; W: 20 cm; D: 12.5 cm

Date of statue: New Kingdom, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Thutmose IV or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Archaeological Context: Unknown

Current Location: British Museum (EA74844)<sup>27</sup>

Manner of examination: In person

Bibliography: PM VII: 382, 396; Hall 1928a; Hall 1928c; Vandier 1958, 406n2, 409n9, 617; Bryan 1991, 211, XIV (fig. 40)

This fragment preserves the upper portion of what was once a finely carved statue depicting a New Kingdom monarch. The statue, which is broken at the waist, is made of Egyptian alabaster. Hall identified the fragment as having come from a standing statue, but a seated image cannot be ruled out based on the position of the break. The bare-chested king wears the round, echeloned wig that covers the ears. A uraeus is affixed to the top of the wig. Its body snakes back across the top of the king's head, turning twice before narrowing into the tail, which runs down the back of the wig; the uraeus' hood, which once stood out in high relief from the statue, is broken.

The king has a short, round face, the features of which have been badly damaged. His almond-shaped eyes have deep inner canthi and are set obliquely on his face. His eyebrows (as much as is preserved) are rendered naturalistically with a finesse befitting this soft stone. Rough patches on the proper right side of the face and in a strip across the top of the wig indicate a section where the stone was of lower quality. The king is positioned against a back-pillar that rises almost to the top of his head. The rectangular pillar is uninscribed and bears no visible evidence of retouching.

Owing to the lack of inscription and the severely damaged facial features, the identity of the king remains uncertain. Hall proposed a date in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, with

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<sup>27</sup> The statue was previously published under the former WAA accession number 118544.

Ramesses II or Merenptah being the most likely candidates, based on the popularity of this wig type in that period.<sup>28</sup> Bryan, on the other hand, identifies the king as the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ruler Thutmose IV, with whom this wig type was also popular.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the shape of the face and what remains of the facial features align more closely with this earlier date. The findspot of the statue is unknown. When it was acquired by the British Museum in the 1920s, Hall described it as having been “found recently either in Palestine or Syria, more probably the former (the precise locality is uncertain).”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Hall 1928a; Hall 1928c, 12.

<sup>29</sup> Bryan 1991, 211.

<sup>30</sup> Hall 1928a.

### CHAPTER 3

#### A CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF EGYPTIAN STATUARY IN THE LEVANT

Over the course of the millennia covered in this dissertation the types of Egyptian statues transferred to the Levant changed for varied reasons, including domestic stylistic choices and developments in the relationships between Egypt and Levantine cities. This chapter will present a chronological overview of the statues in the present corpus, considering trends in the types of statuary represented for each major era of pharaonic history. In doing so, it will

- review broader evidence for Egypto-Levantine relations in each period;
- provide a summary of the nature of the corpus with an eye towards stylistic and class-based trends;
- consider how statues of each date would have functioned in Egypt and how this might differ in their new Levantine settings;
- and speculate as to how, why, and when statues of a given period may have arrived in the Levant, taking previous scholarship into consideration.

Several caveats must be recognized before embarking upon a statistical analysis of the Egyptian statues in the Levant. The first is that the makeup of the corpus is heavily influenced by the happenstance of archaeological discovery. Without a doubt, many more Egyptian statues than those presented in this study once resided in Levantine cities.<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted that ancient statues were produced from a variety of materials, not

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<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, additional statues have almost certainly been lost even in modern times. See, for instance, the situation with Lebanese materials (Fisk 1991).

solely stone.<sup>2</sup> There is clear evidence that several Levantine cities once housed Egyptian statues produced from other materials, such as wood and precious metals. These works, most of which have not survived to modern times, are outside the scope of this study, but would have been viewed in much the same way as the stone corpus from the perspective of use. Nonetheless, the robust size of the stone sculptural corpus permits some comments to be made about patterns in acquisition and use for works dating to the Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, and later.

Of the 144 statues or statue fragments in the corpus, 121 can be dated to a specific period of Egyptian history with some confidence based upon stylistic markers and/or inscriptional content. Those statues show a significant skew towards the Middle Kingdom, to which 69 of the statues or statue fragments (61%) date (Fig. 3.1).<sup>3</sup> The next best-represented period is the New Kingdom, which is perhaps to be expected given that it was a time of Egyptian empire in the region; 22 of the statues (roughly 19%) date to that period. 10 statues (9% of the datable corpus) date to the Late Period, 6 (5%) each to the Old Kingdom and Third Intermediate Periods, and a single statue to the Ptolemaic period.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For further discussion see Chapter 1.5.4.

<sup>3</sup> In the date-based analysis, when more than one date is possible for the statue the earliest date has been used. The two exceptions to this are Cats. 61 and 85, which are Middle Kingdom works that bear strong evidence of later re-working in Egypt prior to their arrival in the Levant. In those instances, the later date has been used for the purposes of chronological analysis.

<sup>4</sup> In Chapter 2, it was proposed but not confirmed that eight fragments (Cats. 68-75) from the city of Byblos once formed a single statue of the Third Intermediate Period king Osorkon I. For the purposes of analysis, they have been counted as a single statue rather than eight individual works. This adjustment has been made throughout the chapter unless otherwise noted.



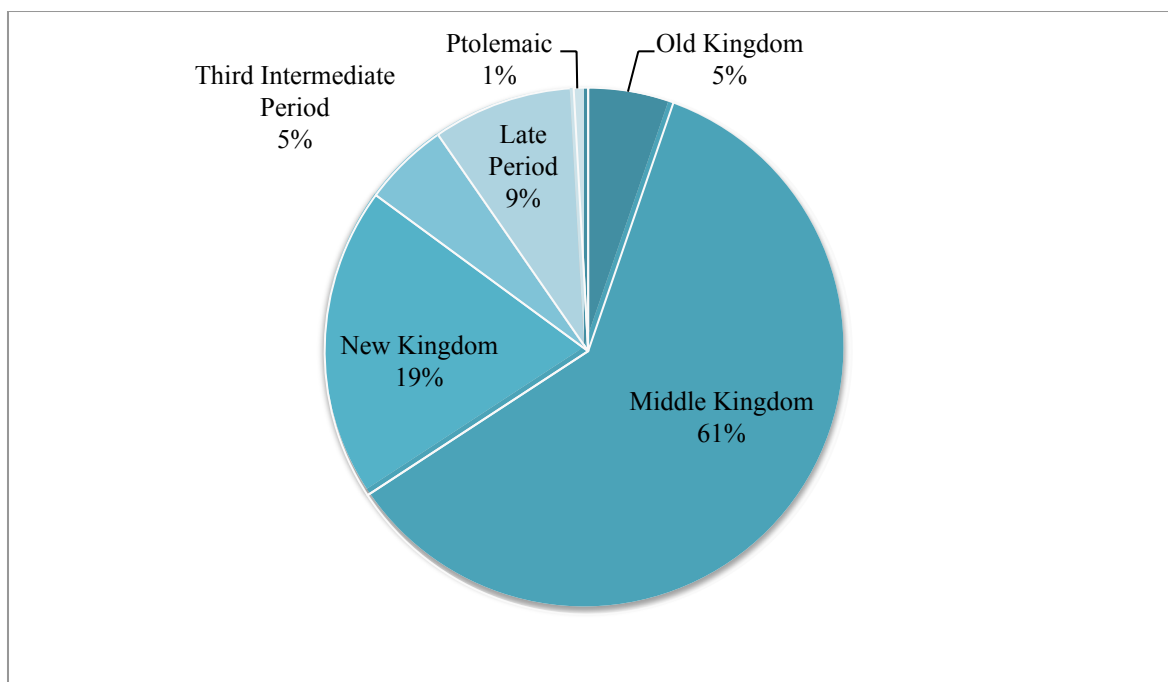


Figure 3.1. Chronological Division of Datable Egyptian Statue Fragments in the Levant.

### 3.1 – The Old Kingdom

#### 3.1.1 – *The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant*

Interactions between Egypt and the Levant during the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686-2125 BCE), which is contemporary with the EB III–EB IV/MB I, are still poorly understood.<sup>5</sup> There is, nonetheless, evidence of at least some interest in the region on the part of the Egyptians. This is patently true for the Lebanese coastal city of Byblos, for which there is a clear indication of relations already during the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and particularly strong evidence dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, with significant numbers of objects inscribed for the likes of Pepi I and II found in the city.<sup>6</sup> The picture for the southern Levant remains murkier, although increased research in recent decades suggests a higher level of Egyptian interest in the region than had previously been posited.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For a recent study addressing this topic, see Sowada 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Sowada 2009, 7–10, 128–41.

<sup>7</sup> Sowada 2009, 10–16; Cohen 2016, chap. 3.

The bulk of the firm evidence for interactions between the two regions comes from archaeological remains, either via the discovery of Egyptian material culture objects in the Levant, or through the appearance of foreign goods and materials within Egypt itself. Textual and iconographic representations of interactions between Old Kingdom Egypt and the Levant are relatively rare.<sup>8</sup> What's more, the reliability of such sources for the purposes of historical reconstructions must be approached cautiously given the ideological role such claims made, especially in the legitimization of a monarch's rule. Again, a significant percentage of the evidence for interrelations during this period pertains to Byblos, with references to *Kbni* appearing in private tomb inscriptions,<sup>9</sup> representations of sea-faring missions to Byblos in royal mortuary complexes,<sup>10</sup> and an ample amount of Egyptian finds, largely in the form of (sometimes inscribed) stone vessels at the site of Byblos itself.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.1.2 – *The Old Kingdom Statuary Corpus*

Among the datable statues within the corpus, six are attributable to the Old Kingdom (5% of the overall corpus). Of these, five portray kings, while the sixth represents a male member of the elite.<sup>12</sup> The dates of the royal examples have been ascertained through examination of iconographic elements and, in the case of one fragment (Cat. 37), the presence of an inscription. The private statue fragment, which retains only the head, is also inscribed, but with extremely common titles such that its

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<sup>8</sup> For an overview textual evidence for Egyptian interactions with the Levant, see Sowada 2009, 5–7; Redford 1986a.

<sup>9</sup> For example in the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscriptions of Khnumhotep in the tomb of Khui at Aswan (*Urk.* I: 140 line 17; Sowada 2009, 7–8, with further references) or of Iny (Marcolin 2006; Marcolin and Espinel 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Reliefs at both Abusir (Sahure) and Saqqara (Unas) have been interpreted as depicting voyages from Byblos (Sowada 2009, 8–9, with further references).

<sup>11</sup> Sowada 2009, 128–41. See also chapter 2.2.1.4 above.

<sup>12</sup> See discussion in section 2.1.3.1 above for the possibility that this now lost statue is an archaizing piece of the Late Period.

owner cannot be identified. The fragments were discovered at sites spanning the northern and southern Levant, with a single exemplar coming from Jerusalem in the south, three from Hazor (a site on the border between the north and south), and two fragments from Byblos. All of the statues are fragmentary, and at least one, a portion of a *shendyt*-kilt-clad statue from Hazor (Cat. 41), bears possible evidence of deliberate mutilation, likely at a much later stage of use.<sup>13</sup> None present evidence for the physical reworking of the statues for new contexts in the Levant.

### 3.1.3 – *The Use and Display of Statues*

When attempting to determine the purpose for which the statues were commissioned, two related questions arise: were the statues initially meant to be displayed abroad, and, if not, what types of contexts would they have been displayed in in Egypt? In Egypt, royal statues appear in two main settings during the Old Kingdom: mortuary complexes celebrating the cult of the king and temples of deities throughout Egypt.<sup>14</sup> The fragmentary natures of the royal Old Kingdom statues discovered in the Levant makes it difficult to determine which type of setting would have been each statue's intended place of display. The temple of Heliopolis seems the most probable location for the sphinx fragment from Hazor (Cat. 37), which bears reference to the Souls of Heliopolis and was likely one of numerous sphinxes erected in that temple in Middle Egypt. Conversely, if the royal head (Cat. 36) once portrayed the king embraced by a falcon as suggested above, it is tempting to assign the original placement of the statue to

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<sup>13</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 5.

<sup>14</sup> For an overview of the placement of royal statues during the Old Kingdom see Dieter Arnold 1999, 41–44.

a royal temple where a representation of the king as the living manifestation of Horus would be most appropriate.<sup>15</sup>

During the Old Kingdom, private statues were most frequently placed in mortuary contexts.<sup>16</sup> As repositories for the *ka* of the person depicted, their protection was paramount, and they were therefore often walled up in *serdab* chambers, preventing them from being directly accessed by the living.<sup>17</sup> It is almost certain that the private head from Jerusalem (Cat. 11) was originally intended to occupy just such a setting. Given the lack of evidence for diplomatic missions to the Levant of the sort that would result in an Egyptian official being buried there with traditional Egyptian burial goods (including a rather large statue) the only plausible conclusion is that this statue, either as a whole or in an already fragmentary state, was sent to the southern Levant at a date long after it had fulfilled its original purpose as a tomb statue in Egypt. Unfortunately, the generic nature of the inscription on the statue's back-pillar, together with the fact that the whereabouts of the statue are no longer known, preclude its association with a particular Egyptian locale.

Data pertaining to how the Old Kingdom statues were (or may have been) displayed in the Levant is lacking. Of the six pieces, the context of one (the private statue from Jerusalem [Cat. 11]) is completely unknown. Two more pieces, both from Byblos (Cats. 62 and 81), were surface finds, although their placement in the Byblite temples would not be out of place given the presence of significant numbers of Old Kingdom

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<sup>15</sup> Compare the famous statue of Khafre (Cairo CG 14), which was found in his Valley Temple at Giza (PM III: 22), or the statues of Reneferet from Abusir (Verner 1985).

<sup>16</sup> Although it was previously believed that tombs were the only acceptable emplacements for private statuary during the Old Kingdom, rare examples from temple contexts suggest that this was not always the case (Dieter Arnold 1999, 44; Dorothea Arnold 2015b, 21).

<sup>17</sup> Dieter Arnold 1999, 44–47.

materials excavated there. The three remaining fragments, all from Hazor, come from significantly later contexts. Two (Cats. 36 and 37) come from LB II palace contexts while the third was reused as fill in an Iron I gate complex.

#### *3.1.4 – Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence*

Discussions of the movement of Old Kingdom Egyptian statuary to the Levant have been quite minimal. This is not surprising given the meager archaeological data associated with these statues, as well as the fact that many (Cats. 41, 36, 81) have not previously been identified as Old Kingdom in date and another (Cat. 37) has only recently come to light. The statue of Niuserre from Byblos (Cat. 62) has been interpreted both as a royal gift sent on behalf of that monarch<sup>18</sup> and as an heirloom item sent at a later date.<sup>19</sup> A possible relationship between Niuserre and Byblos is further supported by the presence of an alabaster vessel fragment inscribed with a portion of his cartouche discovered there.<sup>20</sup>

A contemporary dispatch of the sphinx of Menkaure to Hazor is even less probable based on the present evidence, as connections between Egypt and the Levant (and the southern Levant in particular) seem to have been minimal during the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Daphna Ben-Tor has suggested that the sphinx was more likely to have come to Hazor either during the Middle Bronze Age, to which the largest percentage of Egyptian statues found in the Levant date, or during the Late Bronze Age, when Hazor was a major center.<sup>22</sup> The latter scenario would indicate that its date of

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<sup>18</sup> B. V. Bothmer 1971, 15–16; Scandone 1994, 39.

<sup>19</sup> Espinel 2002, 113; Sowada 2009, 138.

<sup>20</sup> Dunand 1937, pl. XXXVII; Dunand 1939, 280 no. 4030; Chéhab 1969, 7; Sowada 2009, 131 no. 152, fig. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Sowada 2009, 250–51.

<sup>22</sup> D. Ben-Tor 2013.

deposition was not long after its arrival. Prior treatments of the Jerusalem private statue (Cat. 11) have similarly advocated for a later date of dispatch to the Levant

As indicated above, the region was of interest to the kings of the Old Kingdom, making it plausible that the royal statues were sent as royal gifts. The probability of a contemporaneous transportation is even higher, but not certain, for the pieces from Byblos where a relationship with the temple was already established. Dispatch during the Old Kingdom is improbable, however, for the Menkaure sphinx (Cat. 37), which invokes the Souls of Heliopolis and was therefore probably created to flank the causeway of that important temple.<sup>23</sup> A later dispatch is also likely for the other royal statues from Hazor (Cats. 36, 41), a site that did not yet have a significant enough population in the Old Kingdom to warrant the presence of diplomatic gifts.<sup>24</sup> Similarly the private statue (Cat. 11) was unlikely to have been sent from Egypt during the Old Kingdom given what was almost certainly its primary function – to receive offerings from a shielded position in the tomb of the depicted official. Nothing about our current understanding of Egyptian-Levantine relations during this early period suggests that even a high-ranking Egyptian official would have been stationed in the Levant on a permanent enough basis to necessitate a tomb there, and almost certainly not as far south as Jerusalem. It therefore seems most probable that most, if not all, of the Old Kingdom statues unearthed in the Levant arrived there for the purpose of secondary reuse at a date much later than their manufacture.

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<sup>23</sup> An avenue of sphinxes over 500 meters in length has been suggested for later periods of the Heliopolis temple, which was subsequently dismantled in antiquity with the result that Heliopolis sphinxes are known from several sites, including Alexandria and Rome (Fay 1996b, 56–57).

<sup>24</sup> The possibility that some of the statues were sent to Byblos during the Old Kingdom and only later moved to Hazor should not be overlooked.

## 3.2 – The Middle Kingdom

### 3.2.1 – *The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant*

Documentation for interrelations between Egypt and the Levant during the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2055-1650 BCE), which comprises the mid-11<sup>th</sup> through 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties and is contemporary with the MB IIA, is much more prevalent than that for the preceding Old Kingdom.<sup>25</sup> The data has yet to coalesce into a clear portrait of interactions, however. Indeed, as O'Connor recently summarized, "evidence for Middle Kingdom contact with foreigners and foreign lands is extensive yet diffuse and often ambiguous, leading to wide differences in interpretation."<sup>26</sup> It comprises not only Egyptian material culture objects excavated in the Levant or works of Levantine origin discovered in Egypt, but also references to Asiatic locales and peoples in textual and artistic sources.<sup>27</sup>

The primary textual source from the royal sphere indicating Egyptian activity in the Levant is the annals of Amenemhat II, which were found reused in Ramesses II's Mit Rahina temple.<sup>28</sup> In addition to statements about Asiatic tribute and objects made of Asiatic materials, the annals also record the dispatch of expeditionary forces to the Levant.<sup>29</sup> Participation in military action in the region is also indicated by a handful of private monuments inscribed with autobiographical accounts, such as the stela of Khuseribre, which recounts a raid near Shekhem, and Khnumhotep's inscription at his mastaba in Dahshur, which describes a conflict between Byblos and Ullaza.<sup>30</sup> More peaceful

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<sup>25</sup> For recent overviews of the evidence, see Schneider 2008; O'Connor 2015.

<sup>26</sup> O'Connor 2015, 162.

<sup>27</sup> These sources are frequently cited and will only be treated briefly here. For an overview of the evidence, see Redford 1992, 71–97. For the southern Levant in particular, see Cohen 2002, 33–50.

<sup>28</sup> Altenmüller 2015. For an introduction to the texts as they pertain to Levantine relations, see Cohen 2002, 41–42, 44–45.

<sup>29</sup> Altenmüller 2015, 25–30, 45–49, 297–312.

<sup>30</sup> Both texts date to the reign of Senwosret III. The limestone stela of Khuseribre (Manchester Museum 3306) comes from Abydos (Peet 1914; Baines 1987). For the Khnumhotep inscription, see Allen 2008;

interactions with lands to the east of the Nile Valley are attested by several statues and inscriptions left in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim by participants in Sinai mining expeditions.<sup>31</sup> Among them are references to members of the Asiatic elite who aided the Egyptians in their mining efforts.<sup>32</sup> An interest in the Levant's people and places is further indicated by the Execration Texts, compiled lists of foreign place and ruler names, ritualistically used for apotropaic purposes.<sup>33</sup>

No discussion of Middle Kingdom interactions with the Levant would be complete without mention of the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the perilous story of an official who flees to Retjenu out of fear of the king. After establishing a life among the local inhabitants, Sinuhe ultimately decides in his old age that death and burial in Egypt is best. This view is particularly germane to the discussion of Egyptian private statues in the Levant, several of which have been interpreted at some point as funerary monuments to Egyptians who lived and died abroad. *Sinuhe* is relevant not only as evidence that private Egyptians could set up lives for themselves in the Levant, but also as a witness to the contemporary practice of Egyptians travelling in the region on official business. In his account of his time in the southern Levant, Sinuhe indicates that he housed envoys on their way northwards (likely to Syria) and back down towards the Residence.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, the *Satire of the Trades* notes the dangers for the messenger traveling abroad, likely for

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Allen 2009. The limestone stela of the general Nesmontu (Louvre C1), which dates to the reign of Amenemhat I, may also reference an expedition to the Levant (Cohen 2002, 38).

<sup>31</sup> PM VII: 347-66; Valbelle and Bonnet 1996. See also Amenemhat II's annals, which record an expedition to the Sinai (Altenmüller 2015, 49-54).

<sup>32</sup> Most notably the prince of Retjenu's brother Khebded, who is named and/or depicted in several graffiti (nos. 85, 87, 92, 112) dating to the reign of Amenemhat III (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952, pls. XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXXVII; Černý 1955, 92-95, 100, 113-16). Additional graffiti (nos. 115, 405) show elite Asiatics riding donkeys (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1952, pls. XXXIX, LXXV; Černý 1955, 118-19, 205-6).

<sup>33</sup> Sethe 1926; Posener 1940.

<sup>34</sup> "The messenger who came north and went south to the capital stayed with me, and I made all Egyptians stay" (Simpson 2003b, 59).



diplomatic business.<sup>35</sup> If Egyptian statues were being transported to the Levant during the Middle Kingdom (a scenario which has often been disputed as will be discussed below) these messengers travelling on behalf of the king would have been exactly the types of people responsible for carrying diplomatic gifts in the form of royal statuary or private statues, perhaps of members of the travelling party, to the major centers of the Levant.

### *3.2.2 – The Middle Kingdom Statuary Corpus*

By far the largest portion of the datable statues within the present corpus are those produced during the Middle Kingdom, with 69 examples, or 48% of the overall corpus, dating to that period.<sup>36</sup> Of these, 43 come from contexts in the northern Levant (Byblos, Kamid el-Loz, Qatna, Tell Hizzin, Tyre, Ugarit) and 26 from the southern Levant (Gezer, Hazor, Jo‘ara, Megiddo, Pella, Tel Dan, Tell el-Ajjul, Tell Ta‘annek). As with the Old Kingdom statues, the Middle Kingdom works excavated in the Levant represent two distinct statue classes: those portraying the royal family and those depicting private individuals.

16 of the Middle Kingdom statues represent members of the royal family, with 9 depicting kings, 4 representing royal women, and the remaining fragments coming from sphinx statues of undetermined gender. In total, of the 16 royal statuary fragments, 11 depict the king or a female family member in the guise of a sphinx, demonstrating a marked interest in this type of statue on the part of either the parties dispatching the

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<sup>35</sup> “The ꜥ courier ꜥ goes abroad after handing over his property to his children, being fearful of the lions and the Asiatics...” (Simpson 2003a, 434). Additional excerpts from fragmentary Middle Kingdom works further suggest that travel abroad was a feature of certain professions during this period (Schneider 2008, 62; Parkinson 2010, 299–300, 306).

<sup>36</sup> See note 3 above concerning the treatment of Middle Kingdom statues reworked in later periods in this study.

statues from Egypt, those erecting the statues in the Levant, or perhaps both.<sup>37</sup> The bulk of the royal statues date to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, starting from at least the reign of Amenemhat II who is named on a sphinx from Syria (Cat. 140) and under whose reign the sphinx of Ita (Cat. 135) was likely commissioned, with a single example of clear 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, a statue inscribed for Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133), also being found. The vast majority of the royal statues come from sites throughout the northern Levant, with the exceptions coming from Gezer (Cat. 16) and Hazor (Cats. 38, 50, 51, 52) in the northern portion of the southern Levant.

The preponderance of statuary dating to the Middle Kingdom depicts private people, with 47 examples attested in the corpus.<sup>38</sup> It includes statues of members of the highest elite (Cats. 28, 122, 134) as well as smaller, more humble works. In Egypt, the Middle Kingdom witnessed a dramatic increase in the numbers and types of statues produced for private individuals, many of which are present in the Levantine corpus. Statues continue to be produced in traditional poses, such as that of the seated official (Cats. 28, 44, 56, 138), but also include the innovative forms of the Middle Kingdom which are particularly well-suited for temple display, such as the block statue (Cats. 1, 98, 99) or depictions of men seated on the ground (Cats. 14, 27, 55, 102). Also notable is the use of family group statues (Cats. 93, 95, 94, 96, 103, 122). The predilection for group statues in the later Middle Kingdom is reflective of trends within private statuary during this period in Egypt generally. It is interesting to note, however, that the choice of

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<sup>37</sup> In this vein, it is difficult to escape the observation that one of the primary functions of the king in the form of a sphinx is to trample (*ptpt*) his enemies, usually epitomized as foreigners. For further discussion of sphinx statues in the Levant, see Chapter 4.

<sup>38</sup> A further 6 fragments (Cats. 42, 43, 45, 53, 54, 82) are too fragmentary to determine whether they represent royal or private personages.

group statues for use in a foreign context provides an economical way to honor whole families.

Chronologically, the private statues cluster more heavily towards the latter part of the Middle Kingdom. Only 7 (Cats. 1, 28, 29, 98, 99, 126, 134) can be dated securely to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Several of these are works depicting higher-class individuals, notably the nomarchs Djehutyhotep and Djefaihapi (Cats. 28, 134). 18 statues or statue fragments have been dated to the later part of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty into the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cats. 4, 14, 30, 34, 84, 88, 93, 94, 95, 96, 105, 109, 122, 124, 128, 132, 137), with one additional statue having a slightly broader date range of the mid-12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (Cat. 2). The remainder of the private Middle Kingdom statues and statuary fragments could not be dated more precisely within the era.

Marks of design or reworking for use (or reuse) in a foreign, Levantine context are rare among the Middle Kingdom statues presented here. Egyptian inscriptions present on two fragments provide subtle hints that use in a foreign context was intended, although they are by no means conclusive. A private statue from Byblos (Cat. 86) invokes Hathor, mistress of Byblos in addition to Osiris, lord of Busiris. Reference to this particular incarnation of the goddess suggests that the statue was either designed or subsequently modified (if the inscription is a later addition) for dedication in Byblos.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, the presence of an inscribed offering list on a private statue from Tel Dan (Cat. 56) could point towards predetermined foreign use. As was noted in Chapter 2, the inclusion of an offering list on a statue, especially during this period, is highly unusual and could suggest a conscious design choice on the part of the owner to incorporate this

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<sup>39</sup> It should be acknowledged, however, that Hathor, mistress of Byblos (*nbt Kbn*) is also present on works used in Egyptian settings. For attestations of this epithet, see Leitz 2002d, 150.

important text into a compact funerary monument that would be suitable for use abroad where access to a wooden coffin, the more traditional venue for such a text, was impeded.

Another possibility that must be considered is whether any of the “Egyptian” statues excavated in the Levant were in fact manufactured there. In most cases, this question can be answered by a careful study of materials; if the stone used to produce a statue is available in Egypt but not the Levant, it was almost certainly carved in Egypt.<sup>40</sup> The stones of several works in this corpus have not been identified, however, largely due to the present inaccessibility of the statues. Notable among these is the large corpus of statues from Byblos. Many of these sculptures exhibit features (such as unusual proportions) that, while within the realm of acceptability in Egypt, could also point towards manufacture outside of Egypt. This would not be surprising for peoples living in Byblos, a highly Egyptianized city where the ruling elite even adopted the Egyptian title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* (written in hieroglyphs) as a mark of leadership.<sup>41</sup> Without access to the statues, however, this proposal must remain within the realm of speculation.

In many, if not most, cases, it is probable that the Middle Kingdom works in the corpus of Egyptian statues from the Levant were used first in Egypt, and only later repurposed for use in a foreign context. It is usually difficult to determine the original place of display based solely on the evidence contained on the statues themselves, especially when inscriptions are lacking. Tentative suggestions can be made in some instances, however. For example, it is likely that the nomarchal statues of Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) and Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) were originally set up in their mortuary chapels in

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<sup>40</sup> For an overview of prevalent stones in this corpus and their sources, see Chapter 1.5.4.

<sup>41</sup> Flammini 1998, with further references.

Middle Egypt at Deir el-Bersha and Assiut respectively.<sup>42</sup> Invocations of Ptah-Sokar on 6 statues (Cats. 1, 14, 44, 55, 96, 122) point towards the Memphite region as the intended place of use, although mention of the deity in-and-of itself is not conclusive in this regard. The identification of Sobekhotep IV as one who is “beloved of Re-Horakhty” has led to the proposal that the statue (Cat. 133) was originally designed for use in Heliopolis, that deity’s primary cult center.<sup>43</sup> A priestly statue from Ugarit (Cat. 126) could also have originated in Heliopolis, following Vandier’s suggestion that the individual depicted may have served as high priest in that temple.<sup>44</sup> Egyptian locales are also mentioned in the epithets of deities for three pieces: Cat. 18 from Gezer, which invokes Osiris lord of Ankhtawy; Cat. 44 from Hazor, which invokes Osiris lord of Busiris; and Cat. 102 from Byblos, which invokes Hathor mistress of Dendera, although there is no conclusive evidence that any of these statues were originally designed for use in those cult locations.

### 3.2.3 – *The Use and Display of Statues*

During the Middle Kingdom, sculpture in-the-round fulfilled two primary functions: to demonstrate a person’s piety and his participation in temple rituals or to serve as the focal point for the provision of offerings for deceased individuals. Statues depicting the royal family, most commonly the king himself but also his wives and daughters with increasing frequency, continued to be incorporated into pyramid complexes during the Middle Kingdom. These statues were designed to commemorate the deceased and provide for his/her ongoing sustenance in the afterlife. The largest percentage of kingly statues, however, was integrated into the decorative programs of

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<sup>42</sup> For further discussion of this type of setting, see Willems 2014, 98–123.

<sup>43</sup> Ahrens 2015b, 204.

<sup>44</sup> Schaeffer 1951b, 20.

state temples throughout the realm, and in some cases outside of the Nile Valley.<sup>45</sup> These statues, many of which show the king performing his duties vis-à-vis the gods, would have been “placed permanently at conspicuous points in the temple, assuring eternal service to the deities.”<sup>46</sup>

Private statues during the Middle Kingdom were used in similar contexts. As with their Old Kingdom counterparts, private statues continued to provide places for the provisioning of offerings to deceased individuals. These statues were placed in tomb chapels or in private chapels erected elsewhere, notably along the processional routes of Abydos.<sup>47</sup> Now, rather than being more-or-less confined to the tomb structures of the persons depicted, however, images of private people could be set up in the state temples to participate in the god’s worship in perpetuity.<sup>48</sup> Compact statuary forms such as the newly invented block statue (Cats. 1, 98) or the cross-legged figure (Cats. 14, 27, 55, 102, 103) were particularly well suited for this purpose. The inclusion of private statuary in temples and other sacred spaces led to a substantial increase in the production of private statues, as well as stelae, a trend which can most clearly be seen in the large assemblage of statues recovered from the sanctuary of the deified Heqaib in Elephantine.<sup>49</sup> During this period, statuary was also erected in the palaces of governors, “with the aim of confirming legitimacy of rule to provincial power holders on the basis of genealogy.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Most notably with statuary erected in the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai (PM VII: 347-66).

<sup>46</sup> Dorothea Arnold 2015b, 20.

<sup>47</sup> Simpson 1974.

<sup>48</sup> Freed 2010, 293. Antecedents of this practice can be seen already in the Old Kingdom (Dorothea Arnold 2015b, 21).

<sup>49</sup> Habachi 1985a.

<sup>50</sup> Dorothea Arnold 2015b, 22. Two such mayoral statues were recently discovered in the columned presentation hall of the palace at Bubastis (Bietak and Lange 2014, 5).

For the most part, the Middle Kingdom statues in the Levant are found in religious structures or royal palaces. 23 fragments come from temples, shrines, or the environs of religious structures at Ugarit, Kamid el-Loz, Byblos, Megiddo and Pella (Cats. 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 63, 65, 84, 87, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 103, 106, 108, 118, 119, 124, 130, 132). Of these, the contexts of only 10 can be dated, with 9 fragments coming from Late Bronze contexts (Cats. 28, 29, 30, 31, 118, 119, 124, 130, 132) and a single piece from Pella (Cat. 25) coming from a contemporary MB II stratum. 10 Middle Kingdom fragments come from structures that have been interpreted as palaces or related structures at Qatna and Hazor (Cats. 42, 43, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 135, 136). In each case the contexts were dated to the Late Bronze age. Some statue fragments (Cats. 1, 3, 4, 14, 27, 126) come from domestic areas at Ugarit, Ta'anek, Gezer and Tell el-Ajjul. Of these half come from undatable contexts, with two dating to MB contexts (Cats. 1 and 3) and one from a LB I or later context (Cat. 27). Several statue fragments were found in subsequent phases of reuse as stones incorporated into walls of varying sorts, including a LB II granary at Gezer (Cat. 16) and various walls of Iron Age date at Hazor and Tell Dan (Cats. 16, 38, 44, 55). The archaeological contexts of the remainder of the fragments could not be determined.

#### *3.2.4 – Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence*

Of all the Egyptian works of statuary discovered in the Levant, those dating to the Middle Kingdom have been the most extensively discussed. These discussions primarily focus on the question of whether or not the presence of statuary in a foreign context can be interpreted as a tangible representation of contemporary diplomatic relations or personal journeys between Egypt and Asiatic polities. Speculation has been propelled

both by the number of statues dating to this period, which as noted above far surpasses that for any other era, and by a desire to solidify our understanding of relations between these two regions during a period when Egyptian interest is clearly indicated by such sources as the *Execration Texts* and the *Tale of Sinuhe*, but for which there has been little historical evidence. Early studies of the Middle Kingdom statues took for granted that they represented either diplomatic gifts on the part of the Egyptian monarch or representations of Egyptian officials working in the Levant on the behalf of the Egyptian government.<sup>51</sup> As noted in Chapter 1, this resulted in a difficult to extricate circular argument, whereby the Egyptian statues and other material culture objects were used to date archaeological strata of sites being excavated in the Levant, which in turn confirmed that the material was being sent at a time roughly contemporary with its date of manufacture.<sup>52</sup>

Helck was the first scholar to seriously consider the possibility that the Middle Kingdom statues had been dispatched to the Levant sometime after their initial use in Egypt.<sup>53</sup> His interest in the Middle Kingdom corpus was piqued by the fact that, while a number of the statues are inscribed with epithets referencing cult sites in Egypt, none are inscribed with the names of foreign cities, a feature which seemed to him to be “quite striking.”<sup>54</sup> His comparison of the Levantine Middle Kingdom statuary corpus with a similar assemblage excavated by Reisner at Kerma raised further questions, particularly given the discovery of statues belonging to the nomarch of Assiut Djefaihapi in both

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<sup>51</sup> e.g., “I have long believed that other, lesser people who have traveled abroad took their small statues with them to supply their tombs in case they died on their travels” (W. S. Smith 1969, 279); or Ward’s interpretation of Djehutyhotep’s Megiddo statue (Cat. 28) in which the nomarch was exiled by Senwosret III, taking up residence in Megiddo where “his statue recorded the memory of the dignity he had once held in Egypt,” a view which Helck describes as “romantische” (Ward 1961, 40–41; Helck 1971, 69).

<sup>52</sup> Gill and Padgham 2005. See Chapter 1.2.

<sup>53</sup> Helck 1971, 68–71; Helck 1976.

<sup>54</sup> Helck 1971, 69.



Sudan and Lebanon.<sup>55</sup> Helck ultimately concluded that the Middle Kingdom statues, both royal and private, were originally designed for use in Egyptian temples or tomb chapels, being sent to the Levant later during the Hyksos period in a form of secondary reuse.<sup>56</sup>

Weinstein too questioned the use of Egyptian statuary in the Levant as evidence for interactions between Egypt and the east during the Middle Kingdom, particularly for the southern Levant. He advocated for a division of the material between the north and the south, arguing that while diplomatic relations with the north during this period were plausible, Egyptian interest in the comparatively underdeveloped south was unlikely.<sup>57</sup> He therefore suggested, like Helck, that Middle Kingdom statues were brought to the southern Levant during the Hyksos period, perhaps by Asiatic peoples themselves.<sup>58</sup> More recently, Ahrens has again taken up the question of Egyptian material culture objects in the Levant, with a focus on material from the north.<sup>59</sup> He too comes to the conclusion, based upon archaeological evidence from both Egypt and the Levant, that the Middle Kingdom statuary corpus present in the northern Levant was dispatched from Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.

Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the observation that almost all of the Middle Kingdom statuary fragments come from later contexts. Two hypotheses could be put forward to explain this phenomenon: either the statues were sent soon after their manufacture and maintained in their new, foreign environments as heirlooms before eventually falling out of use; or they were sent abroad long after they had fulfilled their

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<sup>55</sup> Cat. 134; Reisner 1975, 34 no. 27.

<sup>56</sup> Helck 1976.

<sup>57</sup> For a recent reevaluation of the data for Egyptian interest in the southern Levant during this period, see Cohen 2012; Cohen 2016.

<sup>58</sup> Weinstein 1974, 56; Weinstein 1975.

<sup>59</sup> Ahrens 2011a; Ahrens 2011b; Ahrens 2015a.

original function domestically, when they were already valued antiquities or perhaps symbols of control. This cannot be the case for all examples, however, as 7 fragments (Cats. 1, 3, 18, 25, 121, 122, 128) come from contexts that have been dated to the Middle Bronze age, the time roughly contemporary with their date of manufacture.<sup>60</sup> It is therefore clear that a single, straightforward explanation of when Middle Kingdom statuary came to the Levant does not exist. As evidenced by the textual sources, Egyptians were circulating in the region, and some of them could very well have brought along statues of themselves to dedicate in the temples of revered eastern deities. Furthermore, the direct transmission of at least some of the royal statues from the Egyptian court to the leaders of valued cities in the Levant (at least in the north) remains a plausible solution. Once displayed, the statues could have continued in use for considerable time, as was also the intention for statues set up in native Egyptian contexts.

### **3.3 – The New Kingdom**

#### *3.3.1 – The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant*

The Egyptians' interest in the Levant during the New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1069 BCE) is well documented by textual, iconographical, and archaeological remains. These sources include valiant tales of battle,<sup>61</sup> letters and treaties highlighting diplomatic relations,<sup>62</sup> lengthy lists of purportedly captured localities,<sup>63</sup> and Egyptian strongholds set

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<sup>60</sup> With the exception of the princess' statue from Ugarit (Cat. 121), all depict private individuals. It should be noted that, when discovered, a significantly higher percentage of the corpus was thought to come from Middle Bronze contexts, which were subsequently re-dated to the Late Bronze. It is possible that re-evaluation will lead to a similar re-dating of some of the remaining Middle Bronze contexts.

<sup>61</sup> Most famously Thutmose III's numerous campaigns to the Levant, including the Battle of Megiddo (Lichtheim 2006b, 29–35) and Ramesses II's engagement with the Hittites at Kadesh (Lichtheim 2006b, 57–72).

<sup>62</sup> For instance the Amarna Letter correspondence (Moran 1992), or the peace treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittite king Hattusili III (Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, I: 573-94; II: 57-60 (nos. 71A and 71B)).

<sup>63</sup> Kitchen 2009.

up in the Levant.<sup>64</sup> Numerous studies of New Kingdom Egyptian engagement in the Levant have addressed the issue of pharaonic interest from varied perspectives, including questions of imperialism<sup>65</sup> and warfare<sup>66</sup> as well as studies of interactions during particular reigns or periods.<sup>67</sup> The clear consensus is that Egypt's relationship with the Levant during the New Kingdom was complex. In the northern Levant, relations alternated between periods of diplomatic peace and outright hostilities among the major world powers of the time. In the southern Levant, the situation was more nuanced, with periodic military campaigns on the parts of the New Kingdom pharaohs leading to the development of a vassalage system and, ultimately, direct control of portions of the region.

### 3.3.2 – *The New Kingdom Statuary Corpus*

As was previously noted, 22 statues (or roughly 19% of the overall corpus) can be dated with some confidence to the Egyptian New Kingdom (contemporary with the LB I–Iron Age IB). The statues span the chronological breadth of the period, with 6 statues dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 4 to either the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, 2 to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 3 to the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, and 2 to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Fig. 3.2). The remaining statues cannot be assigned to a specific dynasty based upon the present evidence. As was true of the preceding periods, statues of both royal and private individuals are present, with divine statues making their first appearance in the corpus.

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<sup>64</sup> For example, the Egyptian occupation of Beth Shean during the Ramesside period (Morris 2005, 583–611).

<sup>65</sup> e.g., Higginbotham 2000; Morris 2005; Lords Pierce 2013.

<sup>66</sup> Spalinger 2005.

<sup>67</sup> e.g., Redford 2003; Weinstein 2012; Höflmayer 2015.

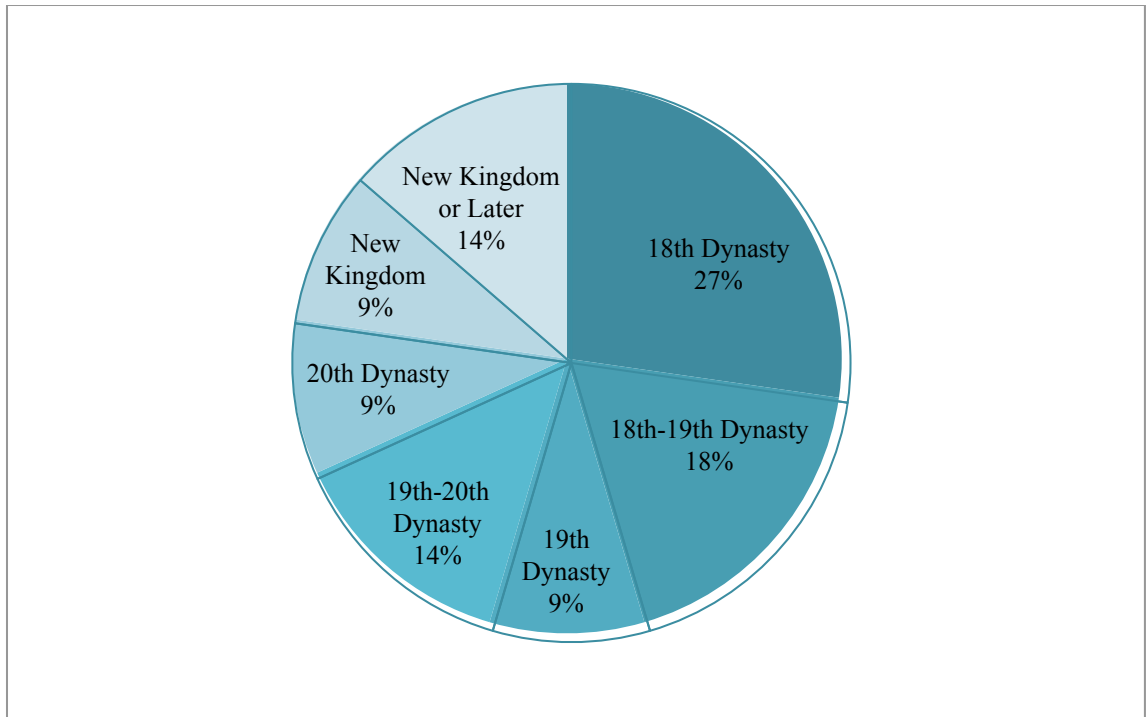


Figure 3.2. Division of New Kingdom statues in the Levant based upon date.

Six statues representing members of the royal family appear in the New Kingdom corpus. Of these, four are clearly kings, one could be either a king or a prince, and one represents a queen. Three (Cats. 6, 21, 66) can be assigned to a specific reign based upon inscriptional evidence, with one belonging to Ramesses II and two to Ramesses III. The remainder have been dated on stylistic grounds to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cat. 143), the Ramesside Period (Cat. 22), and the Ramesside Period or later (Cat. 10). Notably, the majority of the royal New Kingdom statues were produced on a larger scale than most other examples of Egyptian statuary in the Levant, with four being roughly life-sized and another (Cat. 143) being only slightly smaller. Furthermore, the two examples from Beth Shean were produced nearby using locally-procurable basalt (Cats. 21, 22).

A statue of a standing male from Ugarit (Cat. 131) cannot be classified as royal or private using the sole published photograph, but is most likely to be a representation of a king. Fourteen of the New Kingdom statues clearly represent private individuals. The

statues, all of which are fragmentary, divide themselves evenly between the northern (Ugarit and Byblos) and southern (Hazor, Pella, Beth Shean, Gezer, Jerusalem, Jaffa) Levant, with one piece (Cat. 142) of unknown provenance, but likely to have come from the north (most probably Byblos). Many seem to have belonged to persons of high rank, based either on the expensive materials used to produce the statues (Cats. 7, 26) or the iconographic or inscriptional content indicating the titles of the depicted individuals (Cats. 39, 40, 142). Noteworthy among them is the statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), who held the title “Overseer of Northern Foreign Countries” and was known to have campaigned on behalf of Thutmose III in the Levant. It is therefore the only statue in the corpus of a private individual known from external sources to have travelled to the Levant during his lifetime, making a contemporary dedication of the statue more probable. Private New Kingdom statues with Levantine provenances represent most sub-periods of the era, with four exemplars dating to the later part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cats. 24, 123, 125, 142), four to either the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties (Cats. 7, 12, 40, 101), two to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cats. 15, 112) and the remaining four more generally to the New Kingdom or later.

As with the royal statuary dating to this period, some of the New Kingdom private statues bear evidence of local manufacture or modification. Although not examined in person by the present author, the large scale of the Gezer block statue (Cat. 15), when considered in concert with its utilization of low-quality limestone (a material available outside of Egypt as well as domestically), suggests that the work is likely to have been produced outside of Egypt’s borders. A statue base from Ugarit inscribed with a *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula invoking a Canaanite deity (Cat. 129) was also likely produced

nearby.<sup>68</sup> As only the base is preserved, however, the possibility that a locally-produced base was added to an Egyptian-executed statue must be acknowledged.<sup>69</sup> The type of stone used to produce a statue head from Beth Shean (Cat. 24) suggests that it was produced in Egypt. However, an ancient drill hole bored into the base of the bust indicates that it was either designed or modified to repair a damaged work, a phase in the statue's use which may have taken place in the Levant. For those statues that were manufactured in Egypt, none can be tied to a specific location, with the possible exception of the Hazor fragments that likely represent a High Priest of Memphis (Cats. 39, 40).<sup>70</sup>

Within the New Kingdom corpus, divine statuary also makes its first appearance in the form of a falcon statue of the god Horus found at Beth Shean (Cat. 23) and dated to the Ramesside Period. Like many of the other statues from Beth Shean, the figure seems to have been carved locally, probably utilizing immediately accessible limestone.

### 3.3.3 – *The Use and Display of Statues*

During the New Kingdom, statues of both royal and private persons continued to be displayed in the same types of contexts in Egypt as they had during the Middle Kingdom, namely in temples or tomb chapels.<sup>71</sup> These uses are echoed in the findspots of many New Kingdom statues discovered in the Levant. Of the 22 works dated to this

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<sup>68</sup> Local Canaanite deities are also invoked in private Egyptian-style stelae discovered in the Levant. See, for instance, the stela of Amenemope and his son Paraemheb before Mekal from Beth Shean (IAA S-982) (Rowe 1930, 14–17, pl. 33; Rowe 1940, frontispiece); that of Hesinakht before Antit from the same site (IAA 36.920) (Rowe 1930, 32–33, pl. 50.2; Rowe 1940, 33–34, pl. LXVA.1); or that of Mamy before Baal Zaphon from Ugarit (Louvre AO 13176) (Levy 2014).

<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the possibility remains that the statue was made of metal rather than stone.

<sup>70</sup> It is possible that Cat. 144 also belongs to this group. While an identification as the High Priest of Memphis would not necessitate the statue's use in that city, it does increase the probability that the statue(s) came from the Memphite region.

<sup>71</sup> One exception to this was the short-lived Amarna period of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, during which private people were restricted to placing their statues in tombs (Bryan 2010, 931).

period, 10 come from contexts that the site excavators were unable to define. Of those that could be associated with a particular type of context, the highest percentage come from sacred environments, either being excavated in religious structures (Cats. 21, 23, 26, 66, 111, 123, 131) or near enough to one that prior placement in a religious structure is likely (Cat. 24). Three of these statues (Cats. 21, 23, 24) come from Beth Shean, where heavy New Kingdom presence produced a temple environment that was highly Egyptianized, if not fully Egyptian. Two fragments (Cats. 66 and 111) come from Byblos, where the temples had a long history of Egyptian dedications, and two more from Ugarit (Cats. 123 and 131), where an interest in Egyptian statuary for local temples is attested by textual evidence.<sup>72</sup> A handful of pieces also come from non-religious contexts. Three fragments (Cats. 15, 125, 129) were discovered in domestic contexts. Notably two of these (Cats. 15 and 129) were likely manufactured in the Levant. The remaining two fragments (Cats. 39 and 49), both from Hazor, seem to have come from palace contexts, with one (Cat. 39) having been reused in the wall of a building.

Based on this evidence, it seems that the primary emplacement of Egyptian statuary in the Levant during the New Kingdom was in temples and other religious structures, a practice that is in keeping with their contemporary use in Egypt. As concrete symbols of diplomatic relations, they were also apparently displayed in royal or palace structures, at least at major centers like Hazor. Again, such use would not have been outside the acceptable realm of possibilities within Egypt. The use of private statues in domestic contexts is more difficult to account for, but may serve as evidence of small household shrines or similar structures.

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<sup>72</sup> See discussion of Ugarit letter RS 88.2158 in Chapter 1.3.2.

Less than half of the New Kingdom statuary fragments were excavated in contexts that could be securely dated. For instance, of the six statues (both royal and private) dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, four came from datable contexts (Cats. 24, 123, 125, 131). Of these, all were found in Late Bronze contexts, the period corresponding to the Egyptian 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. Of particular note is the private head from Beth Shean (Cat. 24), which was discovered in LB IB-IIA contexts, that is to say contexts roughly contemporary with the date of the statue itself.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, Cat. 40, dated to the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, was found in a Late Bronze context. Of the seven Ramesside statues, only the three from Beth Shean (Cats. 21, 22, 23) were found in secure contexts, all of which were dated to the Iron Age. This means that, in contrast with the Middle Kingdom statuary fragments, which appear almost exclusively in substantially later contexts than their manufacture dates, the New Kingdom statuary is deposited not long after it is produced. However, it should be noted that this data is heavily skewed towards Beth Shean, which clearly held a special connection with Egypt at this time.

#### *3.3.4 – Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence*

Unlike statues dating to earlier periods, which are usually assumed to have been sent from Egypt only after they had fulfilled their primary use at home, several of the New Kingdom statues seem to have been conceived of for explicit use in contexts that were not fully Egyptian. The appearance of private statuary in the LB Levantine archaeological record has seldom been discussed, but is usually interpreted as belonging

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<sup>73</sup> This raises the question of whether or not the piece was ever successfully used for the repair of a larger work.



to pious Egyptians traveling or stationed abroad on governmental business.<sup>74</sup> The function of royal statuary, on the other hand, seems to have taken on a new complexity of purpose as the New Kingdom progressed. In most instances, the giving of gifts, including royal statues, to the temples of the principal deities of the Levant would have functioned as a means of solidifying alliances and providing financial support to allies couched as pious acts.<sup>75</sup> Recently, Morris has further explored the economic impact that the presence of Egyptian statues had on foreign cult sites and, by extension, the cities that they occupied. As the Ramesside kings solidified their control of the region (at least in the south), it seems that the role of royal statues also changed, with the royal statues becoming the focal points of the temple cults rather than merely participants in them.<sup>76</sup>

For the statuary fragments originating from datable contexts, it is clear that, at least in the majority of cases, New Kingdom works of sculpture, whether they represent private men, royalty, or gods, were being used in the Levant soon after their manufacture. Furthermore, in at least some cases the statues were designed specifically for use in the Levant. This can be seen both in the production of statues in local stones and the incorporation of local deities into the inscriptions. That artisans with a familiarity with Egyptian stone working techniques are present in the Levant is not surprising, given the

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<sup>74</sup> For the dearth of private statuary of this period as compared with the numbers of Egyptians who must have perished while stationed in the Levant during this period, see Weinstein 1981, 21.

<sup>75</sup> In this manner, the Egyptians could solidify partnerships monetarily while presenting their actions as offerings to the gods. For recent treatments of this phenomenon, see Baines 2009; Morris 2015b. Note also the inscription of Sennefer, who, as only one participating in a long-standing tradition, gave Hathor mistress of Byblos many great things on behalf of the king in return for Lebanese Cedar (*Urk.* IV: 535; Morris 2015b, 168; Liverani 1990, 248–49).

<sup>76</sup> This is most likely the case for the Ramesses III statue from Beth Shean (Cat. 21). As Morris recently noted, “if the temple’s massive basalt statue of Ramesses III is anything to judge by, one suspects that the patron deity of the Twentieth Dynasty temple was none other than the form of the divine king syncretized with the god Amun” (Morris 2015b, 183). For further discussion of the difference visible between the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, see Morris 2015b, 184.

long-standing practice of erecting monumental stelae while on campaign.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the presence, or at least availability, of Egyptian artisans is strongly implied by the Akkadian letter from Ugarit requesting the skills of an Egyptian sculptor for the manufacture of Merenptah's statue.<sup>78</sup>

### **3.4 – The Third Intermediate Period – Ptolemaic Period**

#### *3.4.1 – The Nature of Relations Between Egypt and the Levant*

The collapse of the Egyptian empire in the southern Levant and the waning power of Egyptian kings domestically at the close of the New Kingdom resulted in intermittent Egyptian involvement in the Levant during the Third Intermediate, Late, and Graeco-Roman Periods (ca. 1069-30 BCE; contemporary with the Iron Age IB and later). Studies on international relations during this timespan have therefore been minimal, and often focus on specific sub-periods,<sup>79</sup> regions,<sup>80</sup> or sources.<sup>81</sup> That some semblance of economic relations were maintained in the period directly following the collapse can be seen in the historical situation as reflected in the literary tale of Wenamun, an Egyptian priest who journeys to Lebanon to procure cedar for the divine barque of Amun.<sup>82</sup> A clear effort to reestablish a presence in the Levant on the parts of the Libyan kings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, at least on an ideological level, is evidenced by Sheshonq I's Bubastite portal as

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<sup>77</sup> Wimmer 2002. See, for example, the stelae of Seti I erected at Beth Shean (Rockefeller Archaeological Museum S.884 and S.885 A/B; *KRI* I: 11-12, 15-16; *RITA* I: 9-10, 12-13); Ramesses II's Beth Shean stela (University Museum Pennsylvania 29-107-958; *KRI* II: 150-51; *RITA* II: 27-29); a stela of Ramesses II from northern Jordan (Wimmer 2008b).

<sup>78</sup> For further discussion of this text see Chapter 1.3.2 above.

<sup>79</sup> For instance Schipper's treatment of the Late Period 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Schipper 2011), or Weinstein's examination of the period from the time of the empire's collapse through the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (1998).

<sup>80</sup> e.g., Phoenicia (Leclant 1968).

<sup>81</sup> e.g., the Bubastite portal of Sheshonq I (K. A. Wilson 2005).

<sup>82</sup> Gardiner 1932, 61–76; Wente 2003c. For further discussion of this story as evidence for the presence of Egyptian statues in the Levant, see Chapter 1.3.3.

well as the upsurge in Egyptian objects found in the Levant during this period.<sup>83</sup> The strong interconnections extant in the preceding period were never matched, however, barring during the Ptolemaic period when portions of the Levant were sometimes claimed by Egypt's rulers following the division of Alexander the Great's empire.

#### *3.4.2 – The Third Intermediate Period–Ptolemaic Period Statuary Corpus*

The remaining 24 datable fragments in the sculptural corpus under discussion here can be assigned to the Third Intermediate Period, the Late Period, the Ptolemaic Period, or a range therein. However, the percentage of statues attested for this period is skewed by the fact that 8 of the 13 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal fragments from Byblos were likely once part of a single statue.<sup>84</sup> Thus, the present evidence suggests that 17 individual statues, or approximately 15% of the overall datable corpus, were made after the collapse of Egypt's empire in the Levant. The statues can be further divided by date, with 4 statues dating to the Third Intermediate Period, 2 to the Third Intermediate Period through Late Period, 8 to the Late Period outright, 2 to the Late Period through Ptolemaic Period, and 1 to the Ptolemaic Period (Fig. 3.3).<sup>85</sup> Of the statues dating to the Third Intermediate Period or later excavated in the Levant, 11 come from sites in the northern part of the region (Adlun, Arwad, Beirut, Byblos, Tartus/Amrit, Tyre) and 6 from the southern (Jerusalem, Makmish, Mizpe Yammim, Petra, Tulul Mas'ud). Those from the south represent divine

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<sup>83</sup> Weinstein 1998, 193–94.

<sup>84</sup> As noted in Chapter 2 above, however, this cannot be confirmed without further examination of the fragments, the current locations of which are unknown in several cases.

<sup>85</sup> Additional fragments that could date as late as the Late Period were treated in the discussion of New Kingdom statues above; three fragments could date from the New Kingdom through the Third Intermediate Period (Cat. 10) or the Late Period (Cats. 39 and 111).

figures almost without exception,<sup>86</sup> while those in the north depict kings and private individuals, who are sometimes shown with divine images in their hands.

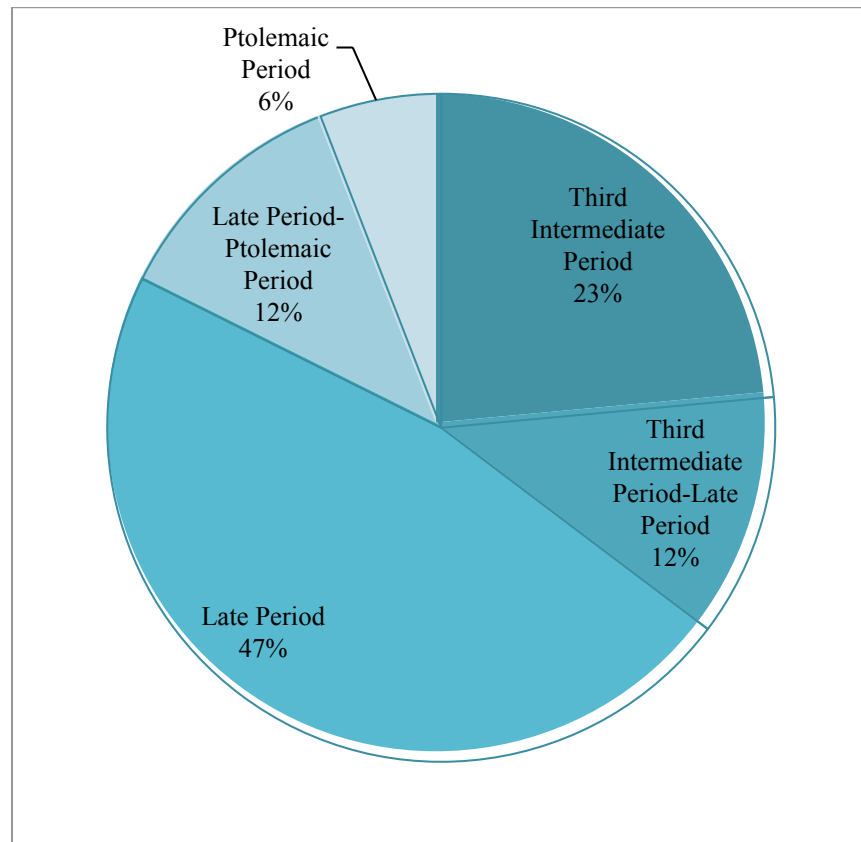


Figure 3.3. Division of Third Intermediate Period and later statues in the Levant based upon date.

Of the 17 statues dating to this timespan, four represent Egyptian kings. Three date to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty of the Third Intermediate Period and are inscribed for the kings Sheshonq I (Cat. 67), Osorkon I (Cats. 68-75), and Osorkon II (Cat. 76). All three statues were found at the site of Byblos, which, as discussed above, had a long and unique relationship with Egypt dating back to the earliest periods of pharaonic civilization. The statues were most likely sent as diplomatic gifts to the temple of Ba‘alat Gebal and, by extension, the rulers of Byblos in order to re-establish these age-old trade connections.

<sup>86</sup> A fragmentary block statue from an unknown site in Israel (Cat. 139) depicts a private individual. Cat. 19 was once part of an Osirophorous statue depicting a private person with a statue of Osiris, but the man’s figure has been mostly removed.

Those of Sheshonq I and Osorkon I are notable for the addition of Phoenician royal inscriptions roughly contemporary in date with the reigns of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. A single statue dating to the Late Period or Ptolemaic Period also represents a king, albeit one of a much earlier era. The sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61) from Beirut, although originally created during the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, displays evidence of clear reworking in a much later period, likely during Ptolemaic times or slightly earlier. Although it is possible that the changes were made to a statue that was already extant in Phoenicia, it is far more likely, given the discovery of other material inscribed for Amenemhat IV in the region of Alexandria, that the statue was updated for use in the Delta and subsequently exported to the Levant.

The majority of the Third Intermediate through Ptolemaic Period statues portray private individuals, often accompanied by images of deities. The earliest of the statues (Cat. 85) dates to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty and, like the sphinx of Amenemhat IV, is a reused Middle Kingdom work. The statuette depicts a standing male and is inscribed for the High Priest of Memphis Harsiese, who, as a particularly high-ranking member of the elite, could have had motive for dedicating an image of himself in a foreign temple. As with the royal 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty statues from the Levant, it was discovered at Byblos, although the route it took to arrive there is less clear cut, with the possibility that it was utilized in Egypt for some time after its re-carving remaining plausible. Another private statue of a more traditional form is the very fragmentary block statue from an unidentified site in Israel (Cat. 139), which can be dated to this time frame based upon the style of inscription on its back-pillar. A so-called healing statue (Cat. 60) is among

the latest statues in the corpus, dating to the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty of the Late Period through the Ptolemaic Period.

Most of the private statues dating to this late period in Egyptian history depict the statue owner's piety by portraying him holding a figure of a deity, a *naos*-shrine, or similar religious element. Six of the statues belong to this type, with three Osirophorous statues dating from the Late Period through Ptolemaic Period (Cats. 19, 58, 92), two naophorous statues (Cats. 116 and 117) and one offering statue of an undetermined type dating to the end of the Late Period (Cat. 59). This shift in statue typology is reflective of trends occurring in Egypt, and does not necessarily demonstrate a conscious change in the types of statues acquired by Levantine states and temples. However, it is worth considering the possibility that the value of these works in the eyes of their Levantine possessors had more to do with their depiction of well-known Egyptian deities (most frequently Osiris) than with their native Egyptian function as statues of the elite, a possibility that is particularly likely for Cats. 19 and 58 which, in their current states, have been reduced almost solely to the image of Osiris. This is further suggested by the increased numbers of statues belonging to the third category, that is to say statues in the form of sole depictions of deities.

The remaining four statues dating to the Third Intermediate Period or later depict Egyptian deities. Two (Cats. 8 and 13) portray seated, nursing goddesses, a form that is most commonly associated with the goddess Isis and her infant son Horus.<sup>87</sup> A third depicts Isis' consort Osiris (Cat. 9), while another depicts both Osiris and Isis with their son Horus (Cat. 35). Thus the sculpture from the Levant from this period, when

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<sup>87</sup> The identity of the goddesses cannot be confirmed in either example, as neither piece is inscribed and both are missing their heads, also removing any iconographic details that might aid in the identification of the deities depicted.

considering both the wholly divine statues and those private statues which incorporate divine images, shows a marked preference for members of the Abydene triad, a trend which is also seen in statuary erected in temples throughout Egypt, even those dedicated to other deities.<sup>88</sup>

With the exception of the two 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal statues from Byblos (Cats. 67 and 68), which were re-inscribed in Phoenician by local rulers, no indications of reworking for use in a foreign environment have been noted on the royal statues of the Third Intermediate Period and later. Only one private statuary fragment bears possible evidence of modification for foreign reuse: an Osirophorous statue from Tyre (Cat. 58). The side of this statue has been inscribed in both Greek and Latin with a gloss identifying it as an image of a “priest bearing Osiris.” While Greek or Latin inscriptions would not be out of place in Egypt at this late date, the nature of the inscription, which attempts to explain the content of the statue for the viewer, points towards use in a non-Egyptian environment. There is nothing to suggest, either based on material or workmanship, that any of the statues dating to this time range were manufactured in the Levant. It is therefore likely that most of them were imported from Egypt.

Hieroglyphic inscriptions on several objects from this time period provide clues that they were originally designed for use in Egyptian temples and only later distributed in the Levant. Chief among these are four statues originating in the Egyptian city of Athribis: Cat. 19 from Petra, Cat. 59 from Tyre, Cat. 92 from Byblos, and Cat. 116 from Arwad.<sup>89</sup> The unity of origin and similarity of date, considered together with the fact that

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<sup>88</sup> See, for instance, the numerous depictions of Osiris dedicated in the temple of Amun at Karnak and later discovered in the Karnak Cachette (e.g., Walters Art Museum 22.215; Seidel 2009).

<sup>89</sup> Vernus 1978; Perdu 2016. The statues have been identified as coming from Athribis largely based on the priestly titles of the individuals they portray. For a concise introduction to the city of Athribis, see Leclère

three of the four examples terminated in Phoenician cities, suggests that the statues may have been dispatched from Egypt at the same time, or at the very least been part of an ongoing trade relationship.<sup>90</sup> One can envision a scenario whereby a collection of out-of-date temple statuary was shipped from Athribis to Lebanon, perhaps as part of a periodic cleaning out of the temple.<sup>91</sup> The statues may then have been set up for sale in emporia, to be purchased and dedicated by local pious individuals, if not erected in temples outright.<sup>92</sup> If the statues were all moved together, the transference must have taken place relatively late given the 29<sup>th</sup>/30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date of Cat. 59. A late date, probably in the Ptolemaic or Roman periods, is further suggested by the design of the statues, most (and perhaps at one time all) of which include an image of the god Osiris. As the cult of Isis spread throughout the Mediterranean, the desirability of such images would have increased.

Aside from the works hailing from Athribis, other statues dating to the Third Intermediate Period or later also bear inscriptional or iconographic hints to their origins. For example, Cat. 85 is inscribed for a High Priest of Memphis, and thus may have come from that site. The sphinx of Amenemhat IV bears an inscription referencing the city of Heliopolis. The statue was therefore likely originally designed for use in that city although, as noted above, iconographic modifications to the statue suggest that it spent a period of time in the region of Alexandria before making its way to the Levant.

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2008, chap. 5. Given the prevalence of healing statues associated with the cities of Athribis and Bubastis, it is possible that Cat. 60 also belongs to this group (Kákosy 1999, 29).

<sup>90</sup> The alternative that a particularly close relationship existed between the priests of Athribis in the Levant is highly unlikely, but cannot conclusively be ruled out.

<sup>91</sup> Such clearances are known from Egypt and often resulted in the creation of cachettes where statues were ritually buried (see Chapter 4 for further discussion of this phenomenon). The sale of statues that were no longer needed may have presented a more economical solution to the problem of excess statuary.

<sup>92</sup> The path taken by the Petra example (Cat. 19) may have been more circuitous; while it likely arrived in Jordan via trade routes with Phoenicia, it is also possible that it came directly from Egypt.



Iconography also helps narrow the origin of Cat. 9, a statuette of Osiris; it has been argued that the placement of the arms in this manner right above left is a marker of Osirian statues produced in Lower Egypt.<sup>93</sup> It is therefore probable that Cat. 9 comes from northern Egypt, although a precise city cannot be identified based on the current evidence.

### *3.4.3 – The Use and Display of Statues*

Unlike with the preceding periods when sculpture in the round was designed for both funerary and temple contexts, statues in Egypt were used almost exclusively in temple environments during the Late Period.<sup>94</sup> This shift away from tombs was accompanied by the addition of increasingly lengthy autobiographical accounts to the surfaces of private statues, which were erected in the more accessible areas of the Egyptian temple. This placement enabled statue owners to demonstrate their devotion to the gods, a primary motivator in the dedication of votive statues depicting deities as well. In addition, the more democratic nature of the environment allowed the statues to serve as small monuments where temple visitors and clergymen could read their inscriptions, magically providing sustenance to the owner in the afterlife. The healing statue (Cat. 60) in particular would have been erected in an easily accessible area where the devout could come, pour water over the statue, and drink the runoff, thereby imbibing the efficacious magic of the spells laboriously inscribed on the statue's surface.

It is difficult to determine how the statues were used and displayed in the Levant. Of the 24 statue fragments dating to the Third Intermediate Period or later, only seven

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<sup>93</sup> Roeder 1955.

<sup>94</sup> *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* 1960, xxxiii; Russmann 2010, 944. Some examples of tomb statues remain, however, most notably those of Montuemhat (Josephson 1997, 2).

(Cats. 8, 19, 35, 72, 73, 74, 76) come from contexts that could be classified by the excavator. Not surprisingly, in each of these cases the statues were utilized in a religious setting.<sup>95</sup> Three of these fragments (72, 73, 74) likely come from the Osorkon I statue now primarily in the Louvre, and Cat. 76 also portrays a 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty king. Given the Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions on both the Osorkon I bust and the Sheshonq I base, it is likely that all of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal statue pieces were once erected in the temple of the Lady of Byblos.

#### *3.4.4 – Interpretations of Statue Movement and Presence*

Because of the large time period occupied by this segment of the corpus, as well as the disjointed nature of the study of international relations at this time discussed above, interpretations of the Third Intermediate Period and later Egyptian Statues excavated in the Levant have been approached in a more piecemeal fashion than for earlier periods, with studies focused on smaller sub-groups of the material, such as the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal statues from Byblos, or objects hailing from Athribis. Such divisions are not unwarranted. As a quick analysis of the corpus reveals, the movement of these late works is representative of at least two distinct phenomena. These methods of transference essentially divide the corpus based upon class and date, with the Third Intermediate Period royal statuary representing one circumstance and the largely Late Period and later private statues (many of which incorporate a divine element) representing another.

The royal 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty statues found at Byblos are usually interpreted as diplomatic gifts aimed at restoring the illustrious relationship between Egypt and Byblos

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<sup>95</sup> Renan gives the findspot of Cat. 116 as “reused in a wall,” but it is unclear from his description whether this was an ancient wall or something more modern.

during Egypt's glory days.<sup>96</sup> According to this interpretation, the Libyan dynasts of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty would have sent gifts (in this case images of themselves) to Hathor in her guise of Ba'alat Gebal. While this is the most plausible motivation for the transport of the statues to the Levant, it seems that the gesture did not have the desired effect, as indicated by the added Phoenician inscriptions, which, although fragmentary, seem to place the action of acquiring the statues in the hands of the Byblite kings rather than the Egyptian monarchs whom they portray. The dates of these secondary inscriptions further indicate that the movement of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty royal statues was a roughly contemporary event. Also of interest in regards to this grouping is the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty statuette of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis Harsiese reportedly found at Byblos (Cat. 85). Although purely conjecture, it is interesting to consider whether this individual may have accompanied one of the royal statues to this city, choosing to also leave an image of himself in the goddess' temple.

The statues in the later grouping are of a religious character, either depicting gods and goddesses outright (Cats. 8, 9, 13, 35) or private individuals holding images of the divine (Cats. 19, 58, 60, 92, 116).<sup>97</sup> Here Levantine interest in the statues seems to have lain not in their representations of important humans, but in their divine subjects. This is suggested by the damage experienced by many of the private works, which preserve the divine image but less so the larger human representation. Within this group, emphasis on the divine triad of Abydos (Osiris, Isis, and Horus) is clear. In at least some cases, this is probably attributable to the spread of the cult of Isis in the wider Mediterranean world.

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<sup>96</sup> There are those, however, who believe that the statues were procured by the rulers of Byblos rather than sent by the Egyptians (Dijkstra 2016).

<sup>97</sup> Cats. 59 and 117 may have also once incorporated divine images, and Cat. 97 may have once depicted Isis or a similar goddess.

Based on the frequent dedication of these statues in Phoenician cities, some of the statues are also likely reflective of the eclectic character of Phoenician cults.

### 3.5 – Excursus: A Geographic View of Egyptian Statuary in the Levant

Historically, studies of *aegyptiaca* in the Levant have focused on materials from either the north or the south, rarely providing an overarching view of trends throughout the entire region. The present study aims to rectify that situation, at least for the subcategory of Egyptian stone statuary. A broader geographical view can help expose patterns in statue use and movement, and determine if the continued division of materials from the two regions is still warranted.

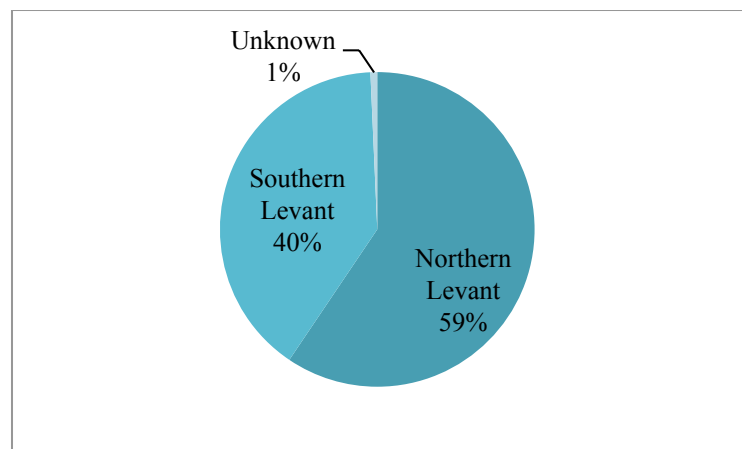


Figure 3.4. Distribution of statues between the northern and southern Levant.

Of the fragments in the present corpus, 85 (59%) come from sites in the northern Levant, while 58 (40%) come from the southern Levant (Fig. 3.4).<sup>98</sup> The statuary fragments come from 28 separate sites, 10 of which are located in the northern Levant, and the remaining 18 of which are found in the southern Levant (Fig. 3.5).<sup>99</sup> Of these

<sup>98</sup> One piece (Cat. 143), could come from either the north or the south, although Hall suspected that the south was more likely (1928a, 280). If this Osorkon fragments are counted as a single object, this ratio changes to 78:58:1, with the northern Levant supplying 57% of the overall corpus and the southern Levant having 42%.

<sup>99</sup> The provenances of five of the statue fragments (Cats. 139-143) are unknown.

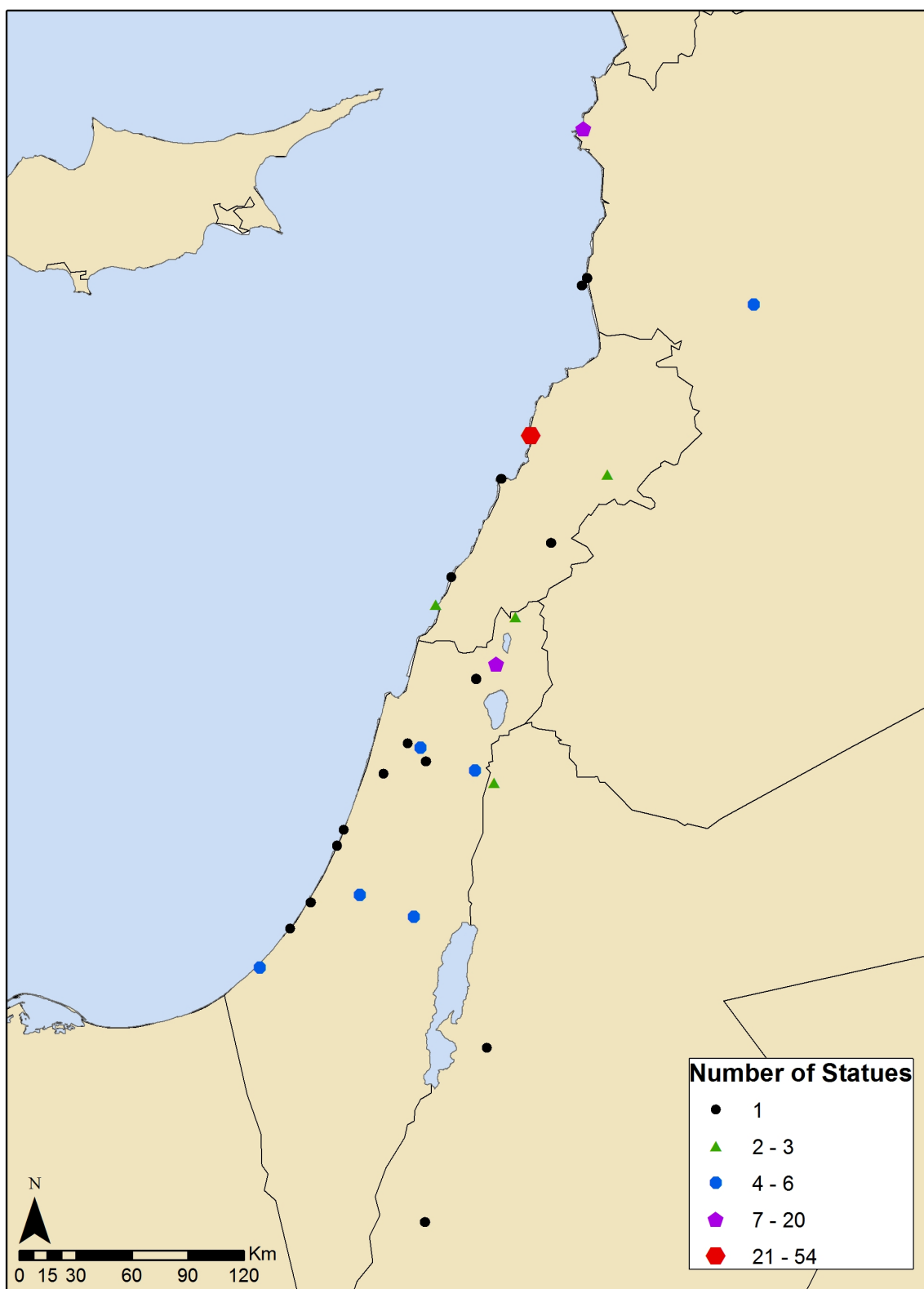


Figure 3.5. Distribution of statues by number per site.

sites, 15 are represented in the corpus by a single statue or statue fragment.<sup>100</sup> Two statues each come from Tell Dan, Pella, and Tell Hizzin, and three from Tyre. Qatna, Beth Shean, Jerusalem and Tell el-Ajjul each produced four statues or statue fragments, with Gezer yielding five and Megiddo six. Ugarit produced a substantially larger amount, with 14 fragments. Finally, a full half of the statuary fragments hail from two sites: Byblos in the north with 54 fragments (38%) and Hazor in the south with 20 fragments (14%).<sup>101</sup> It must be remembered, however, that this data only reflects the modern place of discovery, and that in some cases it is probable that statues have moved even after their ancient use in the Levant.<sup>102</sup>

### *3.5.1 – Geographic Distribution Based on Statue Date*

While acknowledging that the sample size for some periods is quite small, and also that the data is heavily skewed by Byblos and Hazor, it is still worthwhile to consider whether significant changes in the importation of statues are visible based upon when the statues were produced. It should be reinforced here that the date of manufacture does not necessarily correlate with the period in which the statue entered into a Levantine context. The majority (two-thirds) of statues dating to the Old Kingdom come from the southern Levant (Fig. 3.6). This ratio is nearly reversed for Middle Kingdom works, when 62% of statues were discovered at northern sites. The number of statues from the southern Levant again surpasses that of the north during the New Kingdom, only to be eclipsed once more during the following periods, when 65% of the statuary corpus is found in the northern Levant.

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<sup>100</sup> These sites are Ashkelon, Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, Jaffa, Makmish, Tulul Mas'ud, Petra, Kerak, Tell Ta'annek, Jo'ara, and Mizpe Yammim in the south, and Adlûn, Beirut, Arwad, Tartus/Amrit, and Kamid el-Loz in the north.

<sup>101</sup> An additional 5 statue fragments (3% of the total) are from unknown sites.

<sup>102</sup> This could explain the discovery of statues in areas without large-scale settlements in antiquity.

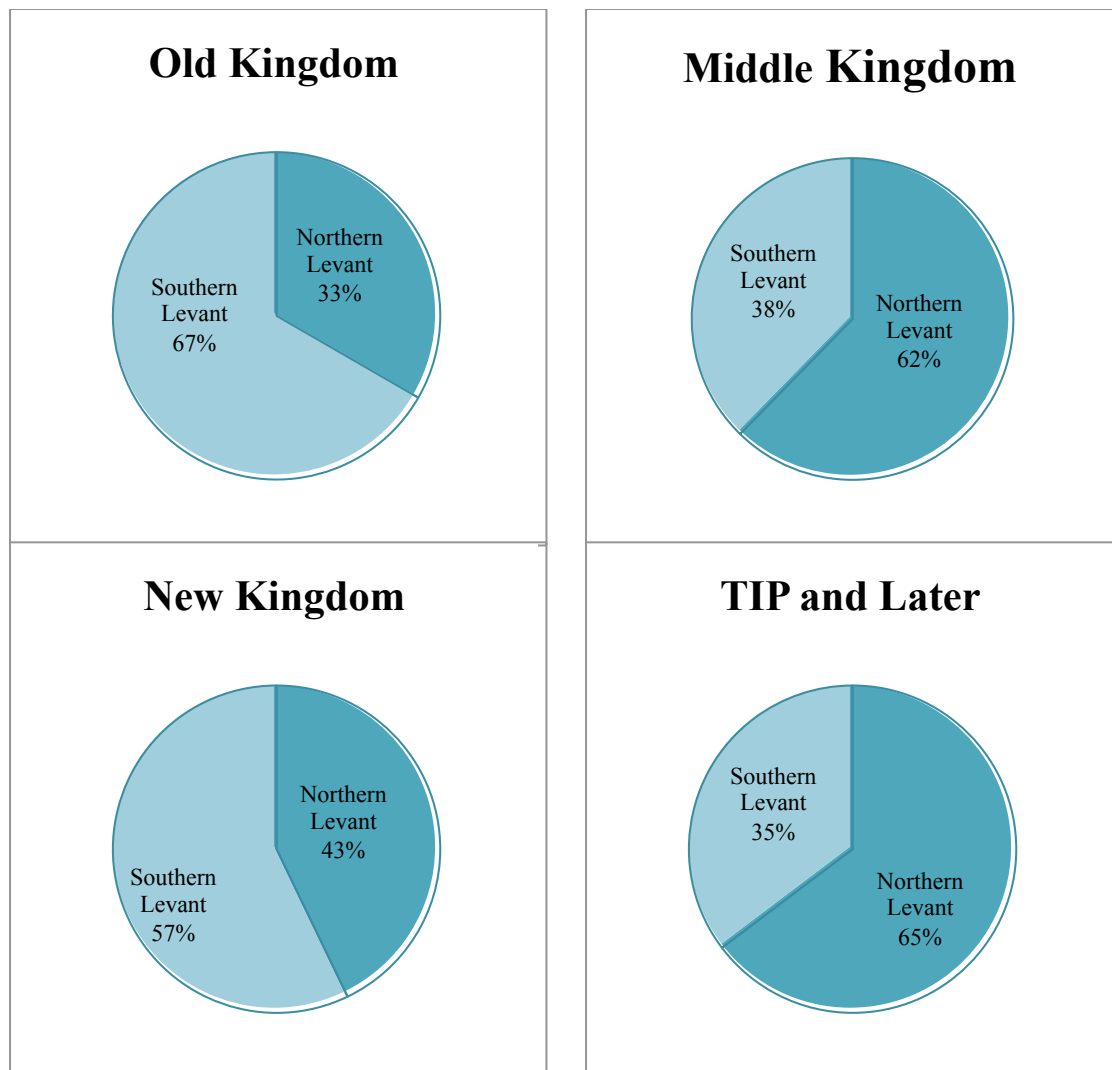


Figure 3.6. Distribution of statues between the northern and southern Levant by statue date.

These patterns in manufacture date can also be looked at more narrowly site by site (Fig. 3.7). Three sites produced Old Kingdom statues: one in the north and two in the south. Middle Kingdom statues were found at 14 sites (6 north; 8 south); New Kingdom statues at 9 sites (2 north; 7 south); Third Intermediate Period statues at 3 sites (2 north; 1 south); Late Period statues at 9 sites (5 north; 4 south); and a single Ptolemaic statue at one northern site. Also notable are the sites that boast statues from multiple periods. Not surprisingly, Byblos has examples from the broadest timespan, with 5 periods (Old

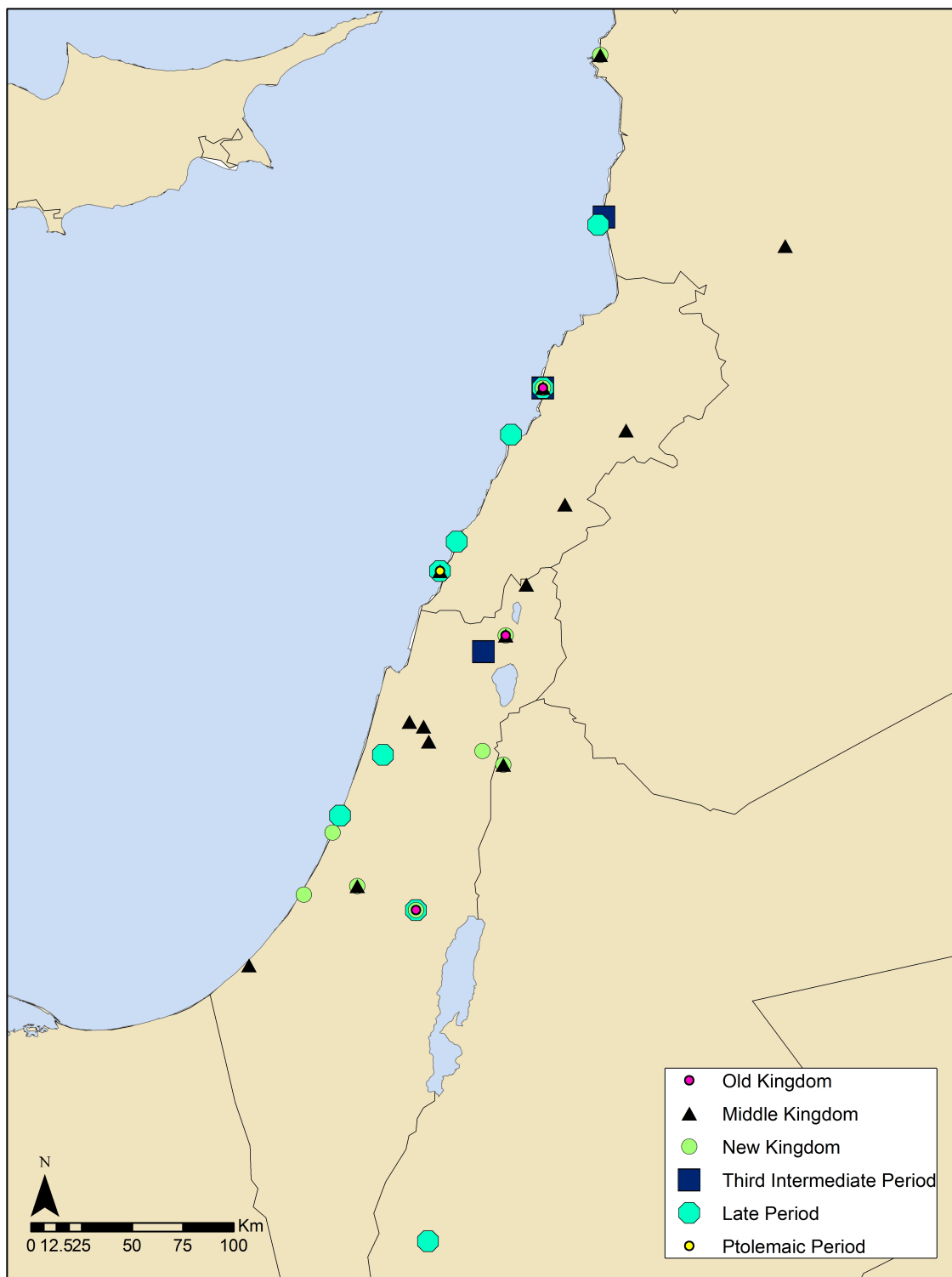


Figure 3.7. Distribution of statues by statue date.



Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period) represented. Tyre, Jerusalem, and Hazor each have three periods represented. At Hazor, these periods are contiguous (Old Kingdom–New Kingdom); at Jerusalem and Tyre they are more sporadic. Three sites (Gezer, Pella, and Ugarit) each have statues dating to two periods: the Middle and New Kingdoms. The remaining sites produced statues from a single period only.

### *3.5.2 - Geographic Distribution Based on Statue Classification*

The ways in which the presence of individual Egyptian statues in the Levant is interpreted are closely tied to the statue's classification. In a perfect world, all royal statues would be the gifts of kings to foreign courts; private statues donations of Egyptians travelling to distant lands on official business or living abroad as expats; and divine statues votive offerings to the resident gods of temples, be they Egyptian deities or foreign gods and goddess that have become syncretized with their Egyptian equivalents. As the preceding analysis indicated, this is not usually the case. Although this view is overly simplistic, however, it is still worthwhile to look at which classes of statues have been found where in order to be able to more completely understand the mechanisms and motivations for statue movement. It should be noted that the divisions used for statistical analysis here have been made from a purely Egyptological point of view, and may not reflect the understandings of the local populace. As discussed above, this is particularly pertinent for private statues that depict a person presenting an image of a deity, which may have been viewed as divine rather than a private works outside of Egypt.

The map in Figure 3.8 illustrates which classes (royal, private, or divine) have been found at which sites. As many sites are the source of only one statue, oftentimes

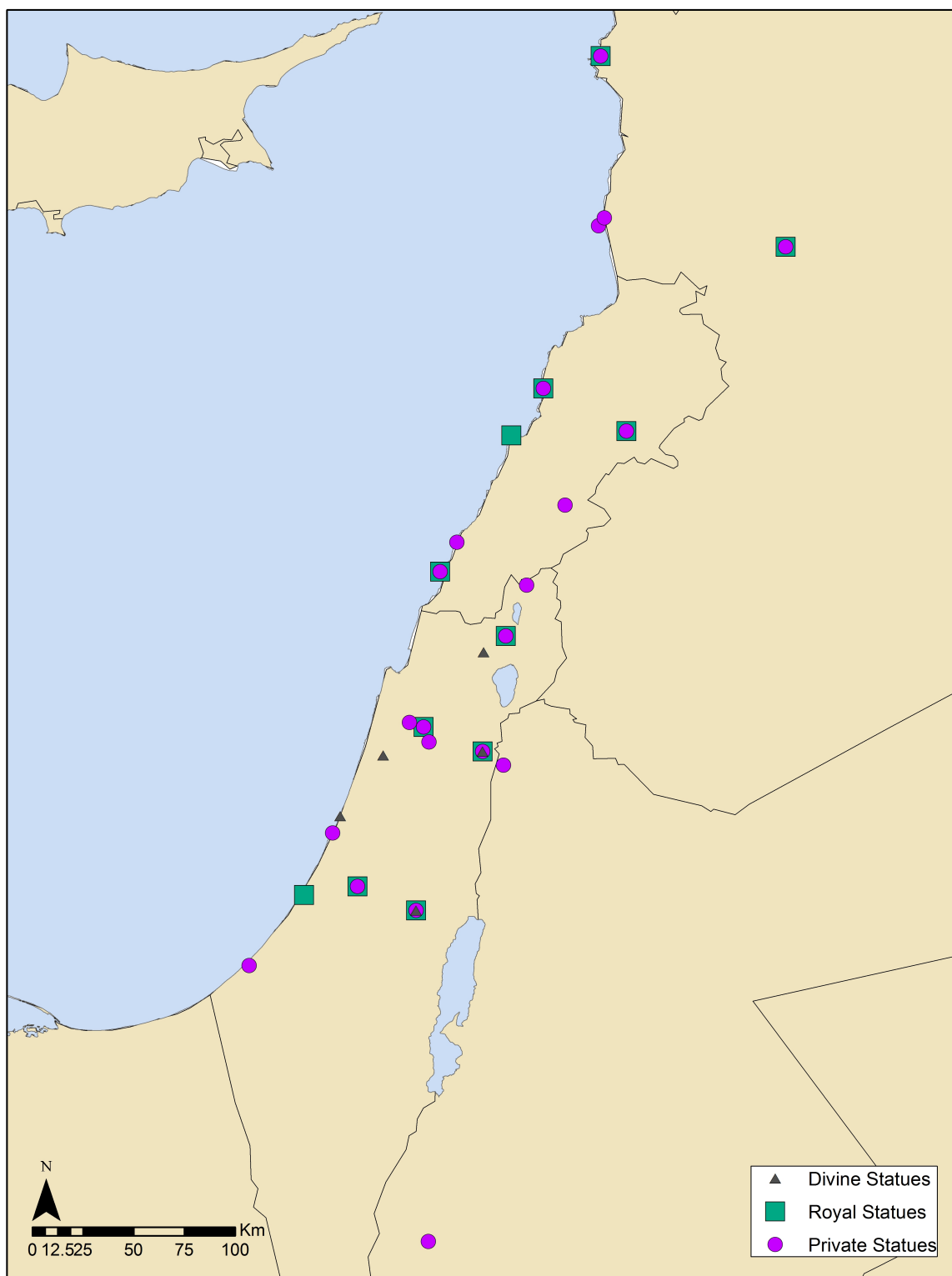


Figure 3.8. Distribution of divine, royal, and private statues.

only one object class is represented.<sup>103</sup> Tel Dan, Tell el-Ajjul, and Pella also present only one statue class (private), but each attest more than one example. Of even greater interest are those sites that have more than one type. Both royal and private statues are attested at eight sites, with the number of private statues usually surpassing those of royal statues.<sup>104</sup> This is interesting in light of the suggestion that officials accompanying royal statues to their new homes may have simultaneously dedicated their own statues. Only two sites had all three classes of statues: Jerusalem and Beth Shean. The presence of such variety of statues in Jerusalem may be attributable to the important role that the city played (and continues to play) in much later times. The appearance of all three classes at Beth Shean, on the other hand, is befitting a city that was functionally Egyptian when the statues were commissioned and used.

### 3.5.3 – *Geographic Distribution of Statues Designed or Modified for Foreign Use*

As has been discussed throughout the chapter, only a very small percentage of the overall corpus bears evidence of deliberate design or reworking for use outside of the Nile Valley (Fig. 3.9). Not surprisingly, most of these pieces come from sites that enjoyed strong ties to Egypt at some point in their history. This evidence is primarily inscriptional in nature. Three statues bear secondary dedicatory inscriptions in a language other than Egyptian – two from Byblos (Cats. 67, 68/69) and one from Kerak (Cat. 20). Cat. 58 from Tyre contains inscriptions in Greek and Latin explaining what the statue

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<sup>103</sup> Makmish, Mizpe Yammim and Tulul Masud each have one divine statue; Adlun, Arwad, Jaffa, Jo'ara, Petra, Tartus, Kamid el-Loz and Tell Ta'annek each have one private statue; and Ashdod and Beirut each have one royal statue.

<sup>104</sup> Tell Hizzin, Tyre, Gezer, Megiddo, Qatna, Ugarit, Hazor and Byblos all have both royal and private statues. At Tell Hizzin, the numbers of royal and private works are equal; at Hazor more royal than private statues have been discovered, although it should be noted that a large percentage of fragments from this site could not be classified.

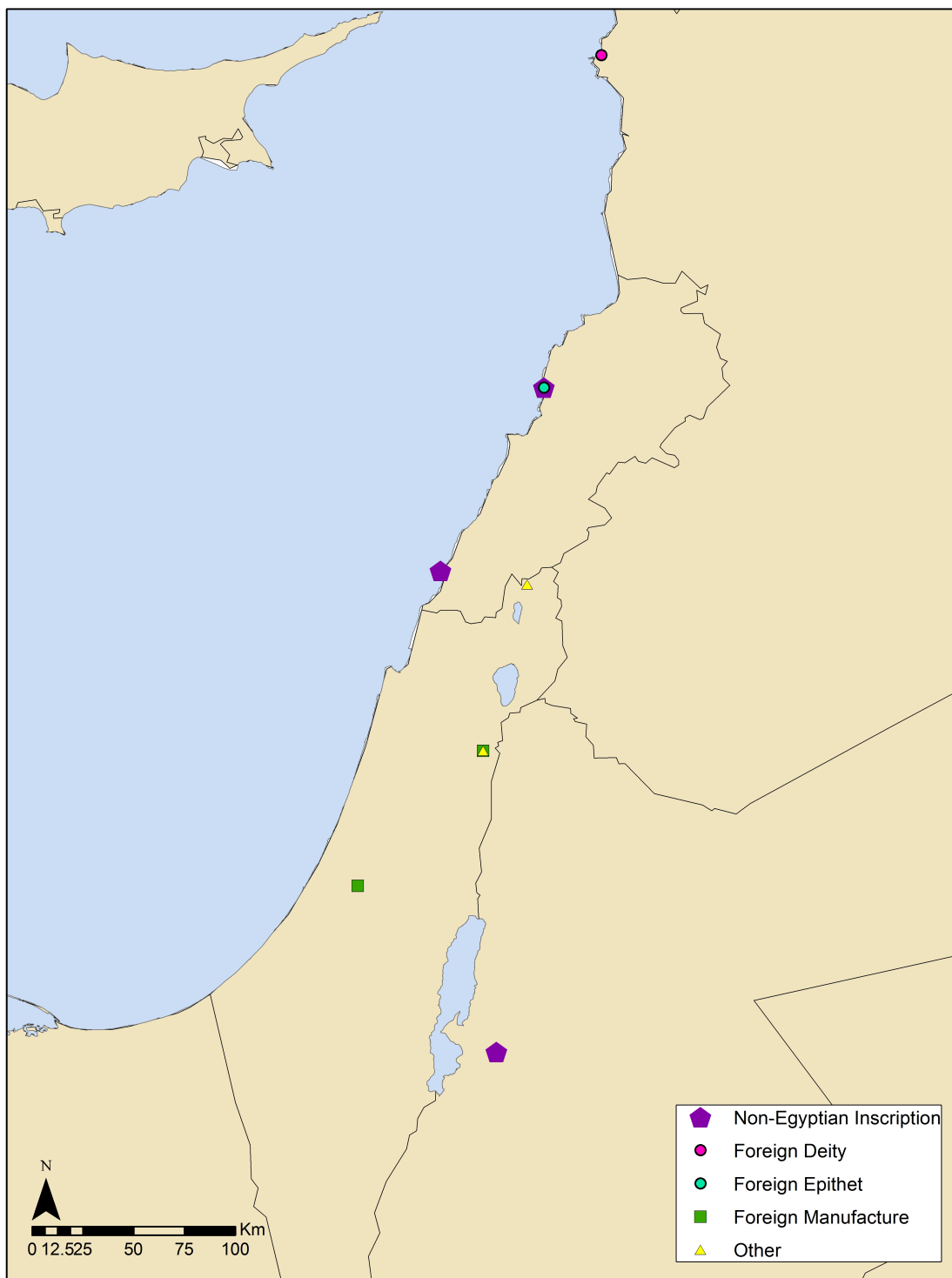


Figure 3.9. Distribution of statues with evidence of design or modification for a foreign context.

represents.<sup>105</sup> Hieroglyphic Egyptian inscriptions can also provide clues. One example (Cat. 129 from Ugarit) contains a traditional Egyptian funerary formula invoking a Levantine god. Others (Cat. 86 and likely Cat. 142) reference Hathor of Byblos, perhaps indicating a predetermined dedication in the foreign cult place of an Egyptian deity. The incorporation of a traditional Egyptian offering list on a statue from Tel Dan (Cat. 56) could also point towards planned foreign use. A handful of statues and fragments bear non-textual evidence of foreign manufacture or modification. Four (Cats. 21, 22, 23 from Beth Shean and Cat. 15 from Gezer) appear to have been produced in the Levant using local materials. A private statue head also from Beth Shean (Cat. 24) was probably produced in Egypt, has been drilled into on the bottom, perhaps in order to conduct a repair after its arrival in the Levant.<sup>106</sup>

#### 3.5.4 – *Statue Origin*

While on the topic of the geographic distribution of statues, it is also helpful to consider their origins. For those statues that moved to the Levant only after fulfilling a primary use role in Egypt, it is rarely possible to identify the city or region from which they came. Some exceptions have been noted in the above discussion, however. For example, Heliopolis and Athribis were particularly strong sources of material, each contributing numerous statues. The objects from these important cultic sites were likely removed from their original emplacements as part of periodic temple cleaning and restructuring, and in some cases may have even been repurposed in Egypt before

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<sup>105</sup> While such inscriptions could have been employed in Egypt during the later ages of its history, their addition for a foreign audience seems more likely given the statue's place of discovery.

<sup>106</sup> Whether this was carried out in Egypt or after the statue had already arrived in the Levant cannot be determined.

ultimately moving abroad.<sup>107</sup> The Memphite region has also been suggested as a possible origin for some statues in this corpus. The nomarchal ties of Djehutyhotep and Djefaihapi to Deir el-Bersha and Assiut respectively make those cities likely candidates for statue sources as well. The comments presented here remain hypothetical, however, and would benefit from more in-depth analysis and research in the future.

### **3.6 – Conclusion**

The 144 statues and statuary fragments found in the Levant to date are incredibly representative of the overall corpus of ancient Egyptian statuary. They include numerous examples of each of the primary classes of sculpture known from Egypt (divine, royal, and private). What's more, all of the standard types are represented including standing statues, seated statues in a variety of poses, kneeling statues, block statues, and sphinxes. The Levantine corpus also presents examples from every major era of pharaonic history.

The largest percentage of the works date to the Middle Kingdom, although many of these were probably sent or brought to the Levant at a much later date. This is suggested both by Egypt's minimal (though not non-existent) involvement in the region during that period, and the significantly later archaeological contexts in which the statues are found. A more permanent Egyptian presence in the region during the New Kingdom is reflected in the increase of locally-produced Egyptian statues, many of which also tend to be produced on larger scales than the works attested in the region for other periods. The Third Intermediate Period witnesses an increase in statues with a divine element. Although this is representative of larger trends in statuary in Egypt at this time, the

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<sup>107</sup> See the sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61), which likely spent some time in the Alexandria region before being moved to the Levant.

manner in which many have been broken (either before or after dispatch from Egypt)  
suggests that this aspect of these works was particularly sought out in the Levant.

## CHAPTER 4

### EGYPTIAN STATUES IN THE LEVANT: AN OBJECT-BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

“Not only do objects change through their existence, but they often have the capability of accumulating histories, so that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected.”<sup>1</sup> An object’s ability to encapsulate cultural meaning and history make it an interesting, albeit challenging, point of study. This chapter will open by considering why Egyptian statues may have been desirable to the peoples of the ancient Levant by exploring the ways in which the statues in this corpus may have been assigned value and meaning. It will then introduce the object biography as a methodology for better understanding how an object’s meaning changed over time. This will be followed by a consideration of the significant events in the life of a statue, from its carving and potential use in Egypt, to its transference to a foreign land, its use there, its ultimate falling out of use, through to its rediscovery in modern times. Finally, the chapter will present case studies of specific objects from the corpus, considering how they might have come to be in the Levant. The aim here is not to provide firm answers as to how specific Egyptian statues came to be in the Levant or how they functioned once they were there, but rather to speculate as to the different events that might have happened between “birth” and rediscovery to gain a more nuanced understanding of the corpus as a whole.

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<sup>1</sup> Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.



#### 4.1 – Meanings and Values Assigned to Egyptian Statues

Without applicable textual sources to explain what made Egyptian statues desirable in the Levant, it is difficult to fully grasp the significances some of these foreign artworks adopted in their Levantine environments. Many factors can contribute to an item's cultural value. For example, in summarizing Throsby's work Monti and Keene single out "six cultural characteristics that are sources of cultural value for objects: aesthetic value (beauty); spiritual or religious value; symbolic value (the extent to which cultural objects act as repositories and conveyors of meaning); social value (a thing may provide people with a sense of connection to others); historical value; and authenticity."<sup>2</sup> At some point in their long histories, all of these characteristics will have applied to at least some of the statues in the present corpus. In some instances, they would have been afforded value through the same mechanisms that operated in Egypt (e.g., based on subject or aesthetic beauty). In others, their value might have morphed as a result of their foreign environments.<sup>3</sup> Three factors that might have informed to the meanings and values assigned to Egyptian statues in their Levantine contexts will be briefly considered here: their worth as physical objects, their symbolic significance, and the effects of their method of transference from one cultural context to another.

The Egyptian statues in this corpus derived at least a portion of their value from their physical natures. This would have been influenced by two main factors: a statue's aesthetic appeal and the worth (either symbolic or financial) of the material from which it

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<sup>2</sup> Monti and Keene 2013, 72; Throsby 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Of course, a statue may have moved to the Levant with an Egyptian for Egyptian purposes, in which case the meaning would not change in the statue's initial installation. However, subsequent uses of the statue could reinterpret its value.

was made.<sup>4</sup> It is presumed that the high quality of craftsmanship and aesthetic beauty of Egyptian artworks played a substantial role in their appeal. Not only was the style used to carve them manifestly foreign, the skillsets of Egyptian master carvers were completely different from, and in some eyes superior to, those of artisans trained locally where the tradition of stone sculpture carving was not as robust.<sup>5</sup> The intrinsic value of the stones – in some cases quite beautiful varieties of a type not locally procurable – from which the statues were carved could also contribute to their ascribed values. This worth was sometimes retained even after a statue had fallen out of use, as for example when fragments were repurposed as building stones.<sup>6</sup>

Statues also drew some of their value from the symbolic meanings attached to them. While our modern eyes look at them as costly (or perhaps almost priceless) artworks, it is important to remember that for the Egyptians, as well as many of their Near Eastern contemporaries, statues were not mere *objets d'art*, but functional stand-ins for the beings they represented. One facet of what could contribute to a statue's meaning on an ideological level was therefore identity of the person(s) depicted.<sup>7</sup> The connotation of the symbolic value assigned to a statue through its equation with a foreign entity could have differed depending on the predominant social climate between the two polities at any given time. During periods of friendly relations, the presentation of an image of a foreign ruler or god within a city's most ritualized spaces could serve as a powerful

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<sup>4</sup> This interest in materials is prevalent in Amarna Letters discussing statue acquisition.

<sup>5</sup> This can be inferred, for instance, in the letter from Ugarit discussed in Chapter 1.3.3.

<sup>6</sup> See section 4.2.6 below.

<sup>7</sup> This would not have been true in all instances. For example, many private works in the corpus (especially those dating to the Middle Kingdom) depict relatively low ranking individuals who would probably not have been of particular interest to peoples living in the Levant. This also raises the question of what methods people encountering these Egyptian statues in a Levantine context would have used to identify whom they represent. While the iconography of many of the statues, particularly those of Egyptian deities and kings, would likely have been recognizable, the specific identities of figures may have relied on one's ability to read the hieroglyphic inscriptions, a skill that would have been possessed by only a few.

emblem of good relations.<sup>8</sup> Conversely, during periods of open hostility, the possession of the image of a foreign ruler or deity would be a potent symbol of dominance and defeat.<sup>9</sup>

In contemplating the statues in this corpus, it is also important to remember that the meanings behind symbolism are not always transferable between cultures. An interesting subclass of statuary to consider in this regard is that of the sphinx – the iconic hybridized image of the Egyptian king’s visage and a powerful lion. Within the Egyptian worldview the meaning of the sphinx was multifaceted. The powerful icon had strong solar connotations, and was also the form in which the all-powerful king was depicted trampling his enemies.<sup>10</sup> In this vein, it is interesting to note that a high percentage of royal statues, particularly of Middle Kingdom date, discovered in the Levant take the form of a sphinx. Was it a deliberate choice on the parts of the Egyptians to send an image of the king in this traditionally predatory form?<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the use of sphinx imagery is well known in the Levant proper. Was this form of Egyptian statuary in some way more desirable to people requesting Egyptian images to adorn their palaces and temples?<sup>12</sup>

Factors such as distance (both in geographic space and in time) likely contributed to the layered symbolic meanings associated with some statues in this corpus as well. Although it has probably been overemphasized within scholarship, the significance of the sheer otherness of Egyptian statues as works produced in distant lands by foreign hands

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<sup>8</sup> This was likely the intended purpose of the statue of Ramesses III requested in Ugarit letter RS 88.2158. For further discussion of this text, see Chapter 1.

<sup>9</sup> Gunter 2009, 168–69.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, a pectoral with the prenomen of Senwosret III from Dahshur (Cairo JE 30875). For a discussion of the varied meanings of the sphinx, see Sourouzzian 1998, 418–23.

<sup>11</sup> Helck wondered at the same question (1971, 69).

<sup>12</sup> Scandone Matthiae suggested that the sphinx was an apropos choice for presentation in a Levantine temple owing to its strong solar connotations (1989a, 13).

using rare materials and exotic styles cannot be dismissed entirely.<sup>13</sup> In some cases, a respect for the antiquity of the statues may have played a role. This is particularly true for the numerous Middle Kingdom statues that continued to be used long after their dates of manufacture, and may, in fact, not have arrived in the Levant until they were already antiques.

The statues treated here would have also gained some of their value from the avenue via which they came to be in the Levant. As will be discussed in more detail below, many different methods account for the transference of individual pieces within the corpus from Egypt to the Levant, if indeed they were not produced in the Levant outright. These routes can be summarily divided into three categories: donation or use by Egyptians; gift giving; and exchange. An example of the former would be the dedication of a statue in a foreign temple at the instigation of an Egyptian working, traveling, or living in the Levant.<sup>14</sup> In these instances, the meanings assigned to the statue would have remained much the same as for equivalent works in Egypt. Alternatively, statues sometimes moved through diplomatic channels via an entrenched system of gift giving.<sup>15</sup> Here the statues would have served as concrete representations of interactions between two polities, and perhaps expectations of ongoing relations.<sup>16</sup> Yet other statues changed location via economic exchange. This requires the statue to undergo a process of commoditization, transforming into a commodity: “a thing that has use value and that can

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<sup>13</sup> For instance, in her discussion of foreign objects referenced in the works of Homer, Gunter notes that it is “impl[ie]d that these objects held special value in large measure because they were crafted from rare, costly materials in distant, power-filled regions. Associated with royal (or divine) workshops, patrons, and illustrious owners, they are tangible expressions of the geographically distant and, as such, supernaturally charged” (2009, 140–41).

<sup>14</sup> e.g., Cats. 86 and 142, private statues that refer to Hathor of Byblos and were apparently dedicated in her temple there.

<sup>15</sup> For reciprocal gift-giving as a separate entity from commodity exchange, see Kopytoff 1986, 69.

<sup>16</sup> In the practice of reciprocal gift giving in the Ancient Near East, the expectation of an equivalent gift in return was certainly implied.

be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart, the very fact of exchange indicating that the counterpart has, in the immediate context, an equivalent value.”<sup>17</sup> In such cases, the meanings behind the statues probably change most significantly, as, for instance, with the Osiraphorous statues discussed in Chapter 3.5 above.

The presence of Egyptian statues in the Levant indicates that they filled a void that was not easily met by locally produced objects.<sup>18</sup> As they negotiated changes in environment and potentially use the meanings and values attached to them also changed. This evolving significance was not always tied to physical changes in the object, but could rather be influenced by many factors that made the statues desirable.<sup>19</sup> The values assigned to them may not have been universally recognized, however. Things, including statues, can be valuable at one time and not at others; similarly, they may be viewed as valuable to one person, but not to another.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, inferred importance would have differed for different statues within the group at different times.

## **4.2 – The Lives of Statues: An Object-Biographical Approach**

In examining a large and diverse group of material culture objects, such as the ancient Egyptian statues and statuary fragments under discussion in this dissertation, it is

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<sup>17</sup> Kopytoff 1986, 68. The primary difference between commodities and gifts can be summarized as follows: “Commodities are supposed to be alienable, so that they can be transacted without leaving any lasting relationship between giver and receiver. By contrast, gifts always maintain some link to the person or people who first made them and the people who have subsequently transacted them” (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 173). The process through which an object, such as a statue, is transformed into a commodity is deeply rooted in the culture or cultures engaging in the exchange, extending far beyond the individual interests of the two parties participating in the transaction. As Dannehl observes, “Not only is an owner's decision to enter or withdraw an object from being or becoming a commodity made subsequently to the producer's decision to make a product for sale, it is frequently a societal decision rather than a personal one, and tied to the values that the members of the society in question share” (Dannehl 2009, 125).

<sup>18</sup> The difference could be as simple as personal aesthetic preference or as complex as political or religious underpinnings.

<sup>19</sup> Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.

<sup>20</sup> Kopytoff 1986, 64.

difficult to select a methodological approach that does justice to the entirety of the corpus. This derives, in large part, from the fact that the function of the statues presented here was not static, but rather developed with changes in both time and place. The countless people who have come into contact with the statues over the course of millennia have informed these transformations via diverse motivations and encounters.<sup>21</sup> These include issues of why the statues were created, how they were acquired, what value(s) were assigned to them, and how these interests affected the ways in which the statues were used and treated at any given point in their histories.

One beneficial approach to a corpus like the one examined here is that of the “object biography,” a methodology pioneered by Kopytoff in 1986 and used with increasing frequency over the last few decades for the study of ancient artifacts.<sup>22</sup> The method is rooted in the premise that an object (or in some cases a group or class of objects) cannot be fully understood through the study of a single point in its life-history, but rather must be considered as it negotiated changes in status throughout its existence owing to transitions in factors such as ownership, place, and function. As with the more familiar biographies of human lives, the object biography therefore seeks to elucidate the meaning and purpose of a given object through the examination, or at least consideration of, its societal function at multiple different phases of use. Oftentimes, this biographical approach is framed in the human stages of birth, life, and death.<sup>23</sup> When working with antiquities, it customarily requires the author of the object biography to start at the point

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<sup>21</sup> Indeed, it has long been recognized that “objects become invested with meaning through the social interactions they are caught up in. These meanings change and are renegotiated through the life of an object” Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.

<sup>22</sup> Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Dannehl 2009; Joy 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Joy 2009, 544.

when the object fell out of use (equated with its “death”) and work backwards logically, piecing together the object’s history to the point when it was first conceptualized.<sup>24</sup>

In formulating a biographical narrative for archaeological material, one must identify defining life events that the artifact is likely to have encountered. This can be achieved through asking questions not dissimilar from those one might ask of the subject of a more traditional biography. For instance, Kopytoff pondered

“What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its ‘status’ and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized ‘ages’ or periods in the thing’s ‘life,’ and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing’s use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?”<sup>25</sup>

The suitability of an object-biographical approach to the study of ancient Egyptian objects has long been recognized.<sup>26</sup> Of particular interest here is Meskell’s 2004 monograph assessing the applicability of such theoretical approaches to the study of iconic Egyptian artifacts including mummies, ostraca and statues.<sup>27</sup> Ancient Egypt, with its substantial corpus of written sources, provides an ideal place to start with an object-

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<sup>24</sup> Joy 2009, 543. In most cases contemporaneous with the point at which it entered into the archeological record. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the death of an object is not so finite as it would be for the subject of a human biography, since objects can be re-discovered and put to use again, sometimes in new contexts. As Joy observes, “After its creation an object can die a number of times as it becomes a part of and leaves different spheres of relationships” (2009, 543). For further discussion of this phenomenon, see below.

<sup>25</sup> Kopytoff 1986, 66–67.

<sup>26</sup> For recent discussion in regards to Egyptian objects, with a particular focus on materials and technologies, see Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, chap. 4.

<sup>27</sup> For her treatment on statues in particular, see Meskell 2004, chap. 4. Her observation that “Statues, figurines, carved and painted images of the individual were all doubles for the self that could extend the biography and trajectory of the individual” is particularly interesting in the consideration of how Egyptian objects and concepts of biography can be interrelated (Meskell 2004, 7). The object-biographical approach has also been taken up in other Egyptological works. See, for instance, Quirke’s use of the object biography with a particular focus on the life histories of Egyptian objects after they have been deposited in the archaeological record (2010, 155–68).

biographical approach, and indeed, this method has been utilized already for some portions of this corpus.<sup>28</sup>

In creating an object biography it is not so much individual historical events that are of importance (although those should not be ignored when known) but rather the processes and relationships that made and make the object valuable, both from the standpoints of the ancient peoples who created and used it and the modern ones (including scholars) who encounter it in museums or other settings. These processes are varied and include “procurement, manufacture, use, maintenance and discard, as well as storage, transport, re-cycling and re-use.”<sup>29</sup> Emphasis is often placed on the subject’s evolving exchange and performative roles within society, aspects that are particularly pertinent to the study of objects, such as the statues examined here, that at one point transitioned from one cultural context to another.<sup>30</sup> As Kopytoff noted, “Biographies of things can make salient what might otherwise remain obscure. For example, in situations of culture contact, they can show what anthropologists have so often stressed: that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use.”<sup>31</sup>

Several different factors can contribute to an object’s biographical history. Among these is its record of ownership. Such histories or genealogies, while difficult to reconstruct without written sources, are not only important today, but were sometimes also of high significance to the ancient peoples who procured and possessed the objects. This can be seen, for example, in Homer’s treatment of several important objects and

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<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, Ahrens’ reference to *Aegyptiaca* in the Levant as biographical objects (2011b, 289–90).

<sup>29</sup> Joy 2009, 542. Dannehl simplifies the categories to production, distribution and consumption (2009).

<sup>30</sup> See, for instance, Joy 2009, 544.

<sup>31</sup> Kopytoff 1986, 67.



gifts (such as the silver workbasket of Helen or the krater of Menelaos) for which he emphasizes the chain of ownership.<sup>32</sup> Within the Egyptian repertoire, this is perhaps most apparent in the (sometimes repeated) re-inscription of royal monuments. For instance, over its incredibly long use history, the so-called “Louvre sphinx” bore the cartouches of no less than four monarchs over a span of several centuries.<sup>33</sup> Such chains of ownership are also visible on some of the statues within this catalogue, such as the statues of Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) and Osorkon I (Cat. 68), which were re-inscribed by rulers of Byblos, who did not acknowledge previous Egyptian claims over the images, although they must certainly have been known owing to the dominant hieroglyphic inscriptions present on the statues.

While their modern counterparts usually have remarkably brief life histories, ancient objects often enjoyed extremely long-lived periods of use, in part due to the costliness of the materials required to produce them.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, in many cases the intrinsic value of the material from which the object was made led to it be reused or even reinvented in manners outside the scope of functions for which it was originally designed. Such was the case for a number of the statues in this corpus which, once they were either no longer needed as sculptural works or had become too damaged to function as such any longer, were used as building stones in walls.<sup>35</sup> Sometimes reuse required reinvention. A particularly apropos example of the repurposing of ancient Egyptian objects is that encapsulated in the ostrakon. Ceramic ostraca, which started their lives as vessels for food, drink, or other commodities and, once broken and no longer able to fulfill that

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<sup>32</sup> Gunter 2009, 132–33, with further examples and citations.

<sup>33</sup> Fay 1996b, 11–15.

<sup>34</sup> Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 224.

<sup>35</sup> For further discussion of this phenomenon, see below.

purpose, were transformed into writing surfaces. The ostrakon provides an excellent example of the divergent paths a single object type can take: when created, the ceramic vessel had one purpose (perhaps to hold wine or beer, for instance). Many such vessels survive to modern times intact and are beneficial to scholars for several purposes, such as ceramic dating sequences, or information about consumption. For those that were not so lucky to avoid damage, however, the new role as an ostrakon added a new but equally (if not more) important value to the object as a source not just of written information.

The construction of object biographies can be a particularly beneficial approach to studying discrete corpora of material, especially those whose histories would be amorphous when studied alone. When the life-paths of several similar objects are considered in concert with each other, it is possible to piece together what an idealized life history for a particular type or class of objects might be. This is not, of course, to say that every object within a group would have experienced all, or in some cases even most, of the same stages in use over time, nor that an object is restricted to a particular life path from its point of creation.<sup>36</sup> One advantage of an idealized object biography is the capacity it produces to then identify those anomalous works within the group that do not conform to the life path that would be expected of them.<sup>37</sup> This is particularly useful for the present corpus of objects, many of which were not intended to be sent abroad when they were created, but which all veered off onto the same path, one of several avenues which would have been available to them.

Biographies are written about people who have led unusual lives and/or achieved exceptional things. The same is generally true for objects. While the object biography

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<sup>36</sup> Joy 2009, 543.

<sup>37</sup> For further discussion of the use of idealized biographies for object groups, see Kopytoff 1986, 66–68; Joy 2009, 545.

approach has sometimes been utilized for quotidian objects, such as ceramic vessels, more often than not it is employed for objects that are particularly noteworthy. As

Dannehl observed,

“The more discursive space an object is given, the more important and unique it becomes. The more important it is deemed to be, the more likely it is that its life story will be told, and the more important the full trajectory from production to consumption will become. The account will quite possibly be extended into present times, because a precious object is more likely to be preserved, more likely to change hands, and most likely to be valued for this pedigree of ownership. The trajectory will thereby be biased towards an extended 'consumption stage' and will not necessarily give equal treatment to different stages of the object's existence.”<sup>38</sup>

This applies to the 144 statuary works and fragments in the present corpus. As with all ancient artifacts, they are remarkable simply by virtue of their survival through the millennia to present day. These pieces have the added novelty, however, of having been exceptional in their own time as objects that were transferred, and in some cases repurposed, outside of their usual sphere of influence.

Using the object-biography approach in its broadest sense, the remainder of this chapter will present an idealized biography of Egyptian statues found in the Levant.<sup>39</sup> It will begin with the typical life events common to all ancient Egyptian statues, starting from commission to creation and ultimately to display, and then follow the divergent path that they took when they traveled to the fringes of the Egyptian sphere of influence and beyond, considering notable “biographical turning points” such as travel, reuse, and

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<sup>38</sup> Dannehl 2009, 127.

<sup>39</sup> This approach is actually a hybridization of two closely related methodologies, that of the object biography and the life cycle model. Dannehl summarizes the differences between the two approaches as follows: "The main challenge of the biography approach lies in the idiosyncratic nature of a biography, in other words its claim to uniqueness. At the core of the life cycle model, on the other hand, lies the idea of standardization. Its challenge resides in the fact that no object's existence is ever completely identical or entirely cyclical with a return to the origins" (2009, 133). For further discussion of the methodologies, which are frequently combined under the title of the object biography, see Dannehl 2009.

destruction.<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that all of the statues in the corpus will have followed the same linear life-path, meaning that some statues will have negotiated important junctures that others may not have.<sup>41</sup> What's more, the survey provided here is not exhaustive, but merely meant to provide a framework for better understanding how the functions and meanings of these ancient works of art may have changed or stayed the same over a long period of use. Consideration of important nodes in the lives of Egyptian statues found in foreign contexts will be followed by a few case studies of specific objects within the corpus.

#### 4.2.1 – Birth: Conception and Production

The formative stage in any statue's existence, akin to its birth, would have been its creation, starting from the point when it was commissioned through the carving, final polish, paint, and magical actualization of the work of stone. Indeed, to equate the creation of an Egyptian statue with its birth is not far removed from the ancient Egyptians' own understanding of how such works of sculpture came to be, for the verb that they used to describe the process of creating a cult statue was the very same that they used for birth: *ms*.<sup>42</sup> Thus statues were not merely carved, but born.

The first stage in reconstructing the life history of an Egyptian statue used in a foreign context is to consider the object's *chaîne opératoire*, that is to say the steps

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<sup>40</sup> Dannehl 2009, 123.

<sup>41</sup> For the non-linear nature of object life-paths, see Joy 2009.

<sup>42</sup> *Wb*. II: 138.15, where the verb *ms* is paired with the opening of the mouth. See the discussion of Papyrus Harris I in Chapter 1.3.2 above for this usage in reference to a statue set up in an Egyptian temple in the southern Levant.

required to transform a concept and raw material into a finished, functioning statue.<sup>43</sup>

Since the vast majority of the statues in this corpus seem to have been manufactured in Egypt and only later transported to the Levant, focus here will be placed on indigenous Egyptian manufacturing processes.<sup>44</sup> Here I present many stages that a statue would have gone through in its production, although this overview is by no means exhaustive.

The first step in statue creation is the commission of the statue. Depending on the statue's classification (divine, royal, or private), the person ordering the statue would vary. Generally speaking, royal statues would have been commissioned at the behest of the king. The same would have been true for divine statues, as it was one of the semi-divine king's duties to provide for temple cult. Statues of private individuals, on the other hand, would have been commissioned from the owner, except in rare exceptions of incredibly high-ranking officials who received statues in recognition by the king.<sup>45</sup> The motivation for commissioning a statue would also have varied based upon who was ordering it and where it was destined to be displayed. For instance, a statue of the king might be required for inclusion in his burial assemblage, as a gift for a temple, or perhaps even to be sent as a diplomatic gift.<sup>46</sup> A private statue, on the other hand, might be designed to serve as a repository for the deceased's soul, or to function as an intercessor

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<sup>43</sup> The utility of *chaîne opératoire* and use-wear analysis approaches to object's as a facet of the object biography has long been recognized, but is not without its pitfalls (Joy 2009, 545; Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 231, 237–38).

<sup>44</sup> The handful of statues produced in the Levant likely also utilized Egyptian production techniques, and perhaps even Egyptian artisans. That Egyptian artists sometimes traveled to produce sculptural works can be inferred from a letter found at Ugarit responding to a request for an Egyptian sculpture (see Chapter 1.3.2).

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, a number of Ramesside ostraca that deal with the commission of wooden tomb statues (Janssen 1975, 246–48; Meskell 2004, 103–4).

<sup>46</sup> It should be noted that in certain periods, such statues came with land domains, bestowing a financial benefit as well. See below for further discussion, as well as Morris 2015b.

between commoners and those privileged enough to have access to the innermost parts of the temple, and by extension the ears of the gods.<sup>47</sup>

Next would come the design of the statue and the procurement of raw materials. As discussed in Chapter 1, the available forms of sculpture for any given period were limited by whom the statue was to represent and what the prevailing styles were at the time. Form could also be influenced by the statue's intended place of display. For instance, compact types such as block statues were particularly desirable in environments where a statue might run the risk of being disturbed, such as on display in the open courtyard of a temple. Function might influence design in other ways as well. The late Middle Kingdom propensity for group statues (e.g., Cats. 94, 95, 122) provided a more compact way to honor whole families, a feature that might be particularly appealing when choosing a statue to be sent abroad. Although Egypt is a land replete with stone sources, the procurement of raw materials for statues was no negligible task. Particularly for rarer or more costly stones, stone was procured at considerable expense, in the form of mining expeditions employing large numbers of participants to travel sometimes extensive distances to laboriously extract stone from geological formations and transport it back to the Nile Valley.<sup>48</sup>

Once the raw materials had been procured, skilled artisans would have set about carving the stone into the desired image. The complexity of this multi-step process can

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<sup>47</sup> See, for example, two statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu erected at the entrance to Karnak temple (Cairo CG 44861 and CG 44862). The official, who served under Amenhotep III, states explicitly that he will report the petitions of the faithful to the god Amun in his role as a herald (*Urk.* IV: 1833.11-19, 1835.3-9). For further discussion of this function of Amenhotep son of Hapu's statues with additional references, see Galán 2003. An intercessory role, albeit of a different type, would have also been the desired function of the healing statue (Cat. 60) in this corpus.

<sup>48</sup> In instances where statues were carved locally, such as the Beth Shean Ramesses III (Cat. 21), stones appear to have been obtained locally. The transport of stone blocks to the Levant for Egyptian statue production would be unlikely given the sheer weight of the stone and the related cost of transporting it.

perhaps be best understood through the multiple statues of Menkaure excavated at Giza in various stages of completion.<sup>49</sup> In his study of these statues, Reisner identified eight different stages in the carving of a statue, starting with the outline of the figure in red pigment upon the raw stone and its initial shaping, and ending with the “finished but uninscribed figure.”<sup>50</sup> During this process, the statue would have passed through multiple hands within the workshop environment, likely with lower-level apprentices completing the earlier stages and master sculptors producing the final product. Since the Egyptians did not have the same sense of authorship for their works of art as we do today, the works remained unsigned, the names of the artists lost to history.<sup>51</sup> Inscriptions identifying the individual depicted were added in many cases, however. These inscriptions, which could be brief or provide more lengthy presentations such as biographies or offering formulae, were integral parts of the Egyptian statue as a complete object. Particularly for private statuary, where the individual could not be identified merely by facial characteristics or iconography, the inscription provided the statue with its identity – for the statue was not merely a representation of a person or being, but an actual stand-in for them. Other final touches included the addition of pigments to enhance the statue, a step which is easy to forget given that this element is only ever rarely preserved to modern times. At this point, the production of the physical statue was complete, but the stone remained a hollow shell.

In order to become actualized, the statue then had to undergo the Opening of the Mouth ritual (Egyptian *wpt-r*). During this ceremony, which is among the best documented from ancient Egypt, a *sem*-priest held an adze to the face of the statue,

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<sup>49</sup> Reisner 1931, chap. 7.

<sup>50</sup> Reisner 1931, 115–18, pls. 62-3.

<sup>51</sup> Meskell goes so far as to state that “Egyptian goods were not authored in modern ways; they are not signed, for example, and the attribution to discernible individuals was irrelevant” (2004, 20).

opening its eyes to see, its nose to breath, and its mouth to eat and speak.<sup>52</sup> In other words, through the ritual process, that statue was transformed into a living being, becoming an active participant in cultic life rather than a mere passive observer. This also made the statue susceptible to harm, however, since damage to the statue, most notably the removal of the nose or harm to the eyes and mouth, could effectively kill it, a practice that will be explored in more detail below.

#### *4.2.2 – Egyptian Display*

Once a statue had passed through the various stages of production, the next defining point in its life as an animated statue was to be set up in the environment for which it had been designed. In considering this phase of a statue's existence, one must bear in mind the fact that, for the Egyptians, statues were fully functioning, active participants in the environments in which they were placed. They could serve as portals to and from the next life for the deceased, intercessors with the gods, or even interfaces for those deities. All of the stone statues in the corpus were designed for use within a ritualized environment. The nature and location of the intended environment would have differed from statue to statue, however. While appropriate locations for statue display were dictated by historical period and statue type, generally speaking their use in Egypt was focused in temple or tomb contexts.<sup>53</sup>

Divine, royal, and private statues were all be displayed in temple contexts, with each class fulfilling its own unique function. Divine statues could act as cult images, secreted away in the innermost shrines of the temple where only those priests with the

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<sup>52</sup> For further discussion of the Opening of the Mouth ceremony as it pertains to statues, see Fischer-Elfert 1998.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 3 for chronological changes in statue placement.



highest levels of clearance could access them.<sup>54</sup> Royal statues in sacred contexts were placed in various settings throughout the temple complex. As duplicates of the king, they could ensure that the proper rituals were performed as prescribed, fulfilling the king's role as the maintainer of *maat* and ensuring the continued existence of the cosmos.<sup>55</sup> Private statues were restricted to the exteriors and courtyards of Egyptian temples. Here they demonstrated the owner's piety before the gods in perpetuity, allowing the individual depicted to participate in temple festivities long after death. They could be eternal participants in cultic activity, as with statues shown dedicating offerings,<sup>56</sup> or as intercessors between commoners and the divine realm.<sup>57</sup>

Royal and private statues were also designed for use in the tombs and mortuary complexes of the people they represent. Here they served as alighting places for the deceased's *ka*, enabling the soul of the deceased to eat, drink, breathe and live in the next life.<sup>58</sup> Private works would have been set up in the publically-accessible tomb chapels of the deceased, where descendants could visit, present the requisite food and drink offerings, or, at the very least, recite the *ḥtp-di-nsw* offering formula inscribed on the statue.<sup>59</sup> In this way, private statues served as a focal point of ritual action in the tomb environment. Royal statues in mortuary contexts would have fulfilled a wider array of functions, serving as mortuary temple decoration as well as the object of cultic ritual.

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<sup>54</sup> These cult images were usually made of precious materials rather than stone. For the inaccessibility of cult statues, see, for instance, a New Kingdom letter in which a man wishes to petition the god but has trouble because the deity "happened to be hidden in your sanctuary and there was no one admitted" (McDowell 1999, 109–10).

<sup>55</sup> This role of statuary should not be discounted when considering the role of Egyptian statuary in the Levant (Forstner-Müller, Müller, and Radner 2002, 162).

<sup>56</sup> Such would have been the case for the numerous Osiraphorous and similar statues within this corpus (Cats. 19, 58, 59, 92, 101, 116).

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, the statues of Amenhotep son of Hapu discussed in note 47 above.

<sup>58</sup> They are therefore sometimes referred to as *ka*-statues.

<sup>59</sup> One exception would have been tomb statuary designed for *serdabs*, which constitutes only a very small proportion of the works in this study.

Statues in ancient Egypt were designed not just for particular types of venue, but in most cases for use in specific structures.<sup>60</sup> The intended display location is often reflected in the inscriptional content present on the statue's surface, most frequently in the name of the deity invoked or the epithets that he or she possesses.<sup>61</sup> This is true both for temple statuary, which might address the specific deity worshipped in that location, and for tomb statuary, which might invoke local deities in offering formulae. In the event that a statue is found outside of its intended context, these references to cities and temples in Egypt can aid in the identification of the geographic location in which the statue was intended to be used. Examples of this from the statuary Levantine Egyptian statuary corpus can be found throughout Chapter 2 and in Chapter 3.5.4.<sup>62</sup>

#### *4.2.3 – Movement to a New Region*

For those statues within the corpus not immediately slated for use in a Levantine context, the next biographical node would have been the statue's physical movement from its primary location to a new, foreign environment.<sup>63</sup> It is at this point in their life histories that the statues in this corpus would have branched off from the more traditional path outlined for an Egyptian statue. Useful questions to consider for this phase include Who instigated and/or carried out the movement of the statues to a new region?; What

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<sup>60</sup> Sometimes the degree of specificity went down to the level of which side of a structure a statue was meant to be displayed in. This can be most clearly seen in the division of royal statues wearing Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns depending on whether they are on the northern or southern side of the temple's main axis.

<sup>61</sup> Many divine epithets directly reference the deity's cult location. Examples from statues in this study include Hathor mistress of Dendera (Cat. 102), Osiris lord of Busiris (Cats. 44, 86), and Atum lord of Heliopolis (Cat. 61). It should be noted that the invocation of a deity from a specific locale is not always an ironclad way of determining the statue's original place of display, just a clue.

<sup>62</sup> Note, for example, the multiple statues likely to have come from Heliopolis (e.g., Cats. 37, 61, 126, 133).

<sup>63</sup> It should be noted that the movement of statues within Egypt for secondary use also has precedent. The clearest examples of this are the numerous Ramesside works that were moved from Pi-Ramesses to Tanis during the Third Intermediate Period. It is in fact likely that some of the pieces in the present corpus, such as the sphinx of Amenemhat IV from Beirut (Cat. 61), underwent such domestic relocation before ultimately being moved to foreign soil.

were their motivations for doing so?; Which mechanisms determined how the statues moved?; and ultimately What physical path did the statues take from one place to another? The answers to these questions are complex, often incorporating multiple overlapping spheres of influence. A generalized overview of motivating factors that may have contributed to the movement of statues from Egypt to the Levant will therefore be provided here.

That Egyptian statues, in their perceived roles as semiautonomous beings, made journeys to distant lands during antiquity is made clear not only by the discovery of such statues on foreign soil, but also by numerous textual sources.<sup>64</sup> These journeys were not always intended to be permanent, however. Indeed, there are diverse reasons that one might wish to have access to an Egyptian statue, not all of which would have necessitated said statue relocating permanently to the Levant.<sup>65</sup> For example, Wenamun, who famously traveled to Phoenicia to procure cedar for the construction of the divine barque of Amun, brought an image of the deity with him to serve as the official envoy in his negotiations.<sup>66</sup> Surely in this instance, the traveling statue of Amun would have returned home to Egypt at the completion of Wenamun's mission.<sup>67</sup> Statues (particularly those of divinities) could also be sent abroad on loan to foreign rulers, often owing to their magico-medical powers. Such was the case in the apocryphal Bentresh stela in which a statue of Khonsu was sent to Bakhten in order to heal Ramesses II's sister-in-law.<sup>68</sup> That

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<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, the frequent request for Egyptian-crafted statues in the Amarna letters, e.g., EA 26 and 27 (Moran 1992). It should be noted, however, that in most of these instances the desire was for sculpture made from precious metals and other costly materials, not stone.

<sup>65</sup> Although this is more likely to be the case for statues made of more portable materials than stone, the movement of stone statues in some instances cannot be excluded.

<sup>66</sup> For further discussion of Wenamun's statue, see Chapter 1.3.3.

<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately the end of the tale is lost.

<sup>68</sup> For further discussion of the Bentresh Stela as it pertains to traveling statuary, see Chapter 1.3.3.

the statue was meant to return home to Egypt is made evident by the ominous dreams that the ruler of Bakhten suffers after planning to delay the statue's return indefinitely.

But what of those statues destined to take up permanent residency in the cities of the northern and southern Levant? Given the considerable effort required to move heavy stone sculpture, sometimes of considerable size, across such a great distance, it is clear that the transference of the Egyptian statues in this corpus to the Levant must have required planning and financial backing. So who instigated the movement of those statues manufactured in Egypt? Or, put more bluntly, “whose investment do they represent?”<sup>69</sup> Of course, the answer to this question is not the same for all of the statues in this corpus, with an abundance of potential answers available based upon the unique circumstances surrounding each specific work. Was a statue sent or brought to its new home by an Egyptian, or was it requested or otherwise procured by a foreign entity?<sup>70</sup> Are these necessarily mutually exclusive avenues of transference? It is generally assumed that elites, regardless of cultural affiliation, were responsible for the movement of foreign objects across borders.<sup>71</sup> It would therefore follow that the movement of statues from Egypt to the Levant would have usually been the prerogative of elite individuals, either Egyptians who had the means to commission and dedicate a statue, or locals who could display their procurement of foreign art objects as prestige items. Nominally, this was often accomplished in order to propitiate the deities of local temples.

Potential participants in the movement of statues from Egypt to the Levant can be divided into two spheres: those acting on behalf of institutional interests and those

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<sup>69</sup> Gunter 2009, 143.

<sup>70</sup> Regarding Egyptian and Near Eastern objects deposited in Greek sanctuaries, Gunter pondered whether they were “the possessions of Greeks who traveled elsewhere as merchants, ‘tourists,’ or mercenaries, or are they gifts from Eastern visitors to Greek sanctuaries?” (2009, 143).

<sup>71</sup> For a more nuanced view in regards to small-scale objects, see Boschloos 2013.

representing private participation. On the institutional side of things, both the crown (either the Egyptian monarchy or the local Levantine rulers) and the temple could have served as instigators of statue movement. It is assumed that in most cases, authority will have fallen upon the shoulders of the Egyptian government, perhaps at the request of contemporary foreign rulers, particularly in the case of royal or divine statues.<sup>72</sup> Within the private realm, the responsibility for transporting statues could have fallen either on Egyptian officials traveling in the Levant, ex-pats living there, or people of Levantine origin traveling to Egypt and subsequently returning home.

The Egyptian government must surely have been responsible for the erection of Egyptian statues of a royal and divine character in at least some instances. Depending on the nature of the relationship between Egypt and the city in question, however, the subtext inherent in the provision of such a statue would have certainly varied. During the period of New Kingdom control in the region, statues of Egyptian monarchs and deities would have served as symbols of imperial presence. At times when the cities in question were autonomous, the procurement of foreign works of art might instead act as emblems of open, mutually beneficial relationships. That sculptural works served a special role in these relationships, which were buoyed by systems of reciprocal exchange, can be seen in the periodic request for Egyptian statues in the epistolary record.

This is not to say that this is the manner in which such gifts of friendship would have been explained in Egypt. As Ellen Morris has recently pointed out, in some instances the furnishing of Egyptian goods to a foreign temple was merely an ideologically acceptable technique for providing payment to a foreign government.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> See, for instance, the Amarna Letters.

<sup>73</sup> Morris 2015b. See also Liverani 1990, 240–54.

Such a portrayal of international exchange is well evidenced in Egyptian sources, where it is clear that it would have been unseemly for an Egyptian monarch to pay a foreign ruler directly in exchange for goods. Such was the case, for instance, with Hatshepsut's famous journey to Punt, where she acquired all manner of exotica in recognition of the gifts that she provided to Hathor, who in this case plays the unspoken intermediary between the Egyptian government and the people of Punt.<sup>74</sup> The transaction is mutually beneficial – the Egyptians acquire what they desire, be it in the form of loyalty or consumer goods and raw materials, and the local rulers receive some level of legitimization to their rule, having been acknowledged by the powerful Egyptian state.<sup>75</sup>

In regards to statuary in particular, it is worth noting, as Morris has recently emphasized, that in Egypt statues donated by the king to temples often possessed endowments in the form of land grants or other property, so that the custody of a statue equated to real, concrete wealth.<sup>76</sup> Thus by donating a statue in an important foreign temple, such as that of Ba'alat at Byblos, an Egyptian king could provide finances to an outside government without doing so directly, “masking ... payment as piety.”<sup>77</sup> Conversely, it has been suggested that during the period of Egyptian imperialism in the Levant, it is possible that local inhabitants brought their taxes not to the Egyptian military headquarters, but rather to temples.<sup>78</sup> Thus the people could cloak their payments as pious acts rather than governmental obligations. In such instances, it is possible that an

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<sup>74</sup> Naville 1898, pl. LXIX. For similar practices in regards to Lebanese cedar from a variety of reigns, see Baines 2009.

<sup>75</sup> Ahrens 2011b, 289–90.

<sup>76</sup> This practice, which is documented in both Egypt and Nubia, is posited by Morris to have occurred in the Levant as well (2015b, 170).

<sup>77</sup> Morris 2015b, 167.

<sup>78</sup> Morris 2015b, 171; Bleiberg 1988, 165.

Egyptian cult statue would have acted as the recipient of said offerings. Indeed, such a role has been proposed for the Ramesses III statue from Beth Shean.<sup>79</sup>

For those statues that were transported to the Levant by private individuals, it is possible that they were either transported by Egyptians to a foreign land, or brought home by foreigners from Egypt. As discussed in Chapter 1, early on in the study of the phenomenon of Egyptian statues abroad it was generally assumed that private statues had indeed been brought with their owners as a sort of eternal insurance policy in the unfortunate event of the owner dying abroad and requiring a funerary statue.<sup>80</sup> In this case, the statues would have served a purely mortuary function, and the individuals named on the statues would provide us with concrete records of actual people who had (at least temporarily) left their homeland. However, as many subsequent scholars have pointed out, such an overly simplistic solution is unsatisfactory on a number of levels. One frequently stated objection is the fact that none of the statues have been clearly documented to come from mortuary contexts. This need not be a barrier since, as discussed in Chapter 3, statues with “funerary” inscriptions were not restricted to tomb contexts, even in Egypt itself. Indeed, if the travel in question was merely intended to be temporary, it would probably be more effective to leave a *ka*-statue back home in Egypt; not only would a stone statue be cumbersome to transport over such a long distance for temporary purposes, but the statue itself would be more effective set up in an appropriate location in Egypt where the proper prayers could be said and offerings given.

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<sup>79</sup> Morris 2015b, 183–84.

<sup>80</sup> See also Gill and Padgham 2005, 51 with further citations.

This is not to say that a mortuary function for the statues discovered in Levantine contexts is outside the realm of possibility.<sup>81</sup> For those Egyptians who had permanently relocated to the Levant, foreign temples would have served as a logical place to present statues in the absence of Egyptian cult places. Not only could they incur the favor of the gods by doing so, but the statues could also function in a similar manner as they would in Egypt, maintaining the memory of the dedicator in perpetuity. In addition, it is possible that household shrines were set up to honor ancestors in cases when families resided in a foreign city over the course of generations.<sup>82</sup>

That Egyptians sometimes worshipped and provided dedications in such temples can be seen from the numerous examples of hieroglyphically-inscribed Egyptian-style stelae dedicated to local deities in them.<sup>83</sup> In these instances, it is assumed that the people making the dedications are Egyptians or highly Egyptianized individuals living in the Levant. A more temporary connection to a city is also possible, however, and in some cases private Egyptians of means may have personally transported their statues to the Levant for the express purpose of dedicating said statue in the temple of a foreign deity.<sup>84</sup> For instance, in discussing Middle Kingdom statuary found at Ugarit (Cats. 121, 122), Ward stated that it was unlikely for Senwosretankh to have been resident in the city, although “it is possible that he delivered the queen’s statue on behalf of the Egyptian state and left one of his own for good measure.”<sup>85</sup> Although such a suggestion is hypothetical at best, it does present at least one scenario in which we might imagine

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<sup>81</sup> See, for example, the statue fragment from Tel Dan with an offering list (Cat. 56).

<sup>82</sup> This could explain the occasional appearance of Egyptian statues in domestic contexts.

<sup>83</sup> All known examples date to the New Kingdom. See Chapter 3 note 68 for a list with citations.

<sup>84</sup> A similar method of temple dedication for Near Eastern artifacts found in Greek sanctuaries has also been proposed. See Strøm 1992 for a critical view of this hypothesis with additional references.

<sup>85</sup> Ward 1961, 131.



Egyptian statuary (private statuary in particular) coming to rest in important foreign temples.

In a similar vein, some Egyptian statues were likely acquired as souvenirs in Egypt by persons from the lands in which they were ultimately dedicated.<sup>86</sup> This was clearly the case, for instance, with a fragmentary block statue discovered near the Ionian city of Priene in modern-day Turkey.<sup>87</sup> Here an Ionian inscription, written on the front of the figure's kilt, identifies the statue as having been dedicated by a local man who had worked as a mercenary in Egypt under Psamtek I.<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately, the statue was found through clandestine excavations, and thus cannot be concretely tied to a temple.<sup>89</sup> Given the content of its inscription, however, a dedication in a religious environment can be inferred. Although none of the works in the present corpus have such advantageous inscriptional content in this regard, it is entirely conceivable that some of them similarly made the journey eastward not at the instigation of Egyptians, but rather in the hands of locals.

The handful of small, divine statues appearing in shrines and other religious structures also warrant discussion here, as it is likely that they were presented as votive offerings by private individuals.<sup>90</sup> The cultural identities of the people performing these

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<sup>86</sup> A function as souvenirs has been suggested for some Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts found in Greek contexts, although the evidence in support of such a hypothesis is by no means conclusive (Gunter 2009, 141).

<sup>87</sup> Şahin 1987; Masson and Yoyotte 1988; Ampolo and Bresciani 1988. The current location of the statue is unknown (Masson and Yoyotte 1988, 175).

<sup>88</sup> The text is presented as if spoken by the statue itself: "Pédôn m'a consacré, le fils d'Amphinneios, lequel m'a apporté d'Égypte; et c'est le roi égyptien Psammetique qui lui a donné comme prix de sa valeur un bracelet en or et le pouvoir sur une ville, à cause de sa valeur" (Masson and Yoyotte 1988, 172).

<sup>89</sup> Masson and Yoyotte 1988, 171.

<sup>90</sup> This was apparently the case, for instance, with the divine triad from Mizpe Yammim (Cat. 35), the nursing goddess from Makmish (Cat. 8), and probably the fragmentary Osirophorous statue from Petra (Cat. 19). Similar contexts are probable for the Osiris statue from Tulul Mas'ud (Cat. 9) and the seated statuette from Jerusalem (Cat. 13).

dedications is unknown, but it is probable that many were not Egyptian. This is suggested both by the eclectic, multi-cultural nature of the objects often found with the Egyptian statues as well as the addition of Greek and Latin explanatory texts in one example (Cat. 58). In these instances, it is perhaps more probable to attribute the physical movement of the statue from Egypt to a foreign context to someone other than the devotee who donated the statue in the temple. Such pieces were more likely to have been purchased from emporia for dedication.<sup>91</sup> This further raises the question of how the content of the statues was interpreted by the people presenting them. Isiac and Osirian imagery is prevalent in this group of objects, and in many instances only a portion of an Osirophorous statue was chosen. Was it selected solely because of its Osirian imagery, or was its human component of interest as well?

Regarding the physical journeys that the statues made from Egypt to the Levant, it is not possible to ascertain the precise pathways that the statues took, and certainly not for individual statues. Two primary ways of conveyance would have been used: the overland route through the Sinai, or journey by boat via the Nile Delta to the coastal cities of the Levant. From the coast, those statues that were not kept locally could have been transported further inland using established overland trade networks.

Furthermore, the directness of the route that the statues took from the Nile Valley to their final place of deposition need not have always been a direct one, even after the decision to transfer the statue from one sphere of cultural influence to another had been made. In fact it is likely that many of the statues in this corpus, and especially those found at more remote or distant locales from Egypt, stopped off at intermediate points

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<sup>91</sup> In this regard it is interesting to note the prevalence of objects originating from Athribis. For further discussion, see Chapter 3.

along their journeys.<sup>92</sup> Thus the movement of the statues could be a long, multi-stepped process. Indeed, a number of sites included in this study played recognized roles in international trade during antiquity. For instance, Kamid el-Loz (ancient Kumidi), from which a single, fragmentary Egyptian statue has been recovered (Cat. 132), has long been recognized as a stopping off point for Egyptian materials being distributed further into the interior of Syria.<sup>93</sup> It is also likely that Byblos, as a point of major interaction with Egypt, played a role in the movement of at least some of the statues in this corpus. Such an idea is particularly intriguing given the vast quantities of Egyptian statues discovered at Byblos.<sup>94</sup> Is it possible that the site had a surplus of such foreign images and chose to distribute some of them throughout the Levant, serving as an intermediary?<sup>95</sup> Closer to home, if the interpretation that the Hyksos were responsible for the distribution of a substantial percentage of earlier Egyptian objects to the Levant is to be accepted, the port city of Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) likely also served as a stopping off point in at least some cases.<sup>96</sup>

This further raises the issue of what role commercial markets may have played in the transport of Egyptian statues to the Levant. Theoretically speaking, these works, and particularly those representing divine or royal figures, should have been too ideologically important, both to the people who commissioned them and those who acquired them, to

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<sup>92</sup> In this regard, it is interesting to consider the potential role played by liminal zones, such as Serabit el-Khadim and other sites in the Sinai. For the importance of palaces in this system, see Thalmann 1999.

<sup>93</sup> Heinz 2009; Heinz 2008; Heinz 2010.

<sup>94</sup> It is further worth noting that many of the private statues found at Byblos are of a lower quality in craftsmanship than those found at most other sites in the Levant. This could indicate an indigenous production of Egyptian and Egyptian-style statues at Byblos, but this cannot be confirmed without more careful examinations of the works in question, the current locations of which are unknown.

<sup>95</sup> Others have contemplated such a role for Byblos. See, for instance, Scandone Matthiae 2003, 488.

<sup>96</sup> Kopetzky 2016, 157–58.

be reduced to mere commercial items.<sup>97</sup> In practice this does not seem to have been the case, and it is likely that many pieces, and especially smaller, votive statuettes, passed through the hands of several intermediary traders as they made their way from Egypt to their final place of deposition in the Levant.<sup>98</sup> This dichotomy between foreign temple dedications acquired directly for temple use and those that took a more circuitous route via the markets has been observed for other instances of cross-cultural exchange as well.<sup>99</sup>

For the statues that were initially intended for use within Egypt, a pivotal question pertaining to the overall trajectory of the statue's life is how it came to be liberated from its original display location. This raises the question of what role looting might have played in the procurement of Egyptian statuary for dispatch to the Levant. The looting of Egyptian sites, and particularly tombs, has been the most commonly proposed solution to the interpretive problem of the presence of Egyptian statuary in the Levant, especially for private statuary.<sup>100</sup> While what can best be termed as tomb looting is amply documented in Egyptian sources, the relationship of looting to statue distribution remains unclear. Chief among these concerns is who would have been responsible for carrying out the looting and dispatch of Egyptian material culture objects to foreign lands. Some have advocated for a native Egyptian trade in what would have by that point been antiquated

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<sup>97</sup> Meskell 2004, 27.

<sup>98</sup> See below for further discussion. Such multi-cultural trade networks are described, for example, in a letter to Sargon II that explains: "The inhabitants of Bususu purchase Assyrian luxury items in Calah and Nineveh and sell them to these Kummeans. These Kummeans enter the town Aira of the house of Kaqqadanu... and bring (the merchandise) from there to Urartu. From over there they import luxury items here..." (Lanfanchi and Parpola 1990, 79–80 no. 100).

<sup>99</sup> See, for instance, Gunter's observations about Near Eastern materials in Greek contexts: "Many sanctuary dedications of foreign origin presumably reached their owners initially as trade goods or as 'casual imports' acquired in the course of commercial exchange. They may have been kept for a time as prized personal possessions, or heirlooms, and subsequently deposited as votives. Others were more likely brought as sacred objects, destined from the beginning for dedication or other sanctuary use rather than diverted from an overseas trading network" (2009, 146).

<sup>100</sup> See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

objects that were no longer deemed necessary to their original function.<sup>101</sup> Such action need not have been malicious or even planned. For example, it has been suggested that some materials had probably been in use at Abydos, and were later unearthed during the reign of Amenhotep III during a search for the tomb of Osiris.<sup>102</sup>

More frequently, the looting has been attributed to foreign rulers of Egypt, most commonly the Hyksos.<sup>103</sup> The motivations for such actions would have varied depending on the cultural affiliation of the foreign force and on the degree to which these non-native rulers became integrated into the Egyptian cultural system. This means that for rulers such as the Hyksos and Kushites who viewed themselves on some level as properly Egyptian rulers, the spread of Egyptian material culture objects to their ancestral homelands may not have been such a malicious act as is generally implied within scholarship. Nonetheless, it is difficult to escape the observation that, if they were responsible for the dispatch of Egyptian statuary abroad, they were not sending works representing themselves, but rather images of their forbears. On the other hand, the removal of statues (especially temple statues) from their proper contexts frequently served as a compelling manner of displaying an enemy's defeat on the parts of foreign conquerors.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> See, for instance, Pomerance's (albeit highly unlikely) suggestion that material discovered in Crete was looted during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and fenced by Egyptian high officials (1973; Phillips 1992, 183–86).

<sup>102</sup> Pomerance 1973, 29; Phillips 1992, 162.

<sup>103</sup> See, for instance, Kopetzky 2016, 157, who notes that objects originating from Middle Kingdom cemeteries are appearing in later phases at Tell el-Dab'a as well as in Byblian royal tombs. The Kushite rulers have also been put forth as the culprits in some cases of Egyptian objects in foreign contexts, particularly those found in Nubia (Gill and Padgham 2005, 54). For further discussion of the attribution of statue dispatch to the Hyksos, see Helck 1976; Ahrens 2011a; Ahrens 2011b.

<sup>104</sup> Note for instance the Assyrian practice of removing royal and divine statues to their homeland (Gunter 2009, 168–70). Particularly notable here is the discovery of statue bases inscribed for the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Taharqa (Simpson 1954; Jansen-Winkel 2009, 185 (no. 104)). For further discussion of this phenomenon, see the section on iconoclasm below.

The time lapse between the statue's manufacture and its dispatch to the Levant might also play a pivotal role. While a king might send a statue of himself to a foreign land as an act of diplomacy, or a private official traveling on business might choose to deposit a statue of himself in a foreign sanctuary, the motivation for sending statues to the Levant long after they had fulfilled their initial purpose in Egypt would have been quite different. Such would have been the case for the numerous Middle Kingdom statues posited to have been sent by Hyksos rulers to shore up relations in their homelands.

#### *4.2.4 – Non-Egyptian Display*

Once the statues arrived in a Levantine city, they had to be integrated into a foreign context. Because the movement of objects, and particularly costly ones like statues, across borders belongs almost exclusively to the realm of the elite, it is not surprising that Egyptian statues utilized in the Levant appear in elite-type contexts.<sup>105</sup> In the case of statues, these contexts usually had a religious function, although royal and domestic contexts are also attested. Except for in rare instances where statues have been re-inscribed or otherwise modified, assumptions about the display location for each statue must be made from their archaeological contexts.

The vast majority of the statues in this corpus had previously been used in native Egyptian contexts; this means that in most instances, this phase of the statue's life was secondary. However, the secondary nature of Levantine use need not have been the case in all instances.<sup>106</sup> It is clear, for instance, that some statues were locally manufactured or

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<sup>105</sup> e.g., "foreign objects tend to be concentrated in temples, palaces, high status houses and elite graves" (Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 229–30). But see Boschloos 2013, 216 for the caution that the import of Egyptian objects, such as scarabs, may not have been restricted to the elite.

<sup>106</sup> Examples of this were highlighted in Chapter 3.5.3 above. Particularly notable among them is the group of material from Beth Shean. While clearly made for local use, it must be borne in mind that these statues were set up in a temple environment that was, for all intents and purposes, Egyptian despite its geographic

modified for use in the Levant. Furthermore, statues given as diplomatic gifts or brought with Egyptians traveling to or living in the Levant may have been intended for use in a Levantine context from the time of their inception.

So what information about display and use can be gleaned from the archaeological contexts of the statues in this corpus? Unfortunately, many of the fragments come from insecure contexts. Omitting those finds for which a context type could either not be determined or was not provided, 16 statues come from palace-like environments, although such finds are restricted to only two sites, with 14 exemplars coming from Hazor and the remaining 2 from Qatna. Egyptian statues displayed in palace environments would have served not only a decorative purpose, but also as symbols of good diplomatic relations between local rulers and the Egyptian monarchy.<sup>107</sup> Much more prevalent are statues associated with religious structures of some kind, with 42 statues or statue fragments from the present corpus hailing from this type of context. Statues associated with temple structures also come from a wider array of sites, with Ugarit, Byblos, and Kamid el-Loz in the Northern Levant and Mizpe Yammim, Makmish, Megiddo, Petra, Beth Shean, and Pella in the Southern Levant being represented. The dedication of Egyptian statues would have presumably been votive in most instances, although a function as cult statues cannot be ruled out for some royal and divine examples.<sup>108</sup> In both palace and temple contexts, the vast majority of the statues can be dated to the Middle Kingdom, although their find contexts are usually significantly later.

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location. Thus the function of the Beth Shean statues is likely to have primarily conformed to contemporary practices in Egypt.

<sup>107</sup> Alternatively, in times of hostile relations they could have been displayed as symbols of a city's successful extraction from Egypt's grasp.

<sup>108</sup> The statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21), for instance, has been suggested to have served as a focal point for religious practice (Morris 2015b, 183).

The remaining context type of significance is domestic. A domestic context (or its environs) has been posited for 10 of the statues in the corpus. These pieces come from Ugarit in the north and Tell el-Ajjul, Gezer, Megiddo, and Ta'anek in the south. These statues always represent private individuals, and tend to be restricted to sculptures of smaller scale. These pieces could have served as treasured family heirlooms, or even populated small household ancestor shrines.

Our understanding of how Egyptian statues were utilized in Levantine contexts is almost exclusively dependent upon the characterization of their archaeological findspots. Unfortunately, this approach effectively erases any intermediate periods in the statue's history, when it may have fulfilled a different function in its new foreign context than that which it held when it ultimately fell out of use. For instance, in her study of scarabs from Kamid el-Loz, Boschloos concluded that pieces of contemporary date were often found in non-religious settings, while those found in later contexts than their dates of manufacture were more likely to be found in temples. This led her to posit "a 'hierarchy of power' (political vs. sacerdotal), in which Egyptian imports were firstly distributed among the ruling elite (discernable in the distribution of contemporary scarabs) and secondarily to the temple (as demonstrated by the 'heirlooms', but leaving open whether these were offered to the gods by the first group or the temple personnel)."<sup>109</sup>

In some rare instances, the integration of an Egyptian statue into a Levantine context can be discerned not only from its archaeological context, but also from the modification of the statue in the form of added inscriptional content.<sup>110</sup> Of the numerous statues in this corpus, three stand out in this regard: the statues of Sheshonq I (Cat. 67)

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<sup>109</sup> Boschloos 2013, 217.

<sup>110</sup> See also the discussion of statues with seemingly locally influenced inscriptions above.



and Osorkon I (Cats. 68-75) from Byblos and the fragmentary statue discovered at Kerak (Cat. 20). All three bear additional royal inscriptions, the former two in Phoenician and the latter in Moabite. In each instance, the new inscription identifies the statue as a temple dedication made by the local ruler. Such additions would have served a performative role not only at the point in time when the statue was dedicated to the local deity on the local ruler's behalf, but also subsequently, when the added inscription implied dominance over the Egyptian entity depicted, if not Egypt itself.<sup>111</sup> Also of note here is the Osirophorous statue from Tyre (Cat. 58), which bears inscriptions in Latin and Greek clarifying the nature of the figures represented in the statue, apparently for an audience unfamiliar with Egyptian iconography, or at the very least statue types.

In this light, a consideration of inscriptional content in general should be made. It seems that, at least in most cases, the content of the original Egyptian inscriptions was unknown to the people reusing the statues, or at least of little import. This seems particularly clear given the inscription on the back of the statue of Osorkon II from Byblos (Cat. 76), which describes the king as one “who makes every foreign land as that which does not exist,” a sentiment that is unlikely to have been popular among the peoples of one of those very foreign lands. Furthermore, it is worth noting that no evidence of the deliberate removal of or damage to hieroglyphic inscriptions on the statues in this corpus.

#### *4.2.5 – Destruction and Burial*

Another defining stage in the life of a stone statue is its destruction and ultimate burial. At some point in their histories, most of the statues in this corpus suffered damage,

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<sup>111</sup> For the performative aspect of additional inscriptions, see May 2012, 13.

sometimes to quite an extensive degree. Indeed, of the 137 statue fragments that could be evaluated on this criterion, only 8 (6%) remain intact.<sup>112</sup> Conversely, 51 of the fragments (37%) preserve 25% or less of the original statue to which they belonged.<sup>113</sup> It is presumed that the statues were intact when they arrived in the Levant, although the shipment of statue fragments from Egypt cannot be conclusively ruled out. In fact, in some cases, it seems that a fragmentary statue was perceived to be just as functional, if not more so, than a complete work. A prime example of this is the Osirophorous statue from Petra (Cat. 19) that is damaged such that little more than the image of Osiris remains. Despite these imperfections, it was still displayed in a temple sanctuary when the building succumbed to an earthquake.

The breakage of statues could be either accidental or deliberate, and it is almost certain that examples of both causes are present in the Egyptian statuary corpus from the Levant. In most cases it is difficult to pinpoint what caused a statue to be broken into multiple pieces.<sup>114</sup> Iconoclasm (the deliberate breaking or damage of images) remained a pervasive threat for many works of Egyptian sculpture, but was even more acute for those works residing outside of Egyptian borders.<sup>115</sup> This could particularly be the case in periods when relations between the Levantine city-states and Egypt had degraded to the point of hostility. Indeed, it has often been argued that the sole motivation for iconoclasm within the wider Near Eastern context was political in nature.<sup>116</sup> Such motivations for the

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<sup>112</sup> Seven fragments (Cats. 5, 18, 112, 113, 120, 126, 130) could not be evaluated because their current locations are unknown and sufficient images of them have not been published.

<sup>113</sup> Based upon my estimations of statue completeness, 38 works (27%) preserve 25–50% of the complete statue, 20 (15%) preserve 50–75%, and 20 (15%) preserve 75% or more of the statue.

<sup>114</sup> Ben-Tor suggests that statues “broken accidentally or as a result of the ravages of time or extensive use,” as opposed to being deliberately destroyed are “as a rule, buried in temple *favissae*” (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 11). There is no evidence to suggest that this was always the case, however.

<sup>115</sup> For an overview of the practice of iconoclasm in ancient Near Eastern contexts, see May 2012.

<sup>116</sup> See, for example, A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 12; May 2012, 3, 11–12.

destruction of conquered peoples' statues are reflected both in textual and iconographic sources.<sup>117</sup>

The core motivator in the destruction of statues was control of power. This took two primary forms. On the one hand, a statue's destruction removed its power and influence over our world. This is particularly clear for the destruction of divine statues, which, once essentially killed, could no longer intercede in the human world on behalf of their worshippers. On the other hand, the iconoclast demonstrated his own power over the individual or culture being attacked merely by being able to access and destroy the statue, removing something that was not only monetarily, but ideologically important.<sup>118</sup>

As easily identifiable representations of a foreign culture, any statue in this corpus could have been intentionally destroyed simply on the merits of its Egyptian cultural affiliation as an act of rebellion. More specific motivations for statue destruction varied based upon whom or what the statue represented. In instances of inter-cultural contact, divine statues were a particular focus of iconoclasts in the ancient Near East, particularly at the hands of foreign invaders. Such motivations do not seem to be present in the stone Egyptian statuary corpus in the Levant. Royal statues were frequently targeted as a political statement, a motive that is almost certainly present in this corpus.<sup>119</sup> Attacks were also carried out on private statues. In Egypt, such attacks were usually tied to the identity of the person depicted. They not only jeopardized an individual's continued existence in the afterlife by severing his ties with this world, but also served as an attempt

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<sup>117</sup> This can be most notably seen in Sargon's relief showing the Musasir's defeat, including the destruction of one of its statues with axes (Botta 1849, pl. 140). Alternatively, the exile of statues, particularly divine statues, was also an option for subjugated groups (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 8–9; Cogan 1974, chap. 2).

<sup>118</sup> Gunter 2009, 170.

<sup>119</sup> This could be carried out domestically as well as in foreign contexts. Note, for example, the treatment of Hatshepsut's or Akhenaten's sculpture.

to erase memory of him.<sup>120</sup> In the case of the statues in the Levant, however, it seems highly unlikely that the local people would have known the identity of the person whose statue they were dismantling, as these were primarily long dead Egyptians of relatively low rank.<sup>121</sup>

Episodes of iconoclasm, as opposed to damage resulting from general wear-and-tear, can be identified by looking at the patterns of breakage. In addressing this, it should be borne in mind that statues in the ancient world were thought of as living, breathing, seeing beings. For this reason, the types of attacks that statues sustained often mirrored those that might be carried out on flesh-and-blood people. In fact, it has often been observed that the damage exacted on statues in cases of ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern iconoclasm mimics punishments meted out to criminals.<sup>122</sup> This meant that certain areas of the statue were attacked with more frequency than others. The head was particularly susceptible, either through its outright removal, or through damage to the face and ears. Limbs were also frequently removed, as were any symbols of power. The removal of text from a statue's surface was also an effective means of nullifying it, especially through the removal of the name, which could sever the statue's tie to a specific person or being.

The most effective way of incapacitating a statue through treatment of the image itself was through decapitation, or, if less drastic methods were to be used, destruction of facial features. That the removal of a statue's head was a real threat can be seen not only from the physical record, with numerous decapitated statues known from across the Near

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<sup>120</sup> For the use of *damnatio memoriae* in the ancient Near East, see May 2012, 5.

<sup>121</sup> An exception to this would be for statues of Egyptians who had lived in the city that housed the statue and may still be alive in the memory of descendants.

<sup>122</sup> Meskell 2004, 8–9; May 2012, 18.

East, but also from textual sources. Notably, in the Egyptian Opening of the Mouth ritual, the *sem*-priest (acting as the rightful heir of the statue's owner) asks in regard to the statue "Who strikes my father? Who grabs his head? ..." <sup>123</sup> Unfortunately, heads are also one of the portions of an anthropomorphic statue that is most susceptible to damage, by the very fact that it sticks up above the bulk of the work and is attached by a significantly thinner piece of stone, that is to say the neck. Of the 137 separate works treated in this study, 58 (42%) retain at least a portion of the head. <sup>124</sup> Of these, 4 preserve solely a portion of the wig or headdress, <sup>125</sup> 13 consist solely or primarily of a head, <sup>126</sup> 15 are busts, <sup>127</sup> and 22 are heads still connected to a larger statue. <sup>128</sup> The remaining 4 heads come from statues that have since been reassembled. <sup>129</sup> It is likely that in many of these instances, the head was deliberately removed with malicious intent; which cases those are, however, cannot be determined based upon the current evidence. Furthermore, other reasons for removing a statue head must also be considered. For example, some of these pieces were re-used as building stones, a function that would have been made more difficult with the projecting head still attached. It is also worth noting that, in at least one example, an attempt seems to have been made to replace a missing statue head, or at least reattach one that had been (perhaps inadvertently) knocked off (Cat. 24).

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<sup>123</sup> Bryan 2012, 366–67. For the practice of removing heads and damaging facial features within the Mesopotamian tradition, see May 2010.

<sup>124</sup> As in Chapter 3, the eight fragments of the Osorkon I statue (Cats. 68-75) are treated as a single work for the purposes of statistical analysis. It should be noted that for six fragments (Cats. 5, 18, 112, 120, 126, 130) too little has been published to determine what parts of the body were still preserved at the time of discovery.

<sup>125</sup> Cats. 39, 45, 60, 77.

<sup>126</sup> Cats. 4, 11, 17, 24, 36, 57, 63, 64, 65, 107, 108, 127, 128.

<sup>127</sup> Cats. 2, 3, 10, 12, 29, 34, 62, 66, 105, 107, 109, 110, 132, 137, 143. The term bust is here used for purposes of classification to refer to statues that retain at least some of the head and torso, but none of the lower body.

<sup>128</sup> Cats. 1, 14, 15, 23, 30, 35, 61, 81, 84, 85, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 102, 123, 125, 141.

<sup>129</sup> Cats. 21, 68, 135, 136.

Limbs were also frequent targets of iconoclasts.<sup>130</sup> The removal of hands, arms, legs and feet does not seem to have been a primary focus for the fragmentary statues in this corpus, however. In most instances where the limbs are missing, their loss can just as easily be attributed to natural breaks in the statue (e.g., busts are missing the lower arms, but the entire lower portion of the statue along with them) that could have occurred either deliberately or accidentally. Exceptions to this primarily come from the site of Hazor, where arms have been carefully chiseled off of what were probably once royal statues (Cats. 41 and 42).<sup>131</sup> In other examples, such as with sphinxes whose forepaws have been removed (Cats. 38, 140), we are again posed with the question of whether the damage served a more magical or practical purpose, facilitating the stone's reuse as a building block.

Yet another component of statues customarily damaged in iconoclastic attacks are symbols of power.<sup>132</sup> Such attacks were generally carried out on divine and royal statuary, removing important symbols such as crowns, divine emblems and other accouterments. For example, initial attacks on the statuary of Hatshepsut removed the uraeus from her brow, denying her a potent symbol of kingship, but also removing the fiery serpent's protection from her.<sup>133</sup> Although many statues in this corpus bear divine or royal regalia, no concerted effort to remove these markers of power has been discerned.

The removal or modification of textual content from the surface of statues was another methodology commonly used for their neutralization. This was particularly true for the removal of names – if a statue was no longer equated with a particular individual,

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<sup>130</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b.

<sup>131</sup> A. Ben-Tor 2006b.

<sup>132</sup> May 2012, 17–18.

<sup>133</sup> Dorothea Arnold 2005; Bryan 2012, 366.

it would no longer be of benefit to them. None of the statues in the Levantine corpus seem to have suffered from such treatment, however, at least so far as they are preserved. Indeed, even when the statues are taken over by foreign rulers through the addition of inscriptions, the names of the statue's previous owner are left in tact.<sup>134</sup>

When a statue is broken (either through deliberate action or happenstance) or merely falls out of use, it has the potential to undergo a shift in value once again. No longer a desired work of art emblematic of a foreign culture, esteemed ancestors, and/or powerful gods and kings, it might be repurposed or transferred from the realm of usable objects to that of waste. The decrease in value and the reclassification of the statue are not unrelated concepts; as Jervis observes, "...things do not become valueless because they are waste, or indeed become waste because they are valueless; rather, through this process of transition they lose value and become recategorized as waste simultaneously."<sup>135</sup> In the case of ancient objects, including statues, a closely related phenomenon to this reclassification is burial.

Burial is a method for getting rid of statues that are either no longer functional or no longer desired; this can be concomitant with destruction, or happen without the intermediate step of destruction. It is at this point that most statues enter the archaeological record, oftentimes experiencing a prolonged period of disuse. Although the result of burial (namely the removal of the statue from view) is the same in all cases, motivations behind the action can be varied, and are often difficult to extricate from the

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<sup>134</sup> Such was the case with the Sheshonq I statue base (Cat. 67) and the fragments inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 68 and 69) from Byblos.

<sup>135</sup> Jervis 2014, 184.

archaeological record.<sup>136</sup> This is particularly true of statues used and subsequently buried in ritualized environments; are they, in their damaged states, “buried out of respect because they are sacral, or out of disdain because they have lost some efficacy?”<sup>137</sup> In instances of iconoclasm, the act might be the final step in erasing the memory of the person or ideology represented by the statue, with the burial itself serving as “a medium for forgetting.”<sup>138</sup> Burial could also be a method for ensuring that statues, and by extension the entity that they represented, could not be reassembled and thus resurrected. Viewed in this light, it is important to note that, while nearly all of the statues in this corpus were found broken, almost none were found with all of components of the statue buried together.<sup>139</sup> On the one hand, this could merely be the result of them having turned into rubbish, with refuse getting moved to different parts of a site. The separation of pieces may have a more deliberate motivation, however. For instance, Faraone, in a study of Greek statues, pondered whether fragments of the same work buried in different tombs might reflect an apotropaic action against the statues possible revival.<sup>140</sup>

Several examples of the deliberate burial of ritualized statues within a temple environment exist within native Egyptian contexts. Most notable among these are the famous Karnak Cachette,<sup>141</sup> which included some 750 works of stone statuary, and a smaller yet important cache of statues and ritual objects discovered at the nearby Luxor

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<sup>136</sup> Indeed in many cases it is likely that deliberate burial of a statue or fragment never took place, with the works buried states merely being the result of the accumulation of soil following the abandonment of structures that the statues were in, etc.

<sup>137</sup> Lewis 2005, 102. When destruction happened unintentionally, one would perhaps expect all pieces of a statue to be buried together, but this is not always the case.

<sup>138</sup> Jervis 2014, 187.

<sup>139</sup> The Beth Shean statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 21) is an exception to this. The sphinx of Ita (Cat. 135) was also reassembled from the pieces recovered at Qatna, but several fragments remain missing and the piece was heavily restored.

<sup>140</sup> Faraone 1991, 195–96; Gunter 2009, 142.

<sup>141</sup> PM II: 136-67; <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/>.



temple.<sup>142</sup> These intentional deposits of cultic statuary and other implements, often referred to as caches or *favissae*, derive from a need to clean out temple space that had become overcrowded while acknowledging the sacred significance of the objects in question. This practice of burial simultaneously removed the need to provide for the statues as part of the regular cult.<sup>143</sup> While the use of *favissae* is attested from Levantine contexts, the works in the present study do not seem to have been incorporated into such temple caches, with the possible exception of the Egyptian statuary excavated at Megiddo.<sup>144</sup> Also of interest is a fragmentary private statue from Pella (Cat. 26), which was placed among votive offering deposits in a temple structure.

The burial of the majority of the statues in this corpus seems to have been less systematic. Some of the statues clearly entered the ground in the very place where they had been used for some time when the structure they were in fell out of use.<sup>145</sup> The manner in which others entered the archaeological is more difficult to ascertain, although most are assumed to have at least remained near the structures in which they had previously been utilized. This is not to say that the action of burying the statues was not of significance to the value of the statues and their meaning within society. This change in value can be either incidental or deliberate.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> El-Saghir 1996.

<sup>143</sup> Bryan 2012, 369.

<sup>144</sup> These works were all broken before being used as fill in a later temple structure, although it is unclear whether the damage was intentional or just the result of prolonged use. For further discussion see Chapter 2.1.7.2. For statue burial in the Levant, see A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 9–11, with further references.

<sup>145</sup> This was the case, for instance, with the Osirophorous statue from Petra (Cat. 19) that remained in the rubble of the Temple of the Winged Lions when it was destroyed by earthquake. Likewise, the statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21) seems to have been buried more-or-less where it had been displayed.

<sup>146</sup> Pollard 2001, 316.

#### 4.2.6 – *Afterlife: Perpetual Discovery, Reuse, and Museum Display*

The biographies of the statues under study here did not come to an end during antiquity when they passed away from public view. Even long after they have fallen out of initial use (and perhaps been destroyed and/or buried) statues and statuary fragments can continue to accumulate new uses and meanings as different people come into contact with them. In object-biographical approaches to artifacts, this period is sometimes referred to as an object's afterlife. The statues in this corpus have experienced diverse afterlives, in many cases being rediscovered, repurposed, and forgotten cyclically over a period of millennia. Oftentimes, the statue's origin as an Egyptian work of art had no bearing on its function or value in this phase of its history.<sup>147</sup> At others, perhaps undue emphasis is placed on the Egyptian character of the statue, as evidenced by the prominent featuring of Egyptian statues in scholarly publications and museum displays.

The circumstances under which statues and statues fragments are retrieved from the archaeological record can also shape their afterlives. Reported finds appear in two main ways: through deliberate excavation (either scientific or clandestine) or chance discovery (often by local inhabitants). Chance surface finds form part of the latter category. Their seemingly haphazard appearance suggests that they have been repeatedly discovered, picked up, admired, perhaps reused in a new way or carried some distance and then dropped, only to have the process repeated again later over a span of millennia.<sup>148</sup> For works found as unintentional surface finds or in clearly disturbed

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<sup>147</sup> e.g., when statues are reused as building stones.

<sup>148</sup> This happens with many different types of artifacts, but is probably particularly pertinent to statuary, which possess an easily recognizable form while still being a curiosity owing to its antiquity and/or alien cultural context.

contexts, such as the royal statue from Ashdod (Cat. 6) or the divine statue discovered in Jerusalem (Cat. 13), movement within the region after the statues had once again fallen out of use must also be considered.<sup>149</sup> This raises the question of whether the find locales of some of the objects have any relation to how and where they were used during antiquity.<sup>150</sup> Because local inhabitants are often aware of the presence of ancient sites, these areas are sometimes searched specifically in the hope of uncovering valuable antiquities.<sup>151</sup> Everyday activities can also reveal ancient objects. This is the case, for instance, with the sphinx of Amenemhat IV from Beirut (Cat. 61), the private statue from Jo‘ara (Cat. 34), or the torso fragment from Kerak (Cat. 20), all of which were reportedly discovered during the course of modern building projects.

After they have fallen out of use, artifacts (including statues) can also be repurposed in new and innovative ways. This reuse can take a variety of forms, and is often “motivated by factors other than the object’s practical function or material value.”<sup>152</sup> For instance, children who chance upon ancient objects often reinvent them into toys, as could certainly be possible for some of the smaller works in this study.<sup>153</sup> For the statues in this corpus, transformation into building materials has been a frequent method of reuse, both in ancient and more modern times. This generally occurred after the statue had sustained significant damage, and in some cases likely happened following

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<sup>149</sup> Statues are also sometimes found as surface finds at or near the site they are likely to have been used in during antiquity. See for instance a fragmentary private statue from Tel Dan (Cat. 56) or numerous examples from Byblos.

<sup>150</sup> Such is the case, for instance, with a statue of Amun-Re dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (Brooklyn Museum 76.39). Because the earliest modern knowledge of the statue places it in Jerusalem, it is sometimes grouped with other Egyptian statues from the Levant, although it is likely to have come to the region at a much later date than the other statues in this corpus (Loukianoff 1931; M. Müller 1980; Fazzini 1989).

<sup>151</sup> Planned archaeological expeditions frequently also choose known inhabitations in the hopes of making spectacular finds.

<sup>152</sup> Eckardt and Williams 2003, 142.

<sup>153</sup> Zakrzewski, Shortland, and Rowland 2016, 293.

a sustained period of burial as well.<sup>154</sup> In fact, some statue fragments bear evidence of deliberate reshaping to facilitate their reuse as building resources.<sup>155</sup> As construction materials, prior statues are used in two main ways: incorporated into fill, or as stones in walls. In these instances the material nature of the stone from which the statue had been carved contributes more heavily to its new function than its previous cultural significance. In fact, it is likely that in many cases a statue's connection to its illustrious Egyptian past was no longer recognized by the persons coopting it for a new purpose, or at least deemed to be of no importance.<sup>156</sup>

Another value afforded to the statues in this corpus is that assigned to them at the point of their entry into modern consciousness, an event which is equated in most instances with their archaeological excavation. The special esteem granted to *aegyptiaca* (and Egyptian statues in particular) in excavation reports and other material culture studies reflects this continued bias towards the foreign and exotic.<sup>157</sup> Oftentimes, undue emphasis is placed on the discovery of Egyptian objects in relation to local items. The risks of this practice are clearly demonstrated by the misleading effect that Egyptian artifacts (especially statues) had on reconstructions of the Levantine cultural sequence.<sup>158</sup> The particular interest in Egyptian objects in site reports and similar studies can also be a benefit to the reanalysis of early archaeological results in the region; the fact that the

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<sup>154</sup> It is not uncommon for objects, particularly those made of durable materials like stone, to be recovered either accidentally or deliberately from trash deposits in order to be reused in a new way (Eckardt and Williams 2003, 142).

<sup>155</sup> This is indicated by the unusually rectilinear shape of the statue fragments, e.g., the base of Sobeknefru's statue from Gezer (Cat. 16), the sphinx of Amenemhat III from Hazor (Cat. 38), and a private seated statue from Hazor (Cat. 44).

<sup>156</sup> Compare the case of Iberian statues that were reused to create Roman identity and subsequently repurposed for different uses, including as building materials, once it had become widespread (Rodríguez-Corral 2013).

<sup>157</sup> One need look no further than the title of Montet's publication of his excavation results at Byblos: *Byblos et l'Égypte*.

<sup>158</sup> See Chapter 1.2.3.

inclusion of Egyptian objects, and particularly Egyptian sculpture, was rarely overlooked in reports when compared, with more quotidian objects like pottery, makes this a useful corpus to study.

Even after their initial excavation, ancient artworks continue to take on new meanings and functions. The widespread modern interest in Egyptian material culture objects also lends to a bias towards Egyptian objects in museum displays. In relation to the corpus presently under discussion, this can particularly be seen in the display of the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem, which dedicates an entire exhibition room to Egyptian objects recovered from Israeli sites, including the statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21) and several pieces excavated at Tell el-Ajjul.<sup>159</sup> In such instances, it is often the sense of rich and varied history that makes such objects of interest for display. Interestingly, the very concept of the object biography can be used to influence the manner in which an object is treated within a museum collection, and especially how its meaning and value is conveyed to the visitor.<sup>160</sup> As Meskell notes, "Ancient objects and collections possess an heirloom quality, albeit not of our own direct ancestors or lineage. They are inscribed with someone else's memory and genealogy, of the numerous hands that touched or held a piece. That embodied connection serves as a temporal linkage and a recollection of our shared humanity."<sup>161</sup> Despite this modern interest, the statues and statue fragments in this study do not all have the same life path in present times. Some remain relegated to museum storage facilities where their presence has gone unremarked for decades, while others are stored in excavation magazines. Still

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<sup>159</sup> Cats. 1 and 2 from Tell el-Ajjul are displayed together with Cat. 29 from Megiddo. See also the Israel Museum's 2016 special exhibition "Pharaoh in Canaan: The Untold Story."

<sup>160</sup> Monti and Keene 2013, 75–76.

<sup>161</sup> Meskell 2004, 191.

others have once again passed into the realm of the unknown, to hopefully be re-discovered again in the future.<sup>162</sup>

### 4.3 – Case Studies

Having now considered the various nodes of life events in the history of Egyptian statues in the Levant from an abstract perspective, how can we apply this to specific works within the corpus? While too little is known about the histories of many of the pieces in this corpus for such an exercise to be beneficial, in certain cases with firmer documentation it is possible to reconstruct a hypothetical biography. An attempt to narrate the histories will therefore be made for the Middle Kingdom private statue of Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28), the New Kingdom royal statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 21), the Third Intermediate Period statues of Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) and Osorkon I (Cats. 68-75), and the Middle Kingdom sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61). While the life-histories for these objects proposed here remain just one of a number of possible paths that these objects took, their diversity provides a sense of just how complicated the task of tracing the movement of statues from Egypt to the Levant over the course of millennia is.

#### 4.3.1 – *Statue of Djehutyhotep from Megiddo (Cat. 28)*

The first statue to be considered is that of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28), which dates to the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and was recovered from a Late Bronze context. Despite potential reference to a foreign manifestation of Khnum, it is probable that the statue was created for use in Egypt, likely in Djehutyhotep's mortuary chapel at Deir el-Bersha. At some later point in its history, the statue was liberated from its primary display location. The motivations and actors involved in this process are unknown, although Hyksos rulers

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<sup>162</sup> As is the case, for instance, with Cat. 5 from Ashkelon, as well as numerous works from Byblos.

have previously been suggested as culprits in the looting of Middle Kingdom private statuary more generally. In any case, the findspot of the statue in a temple complex suggests that it was presented there at some time after its arrival in Megiddo. How the statue would have been utilized in its new setting is unknown, although the discovery of other Egyptian statues of similar date in related contexts suggests that a group of Egyptian material may have been displayed together. At some point the top half of the statue was knocked off or removed, leaving only the lap, legs, and base of the statue. The statue's new, rectilinear shape facilitated its reuse as a building block in a later phase of the temple structure. There it remained until it was excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition to Megiddo in April 1936. The identification of the statue's owner with the famous nomarch of the Hare Nome immediately added to the celebrity of the work, and it quickly started to serve as a chronological anchor point (however erroneously) in the reconstruction of Bronze Age chronology for the southern Levant. The statue remains were subsequently removed even further from their initial contexts, coming to the United States where they were set up in the Oriental Museum's display of Levantine cultural remains in Chicago. Thus the statue progressed from representing one of the most powerful private individuals of the Middle Kingdom, to being relegated to use as building material in a foreign religious structure, and ultimately joining several artifacts of different types used to educate 21<sup>st</sup> century museum visitors about interconnections between Egypt and the Levant during antiquity.

#### *4.3.2 – Statue of Djehuty from Byblos(?) (Cat. 142)*

An entirely different type of life history is suggested for another private statue, that depicting the Overseer of Northern Foreign Countries Djehuty (Cat. 142). Because

the details of this statue's modern history remain murky, reconstruction of its trajectory relies heavily on textual sources. The importance of Djehuty during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty reign of Thutmose III is well established from Egyptian historical and literary sources, which emphasize the role he played in the king's incursions into the Levant.<sup>163</sup> It was likely during one of these trips to the region on behalf of his sovereign that Djehuty had a statue of himself placed in the temple of Hathor at Byblos. The statue portrays him in the guise of a scribe composing an autobiographical statement on the tax collecting duties that he fulfilled in the region. Use of the statue in Byblos is suggested by the apparent reference to Hathor of Byblos in this inscription. Its display in a temple is further suggested by the form that the statue takes, as scribal statues of high officials were frequently placed in Egyptian temples during the New Kingdom. At some point after he set his statue up in the temple as an eternal monument to his efficacy in carrying out the duties of the Crown in foreign lands, the statue was broken and fell out of use. It was subsequently rediscovered in modern times, probably in the 1960s, although the circumstances of the discovery remain unclear. After residing for a time in a private collection, it was ultimately purchased at auction by the British Museum where it remains today.

#### 4.3.3 – *Statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean (Cat. 21)*

The statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean stands out because it is one of the few statues in this corpus that was clearly manufactured in the Levant rather than produced in Egypt and then subsequently moved. The statue, which incorporates contemporary Egyptian iconographical elements (e.g., the king's wig), was produced by

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<sup>163</sup> e.g., in the *Taking of Joppa* (Wente 2003a).



artisans familiar with the Egyptian tradition, but not trained to the same high level as would be expected of men producing royal statues back home in Egypt. This commission was almost certainly carried out at the behest of the Egyptian government. The statue is made of locally procurable basalt that was used for the production of several Egyptian monuments during the Ramesside period, including stelae. Although the original emplacement of the statue is debated, it ultimately came to be displayed against a wall in a temple courtyard adorned with other Egyptian monuments, including stelae of Seti I and Ramesses II.<sup>164</sup> While the function of this courtyard remains unclear, it has been suggested that the statue acted as a recipient of taxes and tribute owed to the Egyptian government by the local inhabitants.<sup>165</sup> Such a use for royal Ramesside statuary, and that of Ramesses III in particular, can be found in pHarris I, which states that the foreigners of Retjenu brought their *inw*-offerings to a statue called “Amun of Ramesses, ruler of Heliopolis, l.p.h., in the Canaan” that was resident in Djahy.<sup>166</sup> At some point (probably in the Iron Age IB/IIA) the statue was broken in half at the waist, a naturally weak point for statues of this type. It is unclear whether or not this action was deliberate; Yannai’s suggestion that a saw was used to separate the upper and lower portions cannot be confirmed.<sup>167</sup> The life-size statue subsequently came to be buried where it had stood, remaining in the same location for millennia before it was excavated during the 1923 field season by the University of Pennsylvania expedition. The statue was ultimately moved to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, where it is the focal point of an

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<sup>164</sup> Based upon these finds the courtyard is sometimes referred to as the “stelae room.”

<sup>165</sup> Morris 2015b. It should be borne in mind that Beth Shean was a highly Egyptianized city at this time.

<sup>166</sup> For further discussion of this passage, see Chapter 1. Also of note are Ramesses II’s reference to his statue in Dapur (*KRI* II: 174.13-14; *RITA* II: 47) and another statue of Ramesses III excavated in Byblos (Cat. 66).

<sup>167</sup> Yannai 1996, 188.

exhibition room dedicated to the topic of Egyptians in Canaan.<sup>168</sup> Its important scholarly role in the illustration of Egyptian presence in the Levant is further evidenced by a replica of the statue displayed at Beth Shean, which is now a national park and tourist destination.

#### 4.3.4 – *Statues of Sheshonq I and Osorkon I from Byblos (Cats. 67-75)*

Like the statue of Ramesses III, the statues of Sheshonq I and Osorkon I from Byblos provide examples of the use of Egyptian royal statuary in a Levantine context, although their experiences seem to have been altogether different. The origins of both statues remain murky, in part due to their incredibly fragmentary natures. That they were manufactured in Egypt is evident from the type of stone used, especially the quartzite utilized by Osorkon, as well as the high level of craftsmanship. When they were carved is more difficult to ascertain; while both could be original works of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, it is more likely, given the practices of the time, that one or both has been re-carved from an earlier, possibly Ramesside work.<sup>169</sup> It is tempting to posit a previous use for both statues in the 22<sup>nd</sup>-Dynasty capital of Bubastis, but without additional evidence this remains conjecture. The statues ultimately made their ways to Byblos, probably during the 10<sup>th</sup>-century BCE reigns of Abiba'al and Eliba'al. Given the importance of Byblos as a maritime port, shipment via sea is most probable. Who instigated the movement is less clear. At some point after the statues arrived in Byblos, new inscriptions in Phoenician were added to their surfaces. These inscriptions make unambiguous claims on the parts of

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<sup>168</sup> The statue was also prominently featured in a recent special exhibition at the Israel Museum.

<sup>169</sup> In this case, an origin in Pi-Ramesses is possible.

the Byblian rulers that it was they who procured the statues.<sup>170</sup> Clear interest on the parts of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty kings to reassert influence in the Levant, perhaps in an attempt to return to the glory days of the New Kingdom empire, suggests that this was not the case, however.<sup>171</sup> For one, it is difficult to imagine a scenario in which a ruler of Byblos would be able to remove an Egyptian statue of a roughly contemporary ruler from Egyptian soil without the king's consent, let alone for two rulers to have done such. Thus the statues must have been sent to Byblos by the pharaonic rulers that they claim to represent with the intention of carrying on the millennia-long tradition of Egyptian rulers presenting offerings in the temple of Ba'alat (Hathor). This would seem to indicate the implementation of a new tradition, with Sheshonq I sending a statue, followed by his son doing the same thing.<sup>172</sup> After being dedicated in the temple (perhaps twice, first on behalf of the Egyptians and subsequently for the rulers of Byblos), both statues came to be broken quite severely, after which they were scattered about the surface of the site. The nature of many of the fragments' discoveries is unknown, since some were found before formal excavations were carried out at the site. They made their ways through various collections, entering into a cycle of loss and rediscovery that continues to this day; while the primary sections have been located in the Louvre and the Vorderasiatisches Museum, the whereabouts of smaller fragments remain unknown.

#### 4.3.5 – *Sphinx of Amenemhat IV from Beirut (Cat. 61)*

Another pathway from Egypt to the Levant for a pharaonic statue can be seen in the circuitous route seemingly taken by the sphinx of Amenemhat IV discovered in

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<sup>170</sup> It is interesting to note that while Abiba'al claims to have brought Sheshonq I's statue from Egypt, Eliba'al asserts that he made the statue also inscribed for Osorkon I.

<sup>171</sup> As evidenced by the Bubastite portal at Karnak and Sheshonq I's Megiddo stela.

<sup>172</sup> That this continued is suggested by the discovery of a fragmentary statue of Osorkon II at Byblos as well (Cat. 76).

Beirut. The statue was made of gneiss, a rare but beautiful stone that the Egyptians mined in Upper Nubia.<sup>173</sup> As was discussed in Chapter 2, the invocation of Atum, Lord of Heliopolis in the hieroglyphic inscription on the front of the statue, combined with the prevalence of sphinxes in Heliopolis suggests that the statue was originally conceived of for use in the temple of that city. Sometime after its initial 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty use in Heliopolis, the statue likely made its way northward, where it was repurposed. This is suggested by the large quantities of materials from the Heliopolis temple that have been unearthed in the region of Alexandria, as well as the clear Late/Graeco-Roman Period reworking of the statue. At some later point, the statue made its way from the Nile Delta to the Phoenician coast, most probably via a sea voyage. When this occurred and at who's behest will forever remain unknown. Particularly interesting to consider in this regard is whether or not the people setting the statue up in Beirut were aware of its antiquity. Likewise, the environment in which the statue was ultimately used in Beirut is unknown, since the statue was found in unstratified contexts outside of formalized archaeological investigations. In any case, it remained buried until it was discovered during construction work in 1926, whereupon it became detached from its Levantine context almost immediately. Once Dunand re-associated the statue, now in the British Museum, with its origin in Beirut it joined the ranks of several statues frequently held up as examples of Egyptian sculpture in foreign contexts. And in fact it is often cited as one of the numerous pieces of Middle Kingdom royal sculpture from Levantine contexts, although

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<sup>173</sup> Shaw 2000a; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 323–25.

there is little doubt that this piece arrived there long after the reign of Amenemhat IV had come to an end.<sup>174</sup>

#### **4.4 – Conclusion**

This chapter has traced the histories of Egyptian statues in the Levant through the millennia from production through multiple stages of consumption. In doing so it has considered many (though certainly not all) of the complex reasons these ancient works of art would have been desired within this foreign cultural contexts. Through the construction of an idealized object biography for this corpus of material, significant stages in the “life” of a statue have been examined in detail, considering how the objects themselves as well as their archaeological contexts can inform us about their trajectories. The clear conclusion is that ancient Egyptian statues were used in the Levant for varied reasons, having taken a diversity of paths to get there.

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<sup>174</sup> e.g., Thalmann 1999, 112. The date of dispatch for other Middle Kingdom statues is more difficult to ascertain. Some studies even cite the Amenemhat IV sphinx from Beirut as evidence for Middle Kingdom connections with the Levant e.g., W. S. Smith 1965, 14–15.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

As evidence of international interconnections during antiquity, Egyptian objects found in foreign contexts (*aegyptiaca*) are often highlighted in archaeological reports and other scholarship. However, because they fall into an academic gray-area, being culturally Egyptian but archaeologically something else, they often remain understudied. This dissertation has endeavored to remedy this situation for a distinct subset of this material: ancient Egyptian stone statuary found in Levantine contexts.

The corpus of material studied is comprised of 144 Egyptian statues or statuary fragments with provenances in either the northern or southern Levant. Although most had been at least summarily published previously, their collection and analysis in a single source had never before been undertaken, with the result that the full size of this body of material has remained unknown by scholars in the two primary academic fields that it is of interest to, namely Egyptology and Near Eastern/Levantine archaeology. Consideration of the material using an object-biographical approach further illuminated patterns in the dispatch and use of statues in the Levant, while also revealing the true diversity of avenues through which statues came to be used in Levantine contexts.

An obvious outgrowth of this project will be to expand the geographic area considered, looking at Egyptian statues found in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, Nubia, and the Sinai to establish whether or not the distribution patterns identified in this dissertation are applicable on a broader scale. Narrower studies examining discrete assemblages within the corpus of foreign-found Egyptian statues will also prove to be informative. For example, one intriguing subgroup that emerged in this dissertation is that

of statues that were produced or modified in the Levant in accordance with Egyptian artistic standards, admittedly to varying degrees of success. A future avenue of research in this regard is to enlarge the scope of foreign-produced Egyptian works to include other aspects of stone sculpture, including monumental stelae and architectural elements, to explore how artists completed commissions for sculpture outside of Egypt and what degree of training in traditional Egyptian methods they may have had. It would be particularly interesting to compare the body of material from the Levant with that from Nubia to determine if a unified methodology was employed in creating Egyptian artworks outside of Egypt's borders.

For the ancient peoples that created and used them, statues could take on layered meanings even more so than other classes of objects because they were understood to have the ability to act in both the earthly realm and the next as manifestations of the entities they represent.<sup>1</sup> These evolving connotations are reflected in both continuity and change in the use and distribution of Egyptian statues in the Levant (e.g., with typological preferences or manner of arrival) over millennia. By expanding on the knowledge of the source material, this dissertation contributes to a growing conversation about *aegyptiaca* in the Levant. In this case, by understanding the various trajectories that brought statuary outside of Egypt, we gain a better understanding of the evolving interactions at play across borders in antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup> For the “agentification” of Egyptian objects, and statues in particular, see Meskell 2004.

**APPENDIX I**  
**INDEX OF OBJECTS**

<b>Cat. Number</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Page Number</b>
1	Block Statue of Khentiuka	Tell el-Ajjul	50
2	Upper part of a female statuette	Tell el-Ajjul	54
3	Upper part of a male statuette	Tell el-Ajjul	56
4	Head from a male statuette	Tell el-Ajjul	57
5	Statue Fragment with Hieroglyphic Inscription	Ashkelon	67
6	Hand of a royal statue	Between Tel Ashdod & Tel Mor	70
7	Statue of a New Kingdom Official	Jaffa	79
8	Statuette of a Nursing Goddess	Makmish	82
9	Statuette of Osiris	Tulul Mas'ud	85
10	Statue of a Royal Woman	Jerusalem	89
11	Head of a Male Statue	Jerusalem	92
12	Upper Portion of a Male Statue	Jerusalem	94
13	Lower Portion of a Seated Statuette	Jerusalem	97
14	Statuette of Heqaib	Gezer	105
15	Male Block Statue	Gezer	107
16	Base of a Statuette of Princess Sobeknefru	Gezer	109
17	Statuette Head	Gezer	110
18	Lower Part of the Statue of the <i>ḥnḥ-n-niwt</i> Dedumun	Gezer	111
19	Osirophorous Statue	Petra	117
20	Moabite-inscribed Torso Fragment	Kerak	124
21	Statue of Ramesses III	Beth Shean	129
22	Fragment of a Standard-Bearing Statue	Beth Shean	135
23	Falcon Statue	Beth Shean	136
24	Head of a Male Statuette	Beth Shean	138
25	Base of a Striding Statuette	Pella	147
26	Lower Portion of a Male Statue in an Asymmetrically-Seated Pose	Pella	148
27	Lower Portion of a Male Statue	Tell Ta'anek	151
28	Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of the Nomarch Djehutyhotep	Megiddo	158
29	Upper Portion of a Female Statue	Megiddo	166
30	Upper Portion of a Male Statuette	Megiddo	169
31	Torso of a Male Statue	Megiddo	170
32	Feet and Base of Statuette	Megiddo	172
33	Royal Statue Fragment	Megiddo	173
34	Upper Portion of Male Statue	Jo'ara	181



35	Statuette of the Abydene Triad	Mizpe Yammim	185
36	Head of a Royal Statue	Hazor	190
37	Paws and Base of a Sphinx Inscribed for Menkaure	Hazor	193
38	Sphinx of Amenemhat III	Hazor	195
39	Fragment of a Statue Head with Sidelock	Hazor	197
40	Fragment of a high official's statue	Hazor	198
41	Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure	Hazor	201
42	Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure	Hazor	202
43	Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure	Hazor	203
44	Lower Portion of a Seated Male Statue	Hazor	204
45	Back of a Statue's Striated Wig	Hazor	208
46	Leg of a Male Striding Statue	Hazor	208
47	Feet and Base of a Seated Statue	Hazor	209
48	Right Foot of a Statue	Hazor	210
49	Left Hand of a Statue	Hazor	211
50	Paw of a lion or sphinx	Hazor	211
51	Paw of a lion or sphinx	Hazor	211
52	Paw of a lion or sphinx	Hazor	212
53	Unidentified sculptural fragment	Hazor	214
54	Unidentified Sculptural Fragment	Hazor	215
55	Statue of the <i>wab</i> -priest Nefertem	Tel Dan	224
56	Fragment of a Seated Statue	Tel Dan	226
57	Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx	Tyre	237
58	Osirophorous Statue	Tyre	238
59	Kneeling Statue Fragment	Tyre	241
60	Head with Wig of a Healing Statue	Adlun	245
61	Sphinx of Amenemhat IV	Beirut	250
62	Upper Portion of a Statue of Niuserre	Byblos	256
63	Head of a Middle Kingdom King	Byblos	258
64	Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx	Byblos	259
65	Head of a Female Sphinx	Byblos	260
66	Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III	Byblos	261
67	Throne Inscribed for Sheshonq I	Byblos	263
68	Upper Portion of a Statue of Osorkon I	Byblos	266
69	Arm Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon I	Byblos	268
70	Elbow Fragment	Byblos	269
71	Belt Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon	Byblos	269
72	Fragment of shendyt-kilt Inscribed for Osorkon	Byblos	271
73	Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back	Byblos	272
74	Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back(?)	Byblos	274
75	Partial Statue Base Inscribed for Osorkon I	Byblos	275
76	Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of Osorkon II	Byblos	278
77	Statue Head with the nemes-headress	Byblos	281

78	Shoulder Fragment with a nemes lappet	Byblos	281
79	Rear Portion of a Sphinx	Byblos	282
80	Rear Portion of a Sphinx or Lion	Byblos	283
81	Standing Male Wearing a Shendyt-Kilt	Byblos	283
82	Standing Male Wearing a Shendyt-Kilt	Byblos	284
83	Standing Male Wearing a Shendyt-Kilt	Byblos	285
84	Statuette of a Man Wearing a Striped Kilt	Byblos	286
85	Statuette of a Standing Male Re-inscribed for Harsiese	Byblos	287
86	Standing Statuette of a Male	Byblos	289
87	Statuette of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt	Byblos	292
88	Statue of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt	Byblos	292
89	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette(?)	Byblos	293
90	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette	Byblos	294
91	Lower Portion of a Standing Statue	Byblos	295
92	Osirophorous Statue of Nefersekhetep	Byblos	295
93	Pair Statuette of Two Standing Men	Byblos	297
94	Group Statue of a Man and Two Women	Byblos	298
95	Group Statuette with a Standing Woman in the Center	Byblos	300
96	Group or Pair Statue with a Standing Male	Byblos	301
97	Lower Portion of a Seated Statue(tte)	Byblos	302
98	Block Statuette	Byblos	303
99	Stamp Seal in the Form of a Block Statuette	Byblos	304
100	Lower Portion of a Block Statue Figurine	Byblos	305
101	Lower Portion of a Kneeling Naophorous(?) Statue	Byblos	305
102	Statue of a Scribe Seated Cross-legged	Byblos	307
103	Lower Portion of a Statue of a Man Seated Cross-legged	Byblos	309
104	Lower Portion of a Statue of a Kneeling Woman	Byblos	310
105	Upper Portion of a Male Statue	Byblos	311
106	Upper Portion of a Male Statue	Byblos	311
107	Head of a Male Statue	Byblos	312
108	Portion of the Head of a Male Statue	Byblos	313
109	Upper Portion of a Male Statuette	Byblos	314
110	Upper Portion of a Male Statue	Byblos	314

111	Statue Fragment Inscribed with an Epithet of Hathor	Byblos	315
112	Statue of Prehotep	Byblos	316
113	Five fragments from an Inscribed Statue	Byblos	317
114	Inscribed Sculptural Fragment	Byblos	318
115	Inscribed Sculptural Fragment	Byblos	319
116	Naophorous Statue of Wahibre-Sehedjtawy	Arwad	329
117	Block Statue with Inscribed Base	Plain of Tartus & Amrit	334
118	Sphinx of Amenemhat III	Ugarit	339
119	Fragmentary Sphinx	Ugarit	340
120	Fragments of a King's(?) Statue	Ugarit	342
121	Seated Statue of a Princess	Ugarit	343
122	Group Statue of Senwosretankh	Ugarit	346
123	Statuette of a Kneeling Man	Ugarit	350
124	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette	Ugarit	351
125	Statuette of a Seated Male	Ugarit	352
126	Priestly Statue	Ugarit	354
127	Head of a Male Statuette	Ugarit	354
128	Head of a Bald Male Statuette	Ugarit	355
129	Inscribed Statuette Base	Ugarit	356
130	Statuette of Ibi-iaw	Ugarit	358
131	Torso with Inscribed Back-Pillar	Ugarit	358
132	Upper Part of a Male Statue	Kamid el-Loz	365
133	Lower Portion of a Standing Statue of Sobekhotep IV	Tell Hizzin	369
134	Lower Portion of a Statue of the Nomarch Djefaihapi	Tell Hizzin	371
135	Sphinx of Princess Ita	Qatna	377
136	Fragments of a Kneeling King's Statue	Qatna	379
137	Upper Portion of a Male Statue	Qatna	380
138	Seated Statue of Anu	Qatna	383
139	Lower Portion and Base of a Block Statue	Unknown (Israel)	387
140	Sphinx of Amenemhat III	Unknown (Syria)	388
141	Upper Portion of a Female Statuette	Unknown (likely Qatna)	390
142	Lower Portion of Scribal Statue of Djehuty	Unknown (likely Byblos)	391
143	Upper Portion of a King's Statue	Unknown	394
144	Asymmetrically-seated Statue Fragment	Hazor	221

## APPENDIX II

### LIST OF STATUES AND STATUARY FRAGMENTS BY STATUE CLASSIFICATION

#### II.1 Divine Statues

Cat. Number	Title
8	Statuette of a Nursing Goddess
9	Statuette of Osiris
13	Lower Portion of a Seated Statuette
23	Falcon Statue
35	Statuette of the Abydene Triad

#### II.2 Royal Statues

Cat. Number	Title
6	Hand of a royal statue
10	Statue of a Royal Woman
16	Base of a Statuette of Princess Sobeknefru
21	Statue of Ramesses III
22	Fragment of a Standard-Bearing Statue
33	Royal Statue Fragment
36	Head of a Royal Statue
37	Paws and Base of a Sphinx Inscribed for Menkaure
38	Sphinx of Amenemhat III
41	Torso and Kilt of a Male Figure
50	Paw of a lion or sphinx
51	Paw of a lion or sphinx
52	Paw of a lion or sphinx
57	Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx
61	Sphinx of Amenemhat IV
62	Upper Portion of a Statue of Niuserre
63	Head of a Middle Kingdom King
64	Head of a Middle Kingdom Sphinx
65	Head of a Female Sphinx
66	Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III
67	Throne Inscribed for Sheshonq I
68	Upper Portion of a Statue of Osorkon I
69	Arm Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon I
70	Elbow Fragment
71	Belt Fragment with Cartouche of Osorkon
72	Fragment of shendyt-kilt Inscribed for Osorkon
73	Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back
74	Fragment of an Inscribed Throne Back(?)
75	Partial Statue Base Inscribed for Osorkon I
76	Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of Osorkon II

77	Statue Head with the nemes-headdress
78	Shoulder Fragment with a nemes lappet
79	Rear Portion of a Sphinx
80	Rear Portion of a Sphinx or Lion
118	Sphinx of Amenemhat III
119	Fragmentary Sphinx
120	Fragments of a King's(?) Statue
121	Seated Statue of a Princess
133	Lower Portion of a Standing Statue of Sobekhotep IV
135	Sphinx of Princess Ita
136	Fragments of a Kneeling King's Statue
140	Sphinx of Amenemhat III
143	Upper Portion of a King's Statue

### II.3 Private Statues

Cat.	
Number	Title
1	Block Statue of Khentiuka
2	Upper part of a female statuette
3	Upper part of a male statuette
4	Head from a male statuette
7	Statue of a New Kingdom Official
11	Head of a Male Statue
12	Upper Portion of a Male Statue
14	Statuette of Heqaib
15	Male Block Statue
17	Statuette Head
18	Lower Part of the Statue of the <i>ḥnḥ-n-niwt</i> Deduamun
19	Osiriphorous Statue
24	Head of a Male Statuette
25	Base of a Striding Statuette
26	Lower Portion of a Male Statue in an Asymmetrically-Seated Pose
27	Lower Portion of a Male Statue
28	Lower Portion of a Seated Statue of the Nomarch Djehutyhotep
29	Upper Portion of a Female Statue
30	Upper Portion of a Male Statuette
31	Torso of a Male Statue
34	Upper Portion of Male Statue
39	Fragment of a Statue Head with Sidelock
40	Fragment of a high official's statue
44	Lower Portion of a Seated Male Statue
55	Statue of the wab-priest Nefertem
56	Fragment of a Seated Statue

58	Osirophorous Statue
59	Kneeling Statue Fragment
60	Head with Wig of a Healing Statue
84	Statuette of a Man Wearing a Striped Kilt
85	Statuette of a Standing Male Re-inscribed for Harsiese
86	Standing Statuette of a Male
87	Statuette of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt
88	Statue of a Standing Male Wearing a Long Kilt
89	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette(?)
90	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette
91	Lower Portion of a Standing Statue
92	Osirophorous Statue of Nefersekhethotep
93	Pair Statuette of Two Standing Men
94	Group Statue of a Man and Two Women
95	Group Statuette with a Standing Woman in the Center
96	Group or Pair Statue with a Standing Male
98	Block Statuette
99	Stamp Seal in the Form of a Block Statuette
100	Lower Portion of a Block Statue Figurine
101	Lower Portion of a Kneeling Naophorous(?) Statue
102	Statue of a Scribe Seated Cross-legged
103	Lower Portion of a Statue of a Man Seated Cross-legged
104	Lower Portion of a Statue of a Kneeling Woman
105	Upper Portion of a Male Statue
106	Upper Portion of a Male Statue
107	Head of a Male Statue
108	Portion of the Head of a Male Statue
109	Upper Portion of a Male Statuette
110	Upper Portion of a Male Statue
112	Statue of Prehotep
113	Five fragments from an Inscribed Statue
116	Naophorous Statue of Wahibre-Sehedjtawy
117	Block Statue with Inscribed Base
122	Group Statue of Senwosretankh
123	Statuette of a Kneeling Man
124	Lower Portion of a Standing Male Statuette
125	Statuette of a Seated Male
126	Priestly Statue
127	Head of a Male Statuette
128	Head of a Bald Male Statuette
129	Inscribed Statuette Base
130	Statuette of Ibi-iaw
132	Upper Part of a Male Statue
134	Lower Portion of a Statue of the Nomarch Djefaihapi
137	Upper Portion of a Male Statue
138	Seated Statue of Anu

139	Lower Portion and Base of a Block Statue
141	Upper Portion of a Female Statuette
142	Lower Portion of Scribal Statue of Djehuty
144	Asymmterically-seated Statue Fragment

## PLATES



Plate 1. Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, three-quarter and front views. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum I.9854 (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXII).



Plate 2. Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, Petrie's rendering of inscription on top of base (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI:107).



Plate 3. Block statue of Khentiuka (Cat. 1) from Tell el-Ajjul, Petrie's rendering of vertical inscription (Petrie 1931a, pl. XXI:99).





4.



5.

Plate 4. Upper part of a female statuette (Cat. 2) from Tell el-Ajjul, three-quarter view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum 33.1548 (Petrie 1933, pl. XVII).

Plate 5. Upper part of a female statuette (Cat. 2) from Tell el-Ajjul, line drawing of front view (Petrie 1933, pl. XVI:49).



Plate 6. Upper part of a male statuette (Cat.3) from Tell el-Ajjul, line drawing of front view (Petrie 1931a, pl. XL:107).



Plate 7. Head from a male statuette (Cat. 4) from Tell el-Ajjul, front view. Israel Museum IAA 1938-491 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).



8.



9.

Plate 8. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, side view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:1).

Plate 9. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, front view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:2).



10.



11.

Plate 10. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, back view (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:4).

Plate 11. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, detail of inscription on held implement (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:5).



12. <sup>6</sup>



13.

Plate 12. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, detail of inscription on bracelet (Schulman 1993, pl. 53:6).

Plate 13. Hand of a royal statue (Cat. 6) from Tel Ashdod/Tel Mor, Schulman's transcription of inscription on bracelet (Schulman 1993, 111).



Plate 14. Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, back view (Burke and Lords 2010, 28).



15.



16.

Plate 15. Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, 3-D model of front (Burke and Lords 2010, 9).

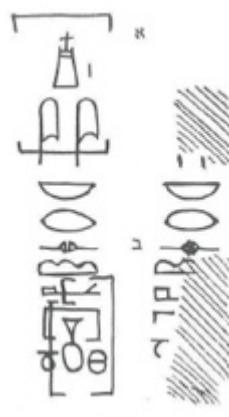
Plate 16. Statue of a New Kingdom Official (Cat. 7) from Jaffa, 3-D model of back (Burke and Lords 2010, 8).



Plate 17. Statuette of a nursing goddess (Cat. 8) from Makmish, three-quarter view (Avigad 1993, 933).



18.



19.

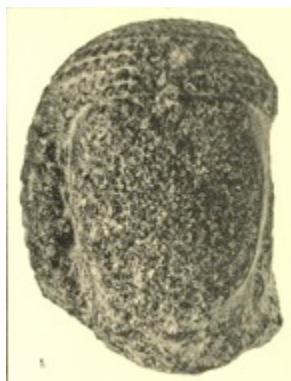
Plate 18. Statuette of Osiris (Cat. 9) from Tulul Mas'ud, front view. IAA Storeroom, Beth Shemesh IAA 1986-5519 (Giveon 1984, 155).

Plate 19. Statuette of Osiris (Cat. 9) from Tulul Mas'ud, Giveon's transcription and restoration of inscription (Giveon 1967, 119).



Plate 20. Statue of a royal woman (Cat. 10) from Jerusalem, front view. Private Collection, Germany (van der Veen 2013, 43).





21.



22.

Plate 21. Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, front view (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:1).

Plate 22. Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, back view (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:2).

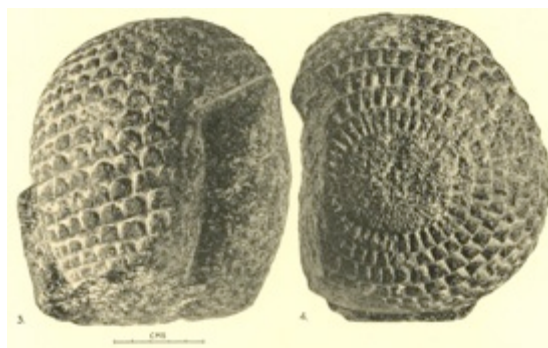


Plate 23. Head of a male statue (Cat. 11) from Jerusalem, proper right and top views (Rowe 1936, pl. XXXVII:3-4).



Plate 24. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 12) from Jerusalem, front view. IAA Storeroom, Beth Shemesh 1951-1059/1 (van der Veen 2013, 48).



Plate 25. Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, three-quarter view.  
École Biblique EBAF 1576 (van der Veen 2013, 46).

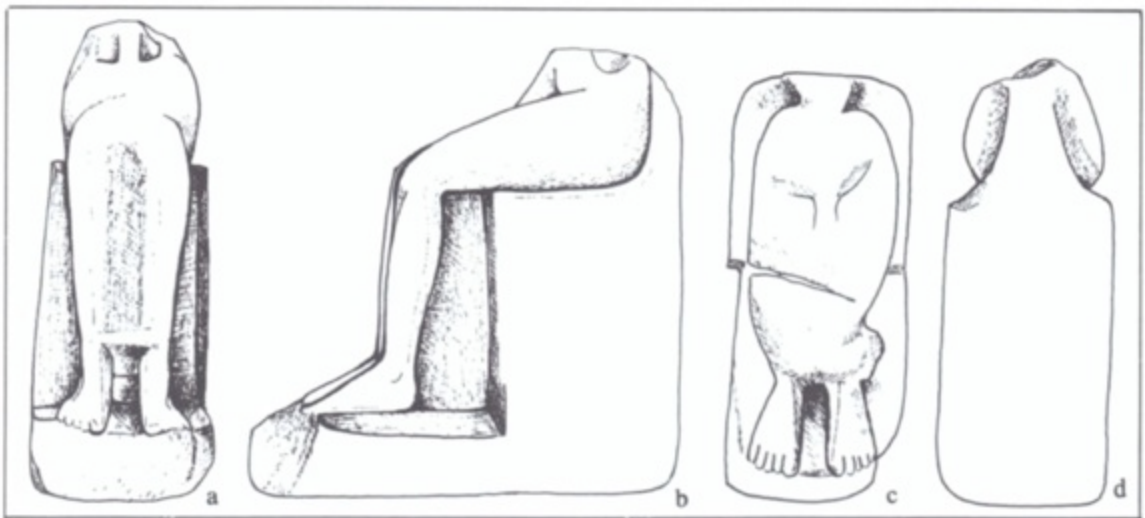


Plate 26. Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, drawings of front, proper left side, top, and back views (Barkay 1996, 36, fig. 13).



Plate 27. Lower portion of a seated statuette (Cat. 13) from Jerusalem, proper left side.  
Proposed reconstruction as a nursing goddess statuette. École Biblique EBAF 1576  
(photograph by author; illustration by M. Arico).



Plate 28. Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, proper right side and front views  
(Macalister 1912, II: 311).



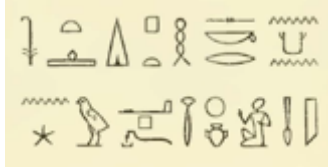


Plate 29. Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, Macalister's transcription of inscription (Macalister 1905, 318).

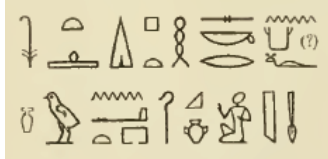


Plate 30. Statuette of Heqaib (Cat. 14) from Gezer, Griffith's transcription of inscription (Griffith 1906, 122).



Plate 31. Male block statue (Cat. 15) from Gezer, front and proper left side views (Macalister 1912, II: 309).



Plate 32. Base of a statuette of princess Sobeknefru (Cat. 16) from Gezer, top view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem field no. 1293 (Weinstein 1974, 49).

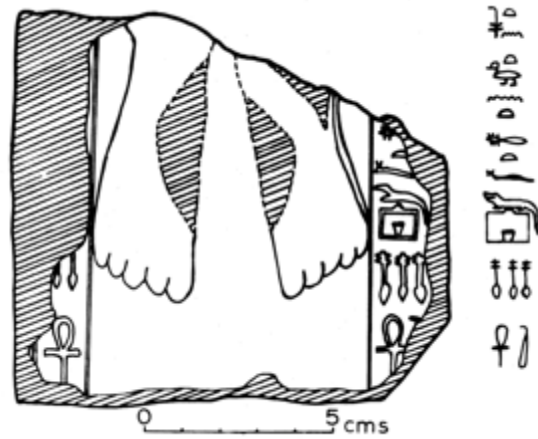


Plate 33. Base of a statuette of princess Sobeknefru (Cat. 16) from Gezer, line drawing of top view (Weinstein 1974, 50).

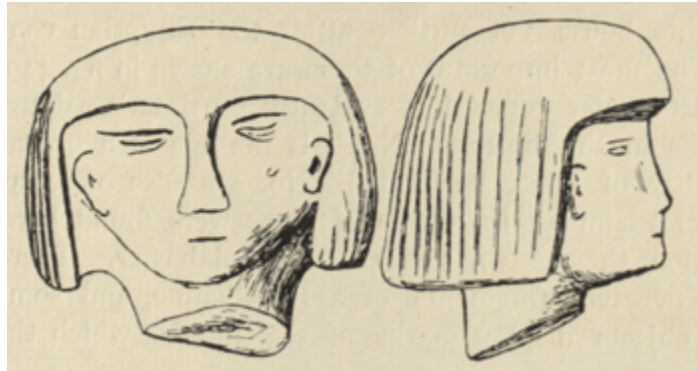


Plate 34. Statuette head (Cat. 17) from Gezer, line drawings of front and proper right side views (Macalister 1912, II, 312).



Plate 35. Lower part of the statue of the 'nh-n-niwt Deduamun (Cat. 18) from Gezer, transcription of inscription (Macalister 1912, II: 312).



Plate 36. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, front view (Meza 1995, 180, fig. 1).



37.



38.

Plate 37. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, proper right side view (Meza 1995, 180, fig. 2).

Plate 38. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, proper left side view (Meza 1995, 181, fig. 3).



Plate 39. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 19) from Petra, back view (Meza 1996, 172, fig. 11).



Plate 40. Moabite-inscribed torso fragment (Cat. 20) from Kerak, front view. Kerak Museum 6807 (Parker and Arico 2015, 106, fig. 1).



Plate 41. Moabite-inscribed torso fragment (Cat. 20) from Kerak, proper left side view (Parker and Arico 2015, 107, fig. 2).



Plate 42. Statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 21) from Beth Shean, front view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum S.886 (Rowe 1930, pl. 51).

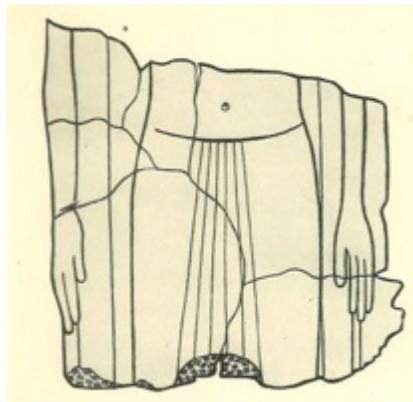


Plate 43. Fragment of a standard-bearing statue (Cat. 22) from Beth Shean, line drawing of front view (Rowe 1930, pl. 50:1).



Plate 44. Falcon statue (Cat. 23) from Beth Shean, proper left side view (Rowe 1940, pl. LIA:4).



Plate 45. Head of a male statuette (Cat. 24) from Beth Shean, front view (Rowe 1940, pl. LXIXA:4).



Plate 46. Base of a striding statuette (Cat. 25) from Pella, three-quarter view (Bourke 2012, pl. 40A).



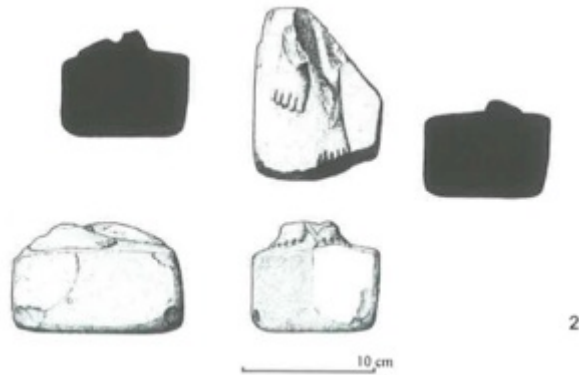


Plate 47. Base of a striding statuette (Cat. 25) from Pella, drawing of multiple views (Bourke 2012, 168, fig. 7).



Plate 48. Lower portion of a male statue in an asymmetrically-seated pose (Cat. 26) from Pella, three-quarter view (Bourke 2012, pl. 40C).

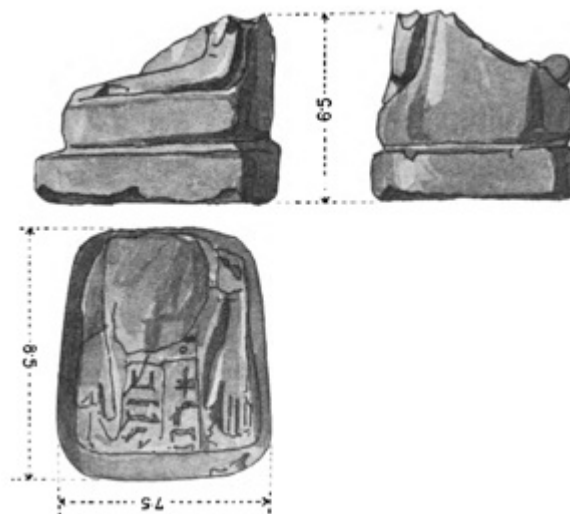


Plate 49. Lower portion of a male statuette (Cat. 27) from Tell Ta'anek, drawing of proper left side, back, and top views (Sellin 1904, 66, fig. 82).



Plate 50. Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, three-quarter view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18622 (Novacek 2011, 27).



51.



52.

Plate 51. Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, proper left side view (J. A. Wilson 1941, pl. II).

Plate 52. Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, proper right side view (J. A. Wilson 1941, pl. III).





Plate 53. Lower portion of a seated statue of the nomarch Djehutyhotep (Cat. 28) from Megiddo, back view (J. A. Wilson 1941, pl. IB).



54.



55.

Plate 54. Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, front view. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum 36.1897 (Loud 1948, pl. 266).

Plate 55. Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, proper left side view showing depth of back-slab (Loud 1948, pl. 266).



Plate 56. Upper portion of a female statue (Cat. 29) from Megiddo, three-quarter view (Loud 1948, pl. 266).



Plate 57. Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 30) from Megiddo, front view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18320 (Loud 1948, pl. 266).



Plate 58. Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 30) from Megiddo, proper left side. Proposed reconstruction as a standing statuette (University of Chicago Archives, Megiddo field negative B2120; illustration by M. Arico).



Plate 59. Torso of a male statue (Cat. 31) from Megiddo, front view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A18358 (Loud 1948, pl. 267).



Plate 60. Torso of a male statue (Cat. 31) from Megiddo, front view. Proposed reconstruction as a standing statue with short kilt (Loud 1948, pl. 267; illustration by M. Arico).



Plate 61. Feet and base of a statuette (Cat. 32) from Megiddo, top view. Oriental Institute Museum OIM A20568 (Loud 1948, pl. 267).



Plate 62. Royal statue fragment (Cat. 33) from Megiddo, proper right side view (Sass 2000, 397, fig. 1).



Plate 63. Royal statue fragment (Cat. 33) from Megiddo, detail of inscription (Sass 2000, 397, fig. 1).



Plate 64. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 34) from Jo'ara, three-quarter view (Givon 1978, 57).



Plate 65. Statuette of the Abydene Triad (Cat. 35) from Mizpe Yammim, front view (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 50, fig. 29).



Plate 66. Head of a royal statue (Cat. 35) from Hazor, front view. The Israel Museum IAA 1997-3295 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).



67.

Plate 67. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 38) from Hazor, front view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 7, 3b [orientation corrected]).



68.

Plate 68. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 38) from Hazor, proper right side view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 7, 3a [orientation corrected]).



Plate 69. Fragment of a high official's statue (Cat. 40) from Hazor, detail of inscription (A. Ben-Tor 2013a, 35).



Plate 70. Torso and kilt of a male figure (Cat. 41) from Hazor, front and proper left side views (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).





Plate 71. Torso and kilt of a male figure (Cat. 42) from Hazor, front view (A. Ben-Tor 2006b, 6, fig. 2).



Plate 72. Right foot of a statue (Cat. 48) from Hazor, top view (Yadin et al. 1961, pl. CCCXXIII).



Plate 73. Statue of the *wab*-priest Nefertem (Cat. 55) from Tel Dan. The Israel Museum IAA 1980-903 (© The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; [www.imj.org.il](http://www.imj.org.il)).



74.



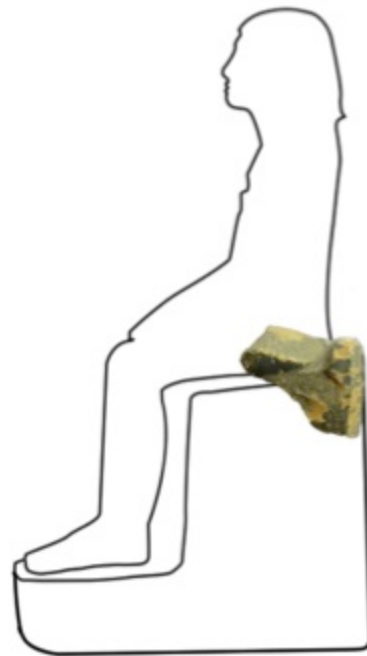
75.

Plate 74. Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, proper left side view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).

Plate 75. Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, detail of inscription on front of seat. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).



76.



77.

Plate 76. Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, back view. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph).

Plate 77. Fragment of a seated statue (Cat. 56) from Tel Dan, proper left side view. Proposed reconstruction as a seated private statue. Skirball Museum of Biblical Archaeology 19132 (author's photograph; illustration by M. Arico).





78.



79.

Plate 78. Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, front view. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).

Plate 79. Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, proper left side view. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).



Plate 80. Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 57) from Tyre, top view showing the uraeus and triple-striped fabric pattern. MMA 66.99.4 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).



81.



82.

Plate 81. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, front view. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).

Plate 82. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, proper left side view with Greek and Latin inscriptions added in the negative space on the back-pillar. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org)).



Plate 83. Osirophorous statue (Cat. 58) from Tyre, back view and Erman's transcription of the back-pillar inscription. British Museum EA24784 (© Trustees of the British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org); Erman 1893).



84.



85.

Plate 84. Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 276 (fig. 4)).

Plate 85. Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, rear view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 275 (fig. 2)).



Plate 86. Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372 (Pétigny 2008, 276 (fig. 3)).



Plate 87. Kneeling statue fragment (Cat. 59) from Tyre, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 92 372. (Pétigny 2008, 275 (fig. 1)).



88.



89.

Plate 88. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, front view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).

Plate 89. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).



90.



91.

Plate 90. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper right side front view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).

Plate 91. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper right side back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).





92.



93.

Plate 92. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper left side view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).

Plate 93. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, proper left side back view. Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph).

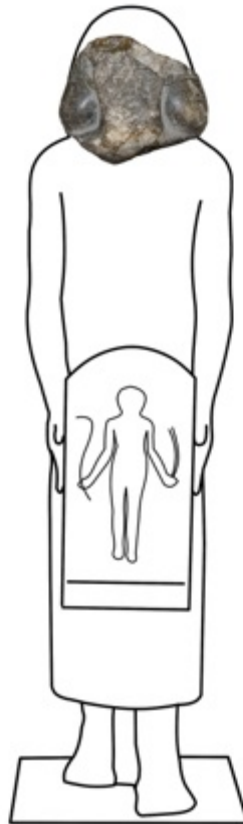


Plate 94. Head with wig of a healing statue (Cat. 60) from Adlun, front view. Proposed reconstruction as a standing healing statue (a block statue pose is also possible). Louvre E 4898 (author's photograph; illustration by M. Arico).



95.

Plate 95. Sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61) from Beirut, three-quarter view. BM EA58892 (Strudwick 2006, 99).



96.

Plate 96. Sphinx of Amenemhat IV (Cat. 61) from Beirut, front view with inscription. BM EA58892 (Fay 1996b, pl. 94b).



Plate 97. Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).



98.



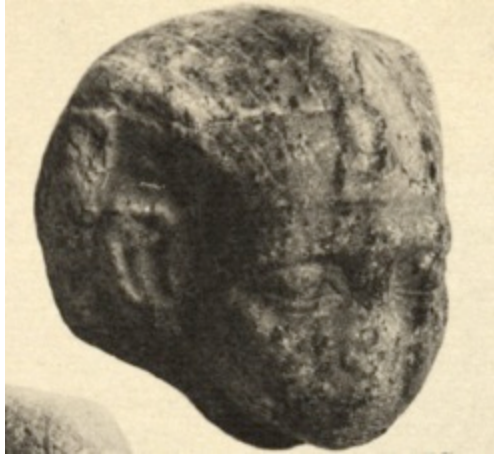
99.

Plate 98. Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (B. V. Bothmer 1971, pl. I, 2 and 4).

Plate. 99. Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395(B. V. Bothmer 1971, pl. I, 2 and 4).



Plate 100. Upper portion of a statue of Niuserre (Cat. 62) from Byblos, back view. National Museum of Beirut B.7395 (B. V. Bothmer 1971, pl. I, fig. 3).



101.



102.

Plate 101. Head of a Middle Kingdom king (Cat. 63) from Byblos, three-quarter view.  
National Museum of Beirut DGA 27574 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).

Plate 102. Head of a Middle Kingdom sphinx (Cat. 64) from Byblos, three-quarter view  
(Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).



Plate 103. Head of a female sphinx (Cat. 65) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).

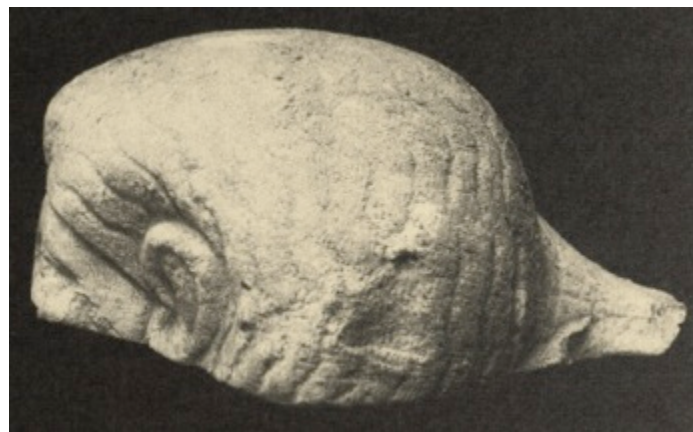


Plate 104. Head of a female sphinx (Cat. 65) from Byblos, proper left side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIX).





105.



106.

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Plate 105. Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, CLVII).

Plate 106. Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, back view (Dunand 1950, CLVII).



Plate 107. Standard-bearing statue of Ramesses III (Cat. 66) from Byblos, transcription of back-pillar inscription (KRI V: 256).



Plate 108. Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, proper right side view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 64 fig. 4).

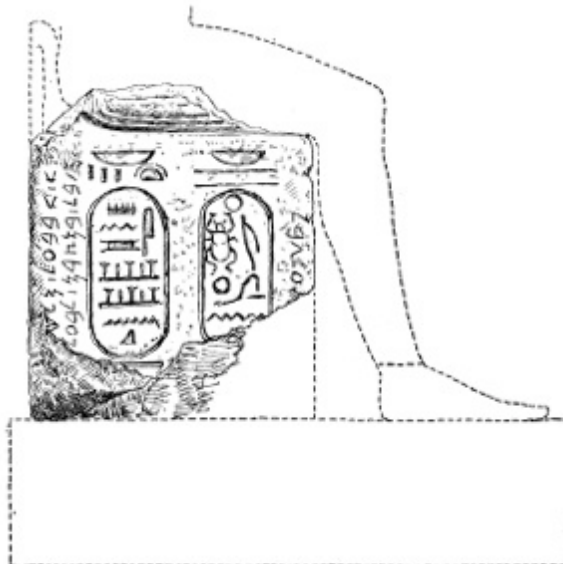
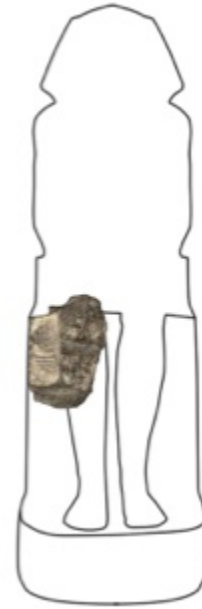


Plate 109. Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, proper right side view. Reconstruction by Dussaud illustrating fragment's placement (Dussaud 1924, 145 fig. 5).



110.

Plate 110. Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, front view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 65 fig. 5).



111.

Plate 111. Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, front view. Reconstruction showing the placement of the fragment. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (photograph courtesy of Heather Dana Davis Parker; illustration by M. Arico).



Plate 112. Throne inscribed for Sheshonq I (Cat. 67) from Byblos, back view with specular image enhancement. Vorderasiatisches Museum VA 3361 (Arico, Greene, and Parker 2016, 65 fig. 5).





113.

Plate 113. Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, front view. Louvre AO 9502 (photograph courtesy of Heather Dana Davis Parker).



114.

Plate 114. Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, back view. Louvre AO 9502 (Montet 1929, pl. XXXVII).



115.

Plate 115. Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, proper left side view with detail of wig. Louvre AO 9502 (author's photograph).



116.

Plate 116. Upper portion of a statue of Osorkon I (Cat. 68) from Byblos, top view with detail of uraeus. Louvre AO 9502 (author's photograph).

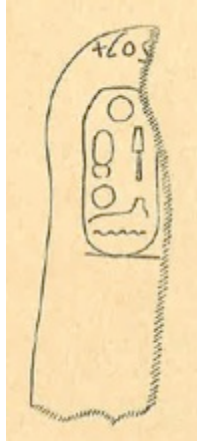
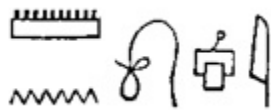
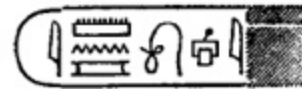


Plate 117. Arm fragment with cartouche of Osorkon I (Cat. 69) from Byblos, line drawing of front view (Dunand 1939, 18 fig. 7).



118.



119.

Plate 118. Belt fragment with cartouche of Osorkon (Cat. 71) from Byblos, inscription as transcribed by Wiedemann (Wiedemann 1895, 14).

Plate 119. Belt fragment with cartouche of Osorkon (Cat. 71) from Byblos, inscription as transcribed by Montet (Chéhab 1969, 39).



120.



121.

Plate 120. Fragment of a *shendyt*-kilt inscribed for Osorkon (Cat. 72) from Byblos, top view. Louvre AO 31153 (author's photograph).

Plate 121. Fragment of a *shendyt*-kilt inscribed for Osorkon (Cat. 72) from Byblos, side view. Louvre AO 31153 (author's photograph).

122.



123.



Plate 122. Fragment of an inscribed throne back (Cat. 73) from Byblos, line drawing (Montet 1928, 49 fig. 14).

Plate 123. Fragment of an inscribed throne back(?) (Cat. 74) from Byblos, line drawing (Montet 1928, 49 fig. 14).



Plate 124. Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, top view. Louvre AO 9503 (Montet 1929, pl. XXXVIII).



125.



126.

Plate 125. Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, proper left side view. Louvre AO 9503 (author's photograph).

Plate 126. Partial statue base inscribed for Osorkon I (Cat. 75) from Byblos, front view. Louvre AO 9503 (author's photograph).

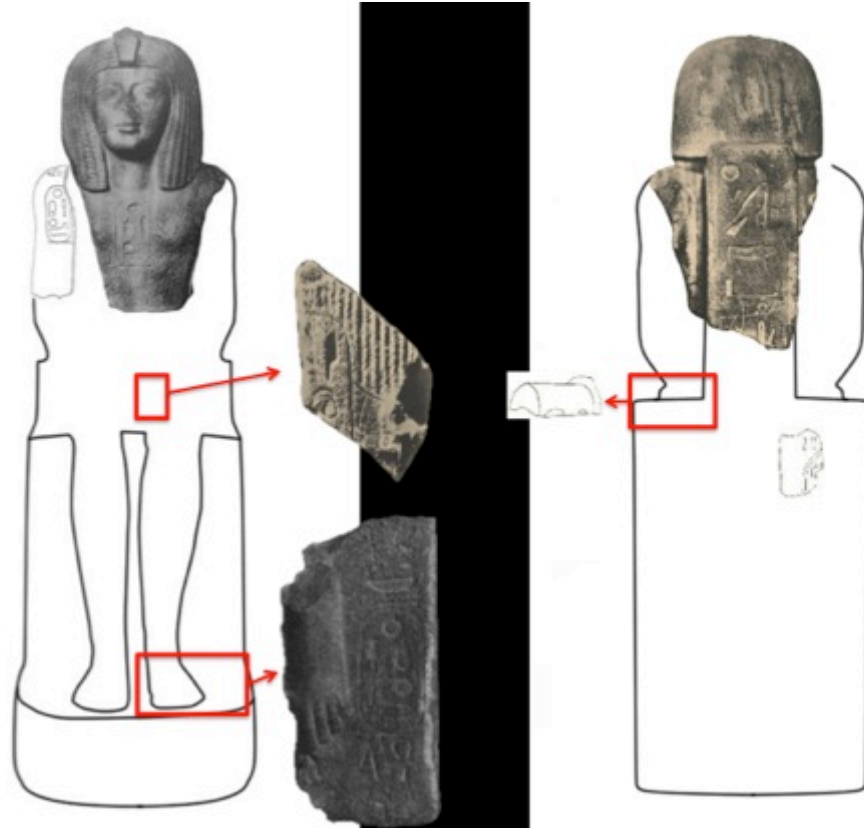
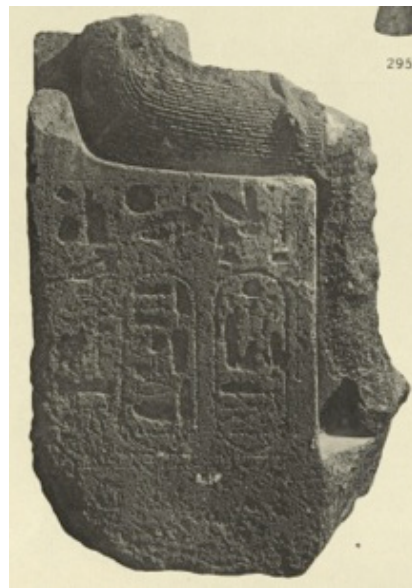


Plate 127. Proposed placement of Osorkon I fragments (Cats. 68-75) from Byblos (Arico and Parker 2013).



128.



129.

Plate 128. Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76), proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (Dunand 1937, XLIII).

Plate 129. Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, transcription of inscriptions on proper right side of throne (Dunand 1939, 116).





Plate 130. Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, detail of erasure on belt. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (H. Brandl 2012, pl. 20.1b).



131.



132.

Plate 131. Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, detail of inscription front of throne. National Museum of Beirut DGA 2050 (H. Brandl 2012, pl. 20.1c).

Plate 132. Lower portion of a seated statue of Osorkon II (Cat. 76) from Byblos, transcription of inscriptions on front of throne (Chéhab 1969, 41, after Dunand 1939, 116).

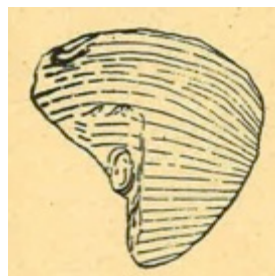


Plate 133. Statue head with the *nemes*-headaddress (Cat. 77) from Byblos, line drawing of proper left side (Dunand 1958, II:543 fig. 620).



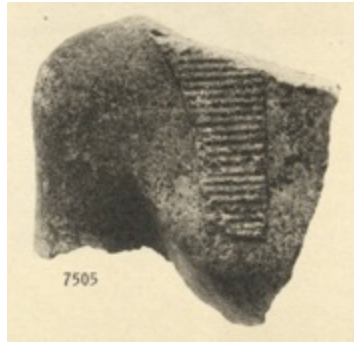


Plate 134. Shoulder fragment with a *nemes* lappet (Cat. 78) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).

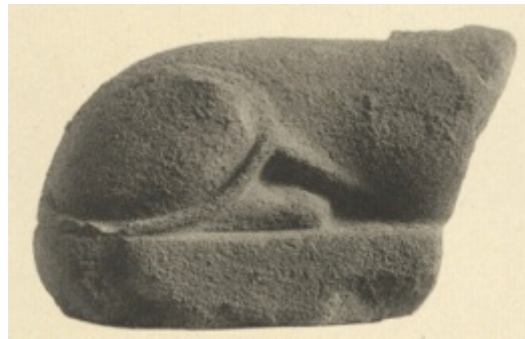


Plate 135. Rear portion of a sphinx (Cat. 79) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV).



Plate 136. Rear portion of a sphinx or lion (Cat. 80) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLXV).

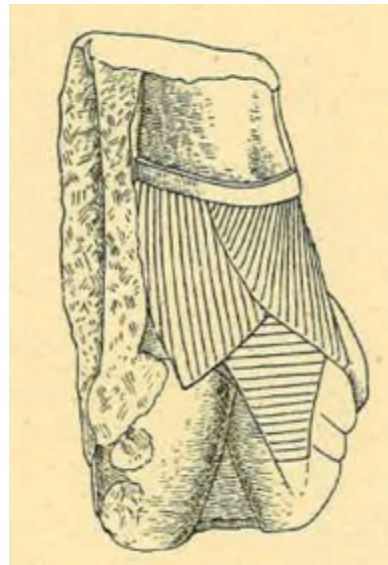


Plate 137. Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 81) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLI).



138.

Plate 138. Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 82) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).



139.

Plate 139. Standing male wearing a *shendyt*-kilt (Cat. 83) from Byblos, line drawing of three-quarter view (Dunand 1958, II:873 fig. 981).



Plate 140. Statuette of a man wearing a striped kilt (Cat. 84) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, CLVI).



141.



142.

Plate 141. Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, front view. MMA 68.101 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).

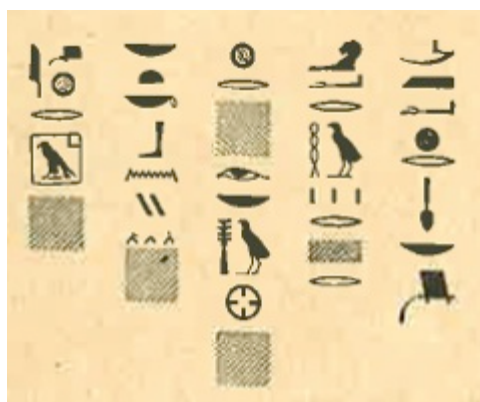
Plate 142. Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, proper right side view. MMA 68.101 (H. G. Fischer 1974, 16 fig. 15).



Plate 143. Statuette of a standing male re-inscribed for Harsiese (Cat. 85) from Byblos, back view. MMA 68.101 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).



144.



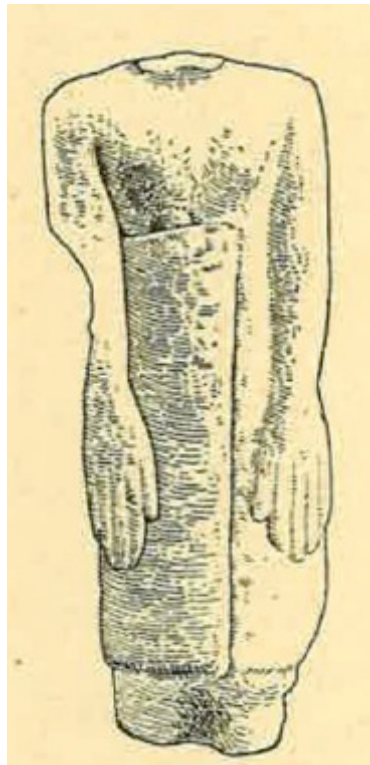
145.

Plate 144. Standing statuette of a male (Cat. 86) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).

Plate 145. Standing statuette of a male (Cat. 86) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Dunand (Dunand 1939, 19).

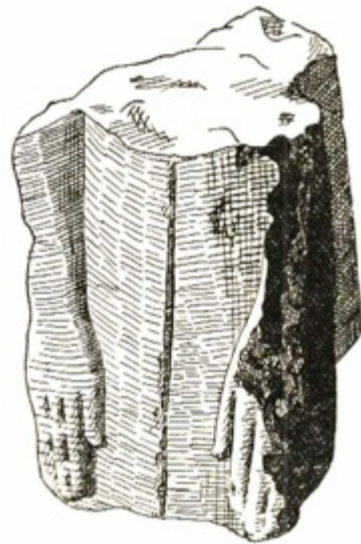


Plate 146. Statuette of a standing male wearing a long kilt (Cat. 87) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).



147.

Plate 147. Statue of a standing male wearing a long kilt (Cat. 88) from Byblos, drawing of front view (Dunand 1958, II:873 fig. 981).



148.

Plate 148. Lower portion of a standing male statuette(?) (Cat. 89), drawing of front view (Montet 1928, 252 fig. 112).



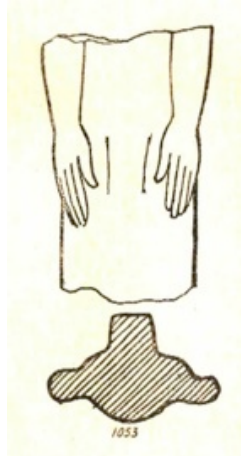


Plate 149. Lower portion of a standing male statuette (Cat. 90) from Byblos, line drawing of front view (Dunand 1939, 19 fig. 8).



150.



151.



152.

Plate 150. Osiroporous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).

Plate 151. Osiroporous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).

Plate 152. Osiroporous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, back view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 20287 (Dunand 1950, pl. CLIII).

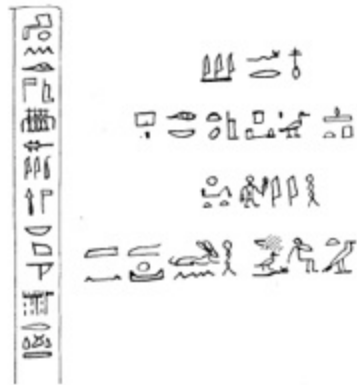
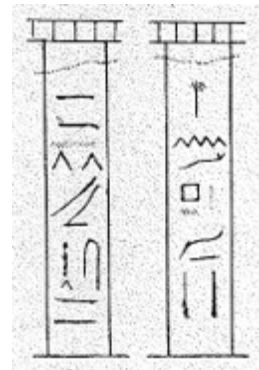


Plate 153. Osirophorous statue of Nefersekhethotep (Cat. 92) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Montet (Montet 1954, 74).



154.

Plate 154. Pair statuette of two standing men (Cat. 93) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII).



155.

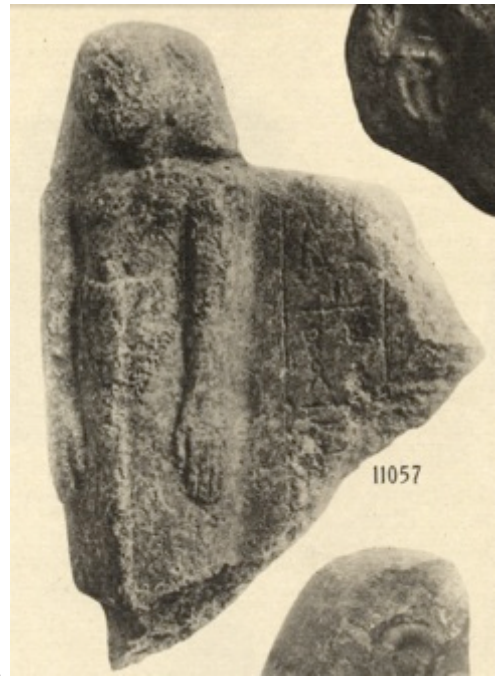
Plate 155. Pair statuette of two standing men (Cat. 93) from Byblos, sketch of inscriptions on kilt fronts (Dunand 1954, I:444 fig. 476).



Plate 156. Group statue of a man and two women (Cat. 94) from Byblos, front view (Montet 1929, pl. XXXV).



157.



158.

Plate 157. Group statuette with a standing woman in the center (Cat. 95) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVIII).

Plate 158. Group or pair statue with a standing male (Cat. 96) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).





Plate 159. Lower portion of a seated statue (Cat. 97) from Byblos, proper right side view (Dunand 1937, pl. LII).



160.



161.

Plate 160. Block statuette (Cat. 98) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut B 1150 (Schulz 1992, II: pl. 5c).

Plate 161. Block statuette (Cat. 98) from Byblos, proper left side view. National Museum of Beirut B 1150 (Dunand 1937, pl. XLI).



162.



163.



164.

Plate 162. Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).

Plate 163. Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, proper right side view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).

Plate 164. Stamp seal in the form of a block statuette (Cat. 99) from Byblos, bottom view with stamp inscription. National Museum of Beirut DGA 1761 (Dunand 1950, pl. XCV).



Plate 165. Lower portion of a block statue figurine (Cat. 100) from Byblos, proper left side view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).



Plate 166. Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, proper left side view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).



Plate 167. Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, proper right side view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).



168.



169.

Plate 168. Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, front view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).

Plate 169. Lower portion of a kneeling naophorous(?) statue (Cat. 101) from Byblos, back view. Louvre E 4902 (author's photograph).

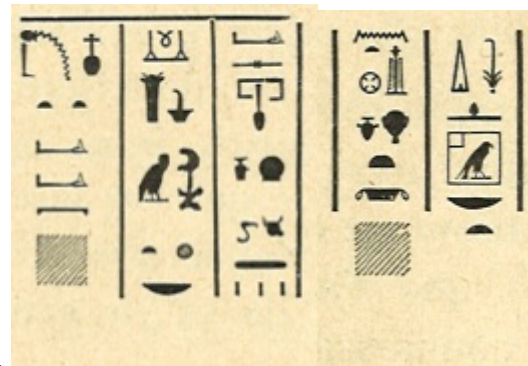


Plate 170. Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, proper right side and front views (Dunand 1937, pl XLa-b).



171.

Plate 171. Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, front view after restoration (Jidejian 1977, fig. 81).



172.

Plate 172. Statue of a scribe seated cross-legged (Cat. 102) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Dunand (Dunand 1939, 181).



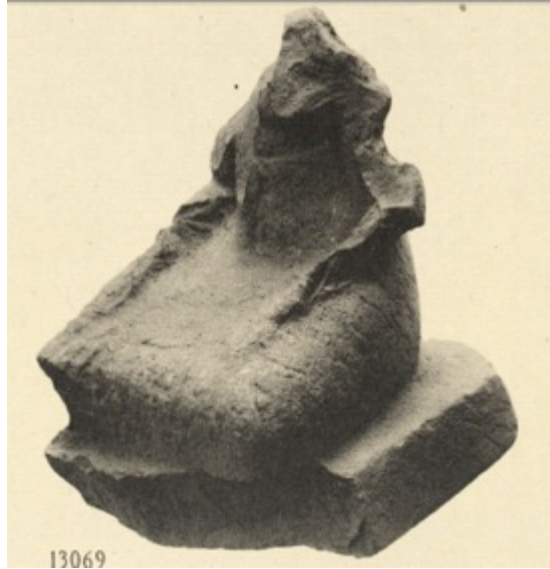


Plate 173. Lower portion of a statue of a man seated cross-legged (Cat. 103) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).



Plate 174. Lower portion of a statue of a kneeling woman (Cat. 104) from Byblos, top view (Montet 1929, pl. XXXV.32).



Plate 175. Lower portion of a statue of a kneeling woman (Cat. 104) from Byblos, transcription of inscription as read by Borchardt (Borchardt 1931, 27).



176.

Plate 176. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 105) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).



177.

Plate 177. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 106) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVII).



Plate 178. Head of a male statue (Cat. 107) from Byblos, front view (Dunand 1937, pl. XLIII).



179.

15606

180.

Plate 179. Portion of the head of a male statue (Cat. 108) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).

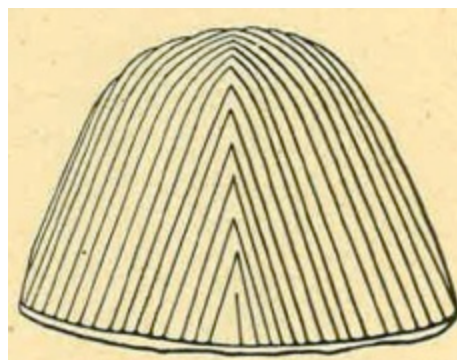
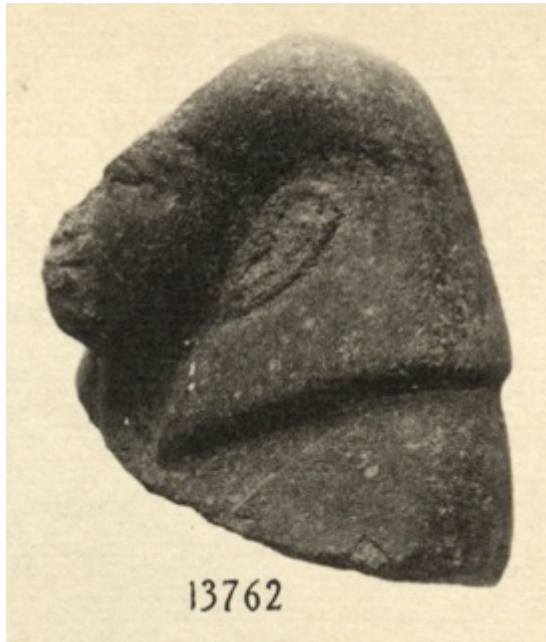


Plate 180. Portion of the head of a male statue (Cat. 108) from Byblos, line drawing of back of wig (Dunand 1958, II:785 fig. 889).



181.

Plate 181. Upper portion of a male statuette (Cat. 109) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).



182.

Plate 182. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 110) from Byblos, three-quarter view (Dunand 1950, pl. CLVI).

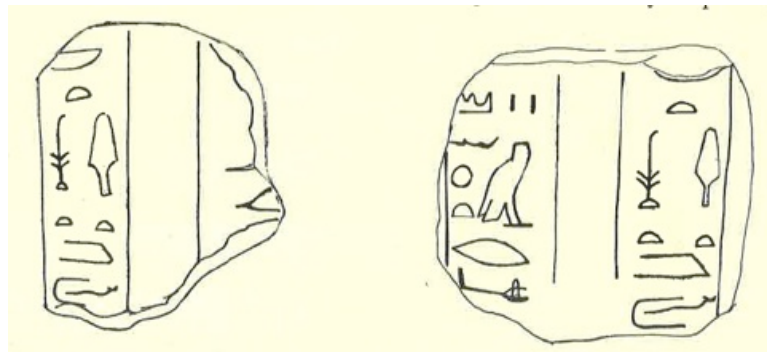


Plate 183. Statue fragment inscribed with an epithet of Hathor (Cat. 111) from Byblos, line drawings of two views (Montet 1928, 40 fig. 8).

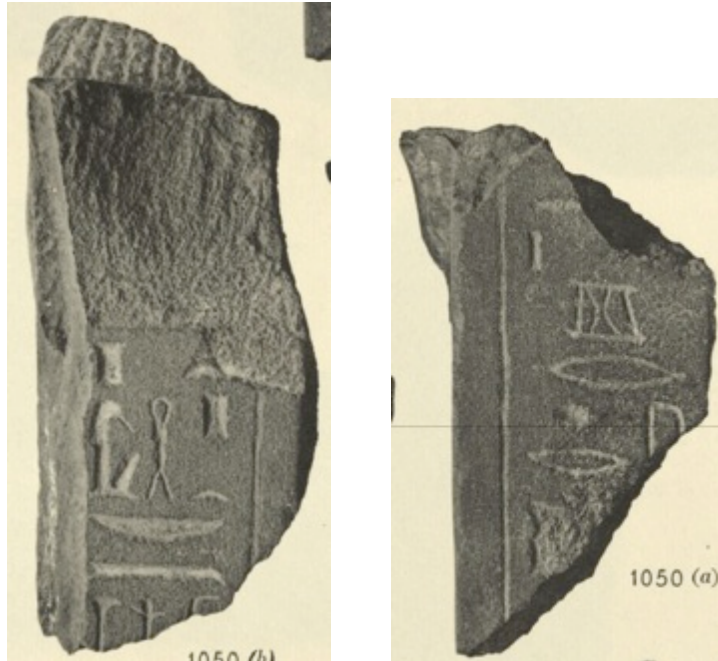
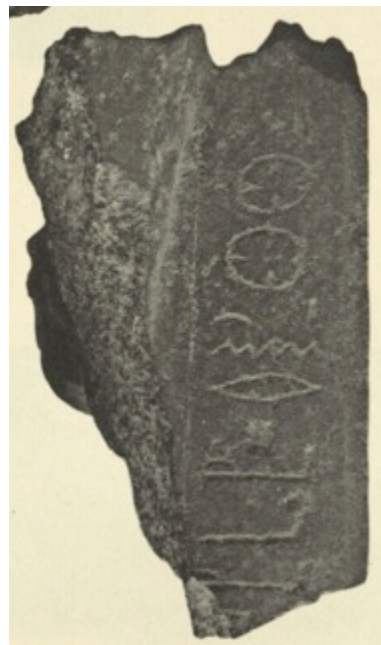


Plate 184. Two of five fragments from an inscribed statue (Cat. 113) from Byblos, back(?) views (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).



185.

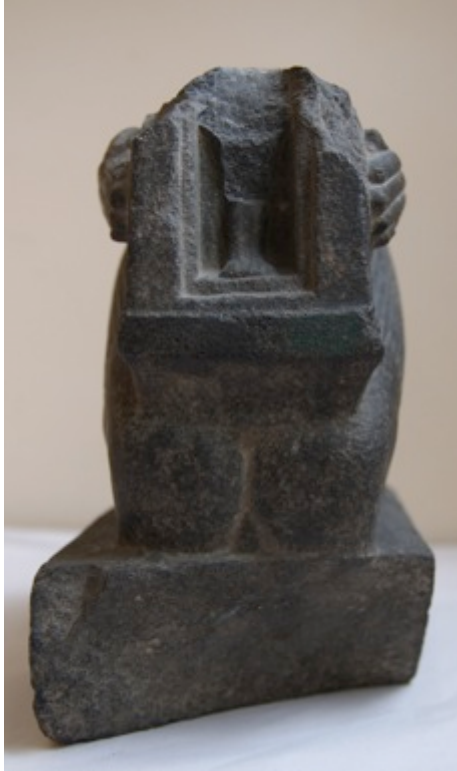


186.

Plate 185. Inscribed sculptural fragment (Cat. 114) from Byblos (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).

Plate 186. Inscribed sculptural fragment (Cat. 115) from Byblos (Dunand 1937, pl. XXXV).





187.



188.

Plate 187. Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, front view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).

Plate 188. Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, back view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).



189.



190.

Plate 189. Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, proper right side view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).

Plate 190. Naophorous statue of Wahibre-sehedjtawy (Cat. 116) from Arwad, proper left side view. Louvre E4901 (author's photograph).



191.



192.



193.

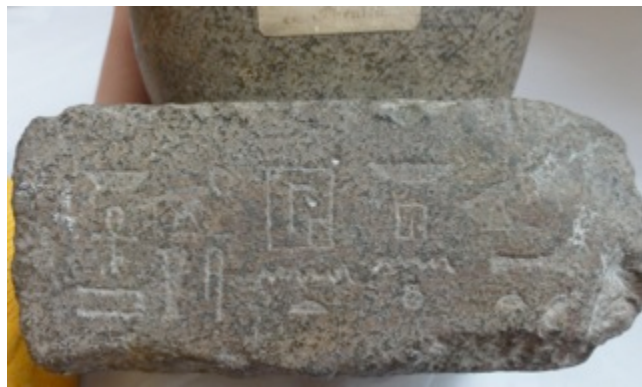
Plate 191. Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, proper left side view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).

Plate 192. Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, front view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).

Plate 193. Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, proper right side view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).



194.



195.

Plate 194. Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, back view. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).

Plate 195. Block statue with inscribed base (Cat. 117) from the plain between Tartus and Amrit, detail of inscribed base. Louvre E4899 (author's photograph).



Plate 196. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 118) from Ugarit, three-quarter view before restoration. National Museum of Damascus DO 30 (Schaeffer 1962, 222 fig. 25).



Plate 197. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 118) from Ugarit, proper left side view after restoration. National Museum of Damascus DO 30 (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. III.2).





Plate 198. Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, three-quarter view in-situ (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. III.1).



199.



200.

Plate 199. Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, front view (Schaeffer 1932a, 20 fig. 13).

Plate 200. Seated statue of a princess (Cat. 121) from Ugarit, transcription of inscription (Schaeffer 1962, 213 fig. 19).



201.

Plate 201. Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).



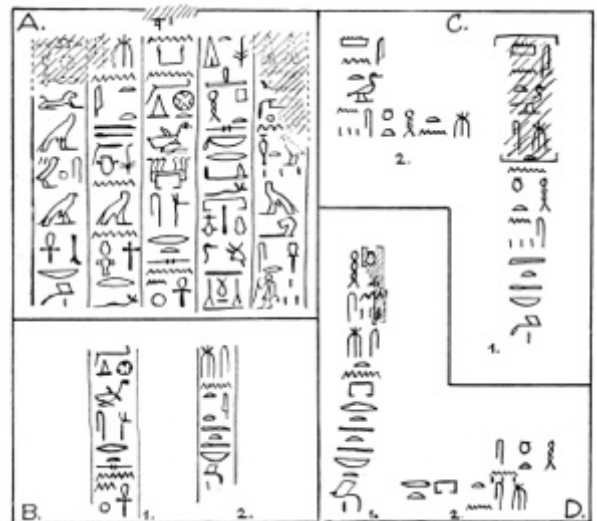
202.

Plate 202. Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, back view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).



203.

Plate 203. Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 15720; AO 17223 (Schaeffer 1939b, 1:pl. V).



204.

Plate 204. Group statue of Senwosretankh (Cat. 122) from Ugarit, transcription of texts (Montet 1934, 132).



205.



206.

Plate 205. Statuette of a kneeling man (Cat. 123) from Ugarit, front three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. IV).

Plate 206. Statuette of a kneeling man (Cat. 123) from Ugarit, back three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:pl. IV).



Plate 207. Lower portion of a standing male statuette (Cat. 124) from Ugarit, three-quarter view (Schaeffer 1939b, I:19 fig. 11)



208.

Plate 208. Statuette of a seated male (Cat. 125) from Ugarit, three-quarter view (J. Lagarce and du Puytison-Lagarce 2008, 162 fig. 10).



209.

Plate 209. Statuette of a seated male (Cat. 125) from Ugarit, proper left side view (de Contenson 1978, 163, Abb. 16).



210.

Plate 210. Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).



211.

Plate 211. Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).



212.

Plate 212. Head of a male statuette (Cat. 127) from Ugarit, back view. Louvre AO 17233 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).





213.



214.

Plate 213. Head of a bald male statuette (Cat. 128) from Ugarit, front view. Louvre AO 15767 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).

Plate 214. Head of a bald male statuette (Cat. 128) from Ugarit, proper left side view. Louvre AO 15767 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).

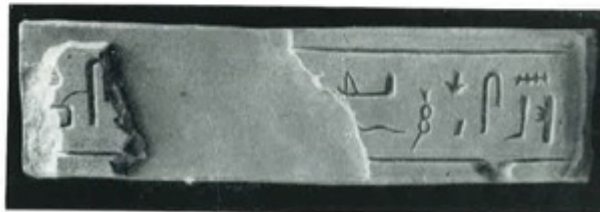


Plate 215. Inscribed statuette base (Cat. 129) from Ugarit, multiple views. National Museum of Damascus DO 5208 (Schaeffer 1962, 124 fig. 101).





Plate 216. Torso with inscribed back-pillar (Cat. 131) from Ugarit, proper right side view at time of excavation (Schaeffer 1929, pl. LIX.4).



Plate 217. Upper part of a male statue (Cat. 132) from Kamid el-Loz, front view. National Museum of Beirut DGA 24406 (Hachmann 1983, 173).



Plate 218. Lower portion of a standing statue of Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133) from Tell Hizzin, front view (Chéhab 1969, pl. IV.2).



Plate 219. Lower portion of a standing statue of Sobekhotep IV (Cat. 133) from Tell Hizzin, proper right side view (Ahrens 2015b, 203, fig. 5).

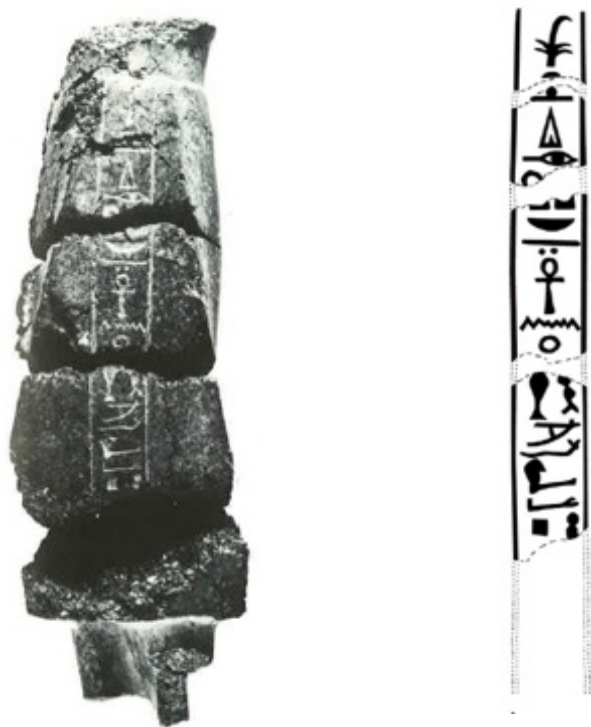
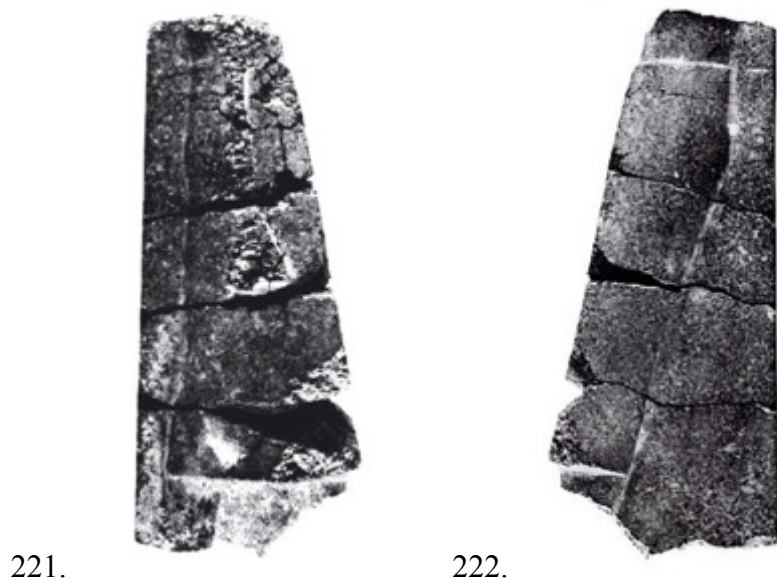


Plate 220. Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, front view and transcription of inscription (Chéhab 1969, pl. IV.1; Ahrens 2015b, 209, fig. 12).



221.

222.

Plate 221. Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, proper right side view (Ahrens 2015b, 207, figs. 9-10).

Plate 222. Lower portion of a statue of the nomarch Djefaihapi (Cat. 134) from Tell Hizzin, proper left side view (Ahrens 2015b, 207, figs. 9-10).

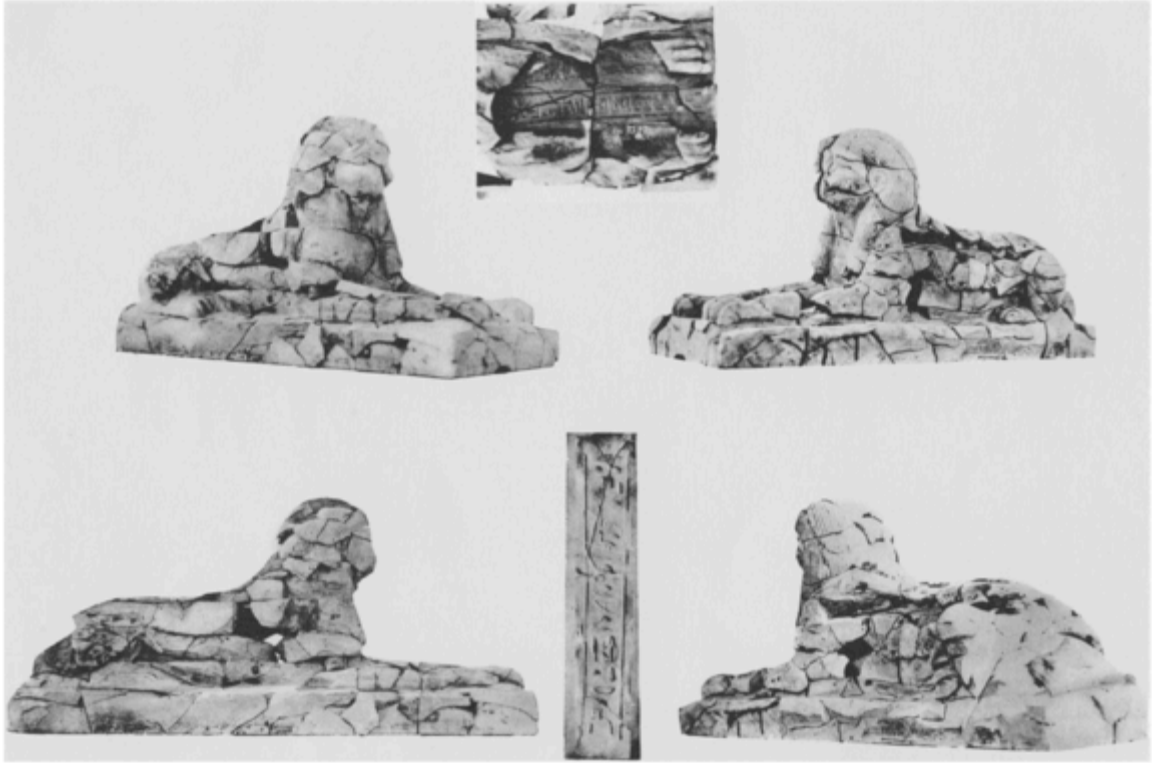


Plate 223. Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, multiple views before restoration (du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pl. XII).



Plate 224. Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, three-quarter view. Louvre AO 13075 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).





225.



226.

Plate 225. Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, front view. Louvre AO 13075 ([www.louvre.fr](http://www.louvre.fr)).

Plate 226. Sphinx of Princess Ita (Cat. 135) from Qatna, detail of inscription between paws. Louvre AO 13075 (author's photograph).

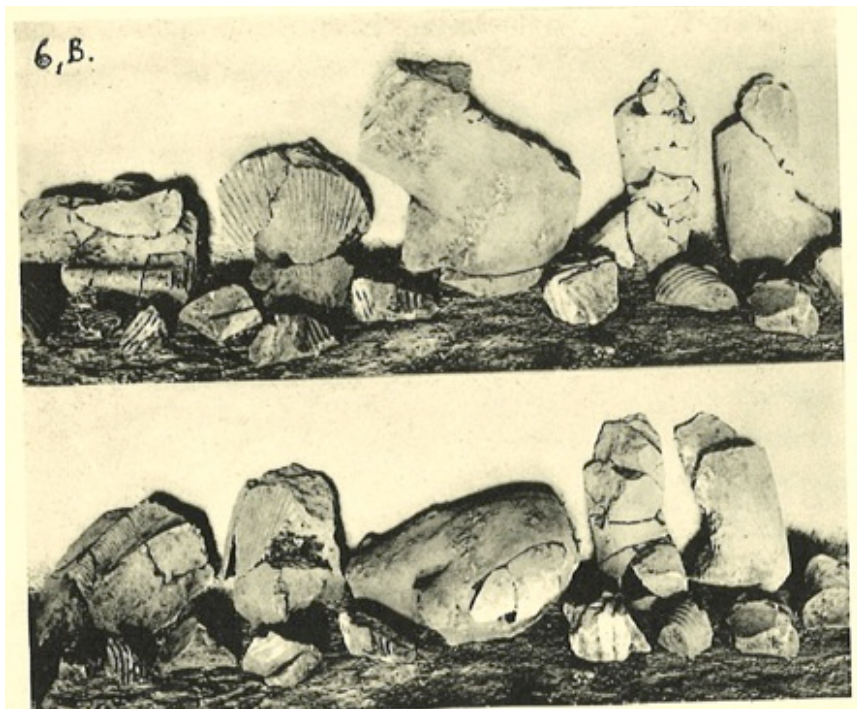


Plate 227. Fragments of a kneeling king's statue (Cat. 136) from Qatna, two views of multiple fragments (du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, pl. XIV.1).



Plate 228. Upper portion of a male statue (Cat. 137) from Qatna, multiple views  
 Upper portion of a male statuette with cloak from Qatna (Cat. 137), multiple views (du  
 Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, pl. VI).



Plate 229. Seated statue of Anu (Cat. 138) from Qatna, three-quarter view. Metropolitan  
 Museum of Art 1970.184.2 (author's photograph).



Plate 230. Sphinx of Amenemhat III (Cat. 140) from Syria, three-quarter view. National Museum of Aleppo 6450 (Scandone Matthiae 1989b, pl. 4).



231.

Plate 231. Upper portion of a female statuette (Cat. 141), front view. Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.226 ([www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)).



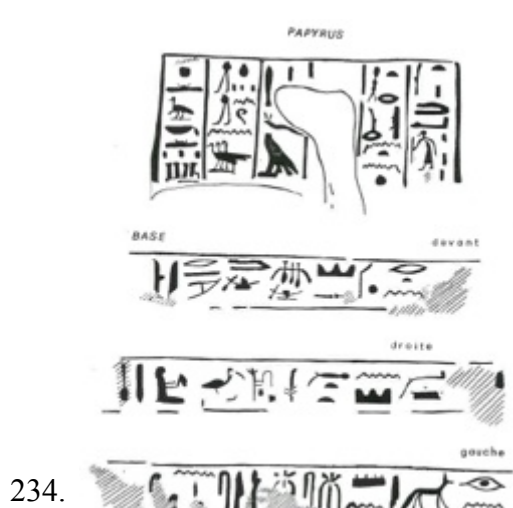
232.

Plate 232. Upper portion of a female statuette (Cat. 141), back three-quarter view. Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.226 (author's photograph).





Plate 233. Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), three-quarter view. British Museum EA69863 (Bordreuil and Gubel 1987, 319).



234.



235.

Plate 234. Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), transcription of inscription on papyrus and base (Yoyotte 1981, 48).

Plate 235. Lower portion of scribal statue of Djehuty (Cat. 142), transcription of inscription on back-pillar (Yoyotte 1981, 45).





Plate 236. Upper portion of a king's statue (Cat. 143), front view. British Museum EA74844 (Hall 1928, pl. XXIX.1).

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

Ashley Fiutko Arico was born on June 11, 1985 in Mountain View, California. She received a Bachelor of Arts in Egyptian and Near Eastern Art and Archeology (with High Honors) and Classical Civilizations from the University of California, Berkeley in 2007 and a Master of Arts in Near Eastern Studies from the Johns Hopkins University in 2012. She has taught at the Johns Hopkins University, where she was awarded the Dean's Teaching Fellowship in 2016. Ashley served twice as the Robert and Nancy Hall Fellow at the Walters Art Museum, contributing to the international loan exhibition *Egypt's Mysterious Book of the Faiyum*. She was also the 2013 Terrace Research Associate in Egyptian Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In addition, she has worked at the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum and has participated in several archaeological field seasons at the Mut Temple Complex in Luxor, Egypt under the direction of Betsy Bryan.